

SUPPLEMENT TO THE Mexico, Mo., Message.

From the Congressional Record, December 16, 1899.

THE FINANCIAL BILL. REMARKS OF CHAMP CLARK, OF MISSOURI.

Saturday, December 16, 1899.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) entitled "A bill to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, and for other purposes."

Mr. CLARK of Missouri said:
Mr. CHAIRMAN: Republican jubilation over the result of the recent elections is one of the most amazing phenomena that I have observed in forty-nine years of tabernacled in the flesh. [Laughter.]

It reminds me of a story I once heard. A young physician was called in a case of great delicacy. When he returned to the office, his veteran partner asked him how he got along. "First rate," replied the youthful disciple of Esculapian. "The mother and baby are both dead, but I saved the old man!" [Great laughter.]

So with the Republicans. [Laughter.] They lost Maryland. Their beastly majority in Ohio was reduced to a minority of fifty-odd thousand. The fusion majority in Nebraska was multiplied fivefold. The Fusionists made large gains in Kansas. The Republicans of Pennsylvania sustained great losses and were so badly scared that they imported a job lot of heelers and repeaters from this city [laughter], but Republicans howl with delight because they "saved the old man!" [Great laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

With their combs cut, both wings broken, and their tail feathers plucked, they still crow because they "saved the old man!" [Renewed laughter.]

After the celebrated Hampton Roads conference the following dialogue took place between Abraham Lincoln and William H. Seward: "Did you see Alexander H. Stephens?" asked the President. "Yes," replied the Secretary of State. "See him with his overcoat on?" "Yes." "See him with it off?" "Yes." "Did you ever see so small a nubbin in so large a shuck?" "No."

So with this Republican victory on which gentlemen plume themselves. It is a very small nubbin in a very large shuck. It seems to me that they must feel much the same as did Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, when in walking over a field he had won by the skin of his teeth, gazing upon the piles of corpses of his brave followers, he mournfully exclaimed, "Another such victory and we are undone!"

CIVIL SERVICE AS PRACTICED BY REPUBLICANS.

So far as I am advised, there is only one Republican in the House thoroughly justified in rejoicing over the November elections. That is my venerable and amiable friend from Ohio, Gen. GROSVENOR; not because Nash is a minority governor, but because the means resorted to to elect Nash at all demonstrate that our beautiful and bewildering system of civil service reform is now placed in "the process of ultimate extinction" [laughter], an object dear to the heart of the gentleman from Ohio. And it must be peculiarly gratifying to him that its overthrow was accomplished by two Ohio statesmen, President William McKinley and Hon. William F. Burdell, treasurer of the Republican State executive committee. They killed Cock Robin dead as a smelt.

When the President declared in his inaugural that "no backward step must be taken in civil-service reform," all the civil-service reformers in the land and all the beneficiaries of that system pronounced him "another Daniel come to judgment," and General GROSVENOR and other Republican spoilsmen retired into the Cave of Adullam. But the President, growing weary of beholding the mourning countenances of Grosvenorian pot-hunters, had compassion on them and, forgetting his inaugural, took a step—a long step—backward.

Indeed, he had on his seven-league boots and at one step went backward about one-eleventh of the entire distance traveled over and fought over inch by inch by the reformers in many long, wearisome years, for by Executive order of May 29, 1899, he turned

over to the tender mercies of Republican spoilsmen between 8,000 and 10,000 timorous, trembling, tearful, squirming Democratic officials whom civil-service reform had clothed as with a garment. There has not been such a wholesale slaughter of the innocents since the days of King Herod. Thus was the countenance of General GROSVENOR made to shine. He and his coparceners emerged from the Cave of Adullam and fell upon the victims, tearing and rending them, while the reformers toppled into the Slough of Despond.

Another thing happened to warm the cockles of General GROSVENOR's heart when Hon. William F. Burdell, treasurer of the Republican State executive committee of Ohio, issued his famous circular inviting—and his invitation was tantamount to a command—all Federal officials to come down with the dust to assist in the great work of political reform—with a big, big R—then being carried to fruition by Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, Senator and chairman of the national Republican committee; Hon. CHARLES DICK, Representative in Congress and chairman of the Ohio Republican State committee, and Hon. George B. Cox, the hoodlum chief of Cincinnati, the maker and unmaker of Ohio statesmen—a sort of Buckeye Warwick. [Laughter and applause on Democratic side.]

How much fat Mr. Burdell fried out of the Federal employees I do not know. In round numbers, there are about 200,000 of them, with salaries ranging from \$56,000 down. Assuming that the average salary is \$1,000, we have a total of \$200,000,000; and assuming further that the average "free-will offering" in the cause of reform under the thumb-screw process of Mr. Burdell was 10 per cent, the result is \$20,000,000—a neat sum to be expended in conducting a pure election in a Republican State. Mr. Burdell may have received and disbursed more or less. He knows; and, if it will not disturb the equanimity of my learned friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. BROSIEUS], late chairman of the Committee on Civil Service Reform, I suggest that he introduce a resolution to appoint a committee with power to send for persons and papers to ascertain precisely how much blackmail Burdell received from Federal officials; and while he is at it, to have a committee of exploration appointed to discover whether the Civil Service Commission has been kidnapped or destroyed or in any manner curtailed of its fair proportions or has become a mere tender to the Republican party. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Contemplating these two stupendous victories of Republican spoilsmen, and varying the famous words of Wellington at Waterloo, I say, "Up, reformers, and at them!"

If the President takes ten more steps backward, the civil service reform system will be a schoolboy's tale, the wonder of an hour; and if Burdell is allowed to run at large and to raid Federal employees when he pleases, Congress will soon be called on to establish a soup house here in Washington for their sustenance, for the money he squeezed out of them in 1899 in order to carry Ohio is not a drop in the bucket compared with the vast sum the Republicans will need to carry the country in 1900.

If Burdell and his ilk are not choked off Federal employees had, one and all, better take the benefit of the bankrupt law.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I ask that the gentlemen's time be extended five minutes.

There was no objection.

GENERAL GROSVENOR AND THE WILSON BILL.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Out in my country there dwelt a lawyer, Col. George W. Anderson, who for four years was a member of this House. He was always a brilliant orator, but in his younger days not well up in the technicalities of his profession. On one occasion he was about to be knocked out of court when Judge Porter,

who was presiding—a very kind-hearted man—undertook to help him by saying: "Colonel Anderson, are you taken by surprise?" Whereupon Anderson electrified bench and bar by replying: "Good God, your honor! I am not only surprised, but utterly astounded!" [Great laughter.]

I was likewise astounded when I heard the gentleman from Ohio, General GROSVENOR, say that the Wilson tariff bill was a free trade measure. [Laughter.] There is nowhere on earth or under the earth or in the air above the earth a scintilla of evidence on which to base that statement. It is absolutely preposterous. That bill carried an average tariff duty of nearly 40 per cent on about 4,000 articles of everyday consumption. Surely no sane man can believe or does believe that such a bill was a free-trade measure. Free traders voted for it holding their noses. They voted for it because it was the best they could get and cut down the rates of the McKinley bill of abominations about 8 per cent. It is a poor cause that necessitates such wrenching of historic facts to support it and only shows to what straits Republicans are driven to defend their present course.

A characterless, obscure, and ignorant stump speaker might be excused for making such a groundless assertion in the heat of debate out in the backwoods of Ohio, but General GROSVENOR can not be excused on any such theory. He can not afford to make such a ridiculous statement. He certainly can not be excused on the grounds of ignorance, for one of his foibles is omniscience; nor on grounds of inexperience, for he has long since passed the effervescent period of youth; sixty-six winters have frosted his head with silver, and he is a veteran, a conspicuous, an able member of this House. He is a great historic personage [laughter]; younger men look to him for guidance. He is the only real simon-pure major prophet now known to be on terra firma.

The public regards him as a sort of walking delegate for the Administration [laughter], its mouthpiece on this floor, the keeper of the king's conscience and groom of the Presidential posset.

He owes it to his own fame, to the dignity of this House, and to the cause of truth and justice to expunge that charge from his speech, for it is baseless as the fabric of a vision.

THE PENDING CURRENCY BILL.

"Consistency's a jewel." If the philosopher who wrote that famous sentence should return to earth and should find himself among the Republican majority of the House of Representatives, he would feel as lonesome as Adam before Eve impinged upon his enraptured vision or as Alexander Selkirk in the oppressive solitude of his desert island.

If Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, were speaking as of the political morals of the supporters of "the Atlantic City money bill," he would change his far-reaching exclamation: "Frailty, thy name is woman!" so as to read: "Frailty, thy name is latter-day Republicanism!"

With consciences of India rubber and cheeks of Hindoo gods, Republican Representatives and Senators are now doing the very thing which we charged in 1896 they would do, if given sufficient power, which charge Republican orators and editors west of the Alleghenies with one accord denied as bitterly and vehemently as Peter denied his Lord and Master. I suppose I owe an apology to the memory of the great apostle for placing him even temporarily in such ignoble company and make amends by stating at once the historic fact that he made noble atonement for his one act of weakness and unfaithfulness—an example which Republicans are not liable to emulate. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

The die is cast. Hugh H. Hanna and his confederates are anxious for the sacrifice. The majority here are eager to do his bidding. Argument has about the same effect upon Republican Representatives as it would if addressed to "the dull, cold ear of death." This House will pass "the Atlantic City money bill," and the Senate will pass it or something equally as bad. No Republican will dare to oppose it for two reasons—fear of the caucus lash and fear of being divorced from the pie counter. Our appeal is not to the members of this House, but to those who make and unmake Representatives—the great body of the American people. In them we place our trust and not in those who are looking hungrily to the White House for favors to come.

History frequently repeats itself—a fact that gives the minority both confidence and consolation.

Thomas Campbell says:

I watch the wheels of Nature's maze plan,
And learn the future by the past of man.
'That is a good rule by which to judge,
Let us apply it to this bill.

At the behest of Nicholas Biddle a

supple Congress passed a bill to recharter the old Bank of the United States, and its members fondly hoped that they had thereby made their calling and election sure, if not to mansions in the skies, at least to good, fat offices; but, fortunately for the cause of constitutional government and of human liberty, at that time there sat in the Presidential chair one of the purest and bravest patriots that ever lived, the iron soldier of the Hermitage, Andrew Jackson, of blessed and immortal memory, who promptly vetoed that obnoxious and dangerous measure.

Both parties to that Titanic struggle appealed to the people, and after a historical contest Jackson was triumphantly reelected by an overwhelming majority, receiving 239 electoral votes to 49 for his opponent. The people stood faithfully by Jackson because he stood unflinchingly by the people. Unfortunately we have no Andrew Jackson in the White House now to veto this infamous measure, but upon the appeal to the people in 1900 William J. Bryan will be indorsed by as great a majority as was Andrew Jackson in 1832.

REPUBLICANS RAT THEIR OWN WORDS.

Nearly all the great Republicans who have lived since 1873—Grant, Garfield, Blaine, John Sherman, Logan, GROSVENOR, ALLISON, Don Cameron, Windom, JOSEPH G. CANNON [laughter], HEPBURN, DOLLIVER [laughter], Matthew Stanley Quay, WILLIAM E. CHANDLER, and others, as the sale bills say, "too tedious to mention" [laughter], have condemned the main features of "the Atlantic City money bill" by tongue or pen or vote. The silver speeches, the greenback speeches, and the anti-single-gold-standard speeches of Republican Senators and Representatives, now stultifying themselves by supporting this iniquitous measure, would if collected make a volume larger than the Bible. In the light of their votes now those speeches will constitute rare, rich, and racy reading when their authors are arranged at the bar of public opinion. Out of their own mouths will these high and lofty political somersaulters be condemned.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY RECANTS.

Of all the eminent Republicans who, first and last, have championed silver, President William McKinley is facile princeps.

In Congress he not only spoke eloquently and unanswerably for silver, but he voted for the Stanley Matthews resolution, for the original Bland bill for the Bland bill with the Senate amendments, and his name is recorded in the roll of honor of those who voted to pass the Bland-Allison bill over the veto of pseudo-President Hayes.

[Here the hammer fell. By unanimous consent, Mr. CLARK was allowed five minutes more time.]

In Congress he made this wise and patriotic utterance:

I am for the largest use of silver in the currency of the country. I would not dishonor it. I would give it equal credit and honor with gold. I would make no discrimination. I would utilize both metals as money and discredit neither. I want the double standard.

That is a sound declaration, well worthy of remembrance.

At Toledo, Ohio, February 12, 1891, he excoriated Grover Cleveland for being hostile to silver in a highly artistic manner, as follows:

During all of his years at the head of the Government he was dishonoring one of our precious metals, one of our own great products, by debasing silver and enhancing the price of gold. He endeavored, even before his inauguration to offer to stop the coinage of silver dollars, and afterwards, and to the end of his Administration persistently used his power to that end. He has determined to contract the circulating medium and demoralize one of the coins of commerce, limit the volume of money among the people, make money scarce and therefore dear. He would have increased the value of money and diminished the value of everything else—money the master, everything else its servant. He was not thinking of "the poor" then. He had left "their side." He was not "standing forth in their defense." Cheap counts, cheap labor, and dear money; the sponsor and promoter of those professing to stand guard over the welfare of the poor and lowly. Was there ever more glaring inconsistency or reckless assumption?

In reading those glowing words I am constrained to exclaim in the language of the immortal Squeers: "Here's richness!" And it appears to me that the President, having recanted the opinions he then held, should telegraph his apologies to his great prototype, "the Sage of Princeton," in whose footsteps he is now walking so faithfully and so enthusiastically. [Laughter.]

But an astounding change has come over the spirit of his dream, and he now "urgently recommends" to support the gold standard, a measure which not only establishes by law the gold standard, but which practically retires the greenbacks, thereby contracting the volume of the currency by \$346,000,000, reduces silver coins to mere token money, gives carte blanche to the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds, abdicates the paramount function of government—that of regulating the quantity of money—and turns the financial interests of the country over to the tender mercies of the Na-

tional Bank Association, conferring upon it the power to expand or contract the volume of our circulating medium at will, a power too vast and too dangerous to be intrusted to any private persons or to any corporation whatsoever.

Here are the exact words of his message. They constitute his latest utterance. He says:

In its earlier history the national banking act seemed to prove a reasonable avenue through which needful additions to the circulation could from time to time be made. Changing conditions have apparently rendered it now inoperative to that end. The high margin in bond securities required, resulting from large premiums which Government bonds command in the market, or the tax on note issues, or both operating together, appear to be the influences which impair its public utility.

The attention of Congress is respectfully invited to this important matter with the view of ascertaining whether or not such reasonable modifications can be made in the national banking act as will render its service in the particulars here referred to more responsive to the people's needs. I again urge that national banks be authorized to organize with a capital of \$25,000.

I urgently recommend that to support the existing gold standard, and to maintain "the parity in value of the two metals (gold and silver) and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the market and in the payment of debts," the Secretary of the Treasury be given additional power and charged with the duty to sell United States bonds and to other securities as may be necessary to these ends.

The authority should include the power to sell bonds on long and short time, as conditions may require, and should provide for a rate of interest lower than that fixed by the act of January 14, 1875. While there is now no commercial fright which withdraws gold from the Government, but, on the contrary, gold is being hoarded, the Government should take wide-spread confidence that gold seeks the Treasury demanding paper money in exchange, yet the very situation points to the present as the most fitting time to make adequate provision to insure the continuance of the gold standard and of public confidence in the ability and purpose of the Government to meet all its obligations in the money which the credit world recognizes as the best. The financial transactions of the Government are conducted upon a gold basis.

We receive gold when we sell United States bonds and use gold for their payment. We are maintaining the parity of all the money issued or coined by authority of the Government. Let us do these things with the means at hand. Happily at the present time we are not compelled to resort to loans to supply gold. It has been done in the past, however, and may have to be done in the future. It behooves us, therefore, to provide at once the best means to meet the emergency when it arises, and the best means are those which are certain and permanent. These now authorized have the virtue neither of directness nor economy.

We have already eliminated one of the causes of our financial plight and embarrassment during the years 1892, 1894, 1895, and 1896. Our receipts now equal our expenditures; deficits are no longer created. Let us remove the only remaining cause by conferring the full and necessary power on the Secretary of the Treasury, and impose upon him the duty to uphold the present gold standard and preserve the coins of the two metals on a parity with each other, which is the repeatedly declared policy of the United States.

In this connection I repeat my former recommendation, that a portion of the gold holdings shall be placed in a trust fund, from which greenbacks shall be redeemed upon presentation, but when once redeemed shall not thereafter be paid out except for gold.

I have no unkindness in my heart toward the President. I repeat now in this distinguished presence, what I have said repeatedly elsewhere, that he is a gracious, graceful, tactful, agreeable gentleman. As a Presidential politician he ranks with Martin Van Buren and Abraham Lincoln. He is never in advance of his party. He never lags behind it. He keeps abreast of it. His finger is constantly on the Republican pulse; his ear close to the Republican heart to catch its every throb. His position may always be safely taken as the position of the Republican majority.

So far as I know, he is the only occupant of the White House that ever by an oratorical tour elected enough of his party to the House of Representatives to change into a majority what would otherwise have been a minority. With consummate skill he converted popular enthusiasm for his high position to partisan advantage, a performance which can be complained of, if at all, only on grounds of taste. Whether to his "swing around the circle" may be applied the old Latin dictum "de gustibus non est disputandum" I shall not now undertake to say.

I assume that the President spoke and voted his honest sentiments when voting and speaking for silver in the years ago and that he voices his honest sentiments now in "urgently recommending" Congress to legislate in support of the single gold standard, but surely the evolutionary process in his case has been as miraculous and radical, if not as swift, as that of Saul of Tarsus, who began his religious career by persecuting the early Christians and ended by becoming the chief propagandist of their faith; for from his official coigne of vantage the President speaks as one having authority—at least to a majority of this House, and I have no doubt, to a majority of the other House.

"I urgently recommend that to support the existing gold standard," etc., says the President. Not only recommends, but "urgently" recommends. The chances are a thousand to one that had he uttered the sentiment in the campaign of 1896 he would not now be in position to send a message to Congress and there would be no gold-standard Congress to receive it. It was the pledge in the St. Louis platform to secure bimetallicism by interna-