

SIMMONS ON ALDRICH BILL

cash. Cotton is an expensive crop. Cane is an expensive crop. Tobacco is a still more expensive crop. And truck-cropping is more expensive than either can or cotton. This demand of the farmer in the spring for the summer for planting and cultivating and in the fall and winter for harvesting and marketing his crops, together with the all-year-round demand of the merchant, the manufacturer, and the contractor, makes the utmost the limited resources of the banks of that section at all seasons of the year. The emergency is greatest in the fall and winter, but it continues throughout the year, there being practically no time when the supply of money to any appreciable degree exceeds the demand for money. With a steady and constant demand for practically all the year, the banks have only their own resources to draw upon, and these are limited to the amount of their deposits, and the amount of their own funds, of 6 per cent. It is obvious that these banks can not afford to invest in and carry as a part of their permanent assets high-class, low-interest securities.

Mr. President, we have in recent years issued a great many municipal bonds in the South, and our local banks sometimes buy these bonds, but almost invariably when they are bought by the banks they are bought as a security for government deposits, they buy them for the purpose of selling them again at a profit. They do not carry them as a permanent investment. It is a fact, which is a matter of common knowledge, that the great bulk of these bonds, especially the select class required by this bill, are purchased by the banks for the purpose of increasing their bank-note circulation in the particular section where the bank is located. First, because it would add to the bank's assets, and secondly, because while the general stock of money in the country at large would be increased, the amount in the particular section where the bank is located would not only be increased, but, on the contrary, would be decreased precisely to the extent of the difference between the cost of these bonds and the amount of new notes allowed to be issued against them.

Mr. President, I have undertaken to show, and I think I have shown, taking the situation of the country at large and the conditions which surround the commercial banks, except possibly those in the West, that the supply of money is usually in excess of the demand, that bank notes issued against municipal and railroad bonds under the conditions imposed on this bill will not only be profitable to the banks, but, therefore, could not be loaned at a reasonable profit at less than, say, 10 or 15 per cent.

Now, if the municipal and railroad bonds required in this bill could be bought at a profit, they would be subject to taxation by the State and its subdivisions, on account of the tax imposed, the cost of bank notes secured by these bonds would be between 4 1/2 and 7 per cent, and they could not be loaned at the usual commercial rate of 6 per cent, except at a loss of from two-thirds to 1 per cent, nor be loaned at a profit of 1 per cent, as is the case of notes secured by United States bonds for less than 7 1/2 per cent.

I have before me a letter from one of the leading bankers of North Carolina, in which, after declaring that circulation of bank notes is a business, and that the banks of the South and West at least 8 per cent, he asks the pertinent question: "If the banks have to pay these rates for this circulation, what will their borrowing be? They will carry all 8 per cent, and will bid the banks in the State like North Carolina, where the rate of interest is 6 per cent?" Mr. President, the laws of North Carolina not only fix the rate of interest at 8 per cent, but they impose heavy penalties and forfeitures if a greater rate is reserved for the use of money. The same is true of most of the Southern States, and perhaps of many other States, and the banks of the country, so that the banks of North Carolina, and other States with like interest laws, could not, without violating these laws against usury and leaving the rest of the penalties and forfeitures to the State, loan at these rates without a certain loss of at least 1 per cent, and a probable loss of from 3 to 4 per cent.

Mr. President, does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. Simmons: I would prefer to present my argument somewhat later, and if I will, I will ask him to withhold his interruption for the present.

Mr. President, I was glad to have the views I have been expressing confirmed by the Senator from North Carolina, and also in his message to the committee on commercial law of the Merchants' Association of New York, which were called to my attention by editorial which appeared in The Observer, a newspaper of Charlotte, N. C., in its issue of Saturday last. The part of the resolutions to which I wish to call attention reads as follows: "Resolved, That this committee on banking and currency is of the opinion that the national banking laws, introduced by Senator Aldrich, for the following reasons, are objectionable: 1. The tax which this bill proposes to levy upon the issue of emergency currency, and which in the past analysis was paid by the borrower to the banks, when increased as it would be in practice at least one-third by reserve requirements, and in this and other States would provoke an immediate disregard of the statute against usury. It is not becoming that a great nation should fill its coffers from the necessities of borrowers; and it is manifestly improper to pass laws which offer inducements to the violation of another."

Undoubtedly, Mr. President, as the resolutions of the committee of the Merchants' Association of New York, which I have just read declare, in the first instance this high charge will be against the banks, but in the last analysis the borrower, who in the case I have been discussing is the farmer, will have to pay it.

Because of its pertinent bearing upon this phase of the question, with the indulgence of the Senate, I wish to read a short extract from a letter received by me on the 23d of this month from Mr. Joseph G. Brown, president of the Citizens' National Bank of Raleigh, N. C. Mr. Brown is not only one of the leading bankers of my State, but he is an eminently successful and prudent financier. He is known in banking circles throughout the country, having delivered several notable speeches at meetings of the National Bankers' Association. In this letter Mr. Brown says:

"What we need to provide for is the handling of the crops at harvest time without the fearful advance in interest rates to which they are subjected. The farmers are entitled to as low rates as are the bond dealers. At present, in this Southern country, banks call on their New York correspondents for a rate of interest to be forced upward by the demand of the banks. The charge is against the banks, and the farmer is a victim of their greed."

of wisdom, expediency, and justice in against an unnecessary tax on them while they are honestly at work relieving the situation and keeping down the rate of interest by making money plentiful. The only need for a high tax is to force their retirement when the emergency is over, and we know from experience that the stress is generally over in three or four months, though in cases of stringency, culminating in panic, the incident depression may continue long afterwards. Why, then, would not a small tax during the first three or four months of the life of these notes, with a tax of 6 per cent, ever thereafter until redeemed, accomplish the object in view, without adding the burden of the country while the emergency is on with an unnecessary and burdensome rate of interest?

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In this country the right to make money rests with the government. It is a sovereign function. The people have divested themselves of this function and vested it in the government to be exercised for their benefit. Not a dollar of money can be issued except by the government, or its authorized agents. Our people will not tolerate an unsecured currency, but they demand as cheap money, as respects the interest rate as any commercial national enjoys. They are entitled to a 6 per cent. rate for all purposes. If it is impracticable to supply the people with low-rate emergency money through a bond-secured currency, guaranteed by the government, sooner or later recourse will have to be had to the alternative of a high-rate currency. I do not advocate in present conditions an asset currency, although such a currency, properly safeguarded, is not a burden to the State. I do not regard it as undemocratic or un-American to advocate such a system of currency, and I believe that a great many unemancipated Democrats in this country today. But I do believe that an asset emergency currency, limited in amount, covered by a reserve of high-class securities, and given to depositors, and re-forevered by a guaranty fund raised by a tax on the issue of all the banks sufficiently large to insure the emergency, would be an infinitely better currency system than the one provided in this bill, and that in addition to giving the people a safe, cheap, and elastic currency it would bring about a desire of co-operation and supervision by and between the banks of issue which would do ten times more than government supervision now does toward the protection of depositors and the establishment of a more conservative and safe banking system.

Mr. President, recognizing that the majority party in Congress has made up its mind to work out this problem emergency money through the medium of a bond-secured currency, and that the lines of the bill now under discussion, and that all the minority can do, if anything, must be done by way of amendment and suggestion, I have largely confined myself to the presentation of an effort to point out the objections which occur to my mind to its main provisions. These objections may be minimized or partly overcome by amendments, but I believe they can not be entirely removed from the bill as it stands. The system based on a bond-secured currency, the objections which I have made to the excessive cost of circulation may be overcome in part, as have endeavored to show, by the reduction of the tax imposed, or by substituting for a level tax of 6 per cent, for the whole time the notes are outstanding, a comparatively small tax for the first three or four months, and a heavier tax thereafter. At the proper time I shall propose an amendment to this effect. The objections on the ground that the so-called "country banks" do not invest in the class of securities specified in the bill, and buy them in remote sections and at the net result would be contraction of currency, and the expansion of local currency could, in part, be eliminated by reducing the reserve allowed to be deposited in reserve cities to the minimum required for purposes of exchange and requiring the remainder of their legal reserve to be kept in their own vaults and permitting them to use notes of the class designated in the bill for one-half of the latter amount. This would give these banks interest on one-half the reserve in their vaults and supply them with securities to the extent of 5 per cent of their deposits as a basis of note issue in cases of emergency. Both of these objections might be largely, if not altogether, overcome by extending the list of securities against which these notes may be issued to high-class commercial paper, as is done in Germany and in some other progressive nations, but I do not advocate this suggestion as a part of a system such as this bill proposes, and if I did I would not discuss it now, because the removal of national gold from the country at this time, I am utterly opposed to the use of railroad bonds as a basis of bank circulation, and while I shall not enter upon any discussion of their merits or demerits at the proper time if no one else does so I shall offer an amendment to strike these bonds out of the bill.

Mr. President, I am glad to be able to give my approval to one provision of this bill, which is the one of the most important, and which it seems to me may be of great benefit in solving this emergency currency problem. I refer to the provision which removes all limitation on the amount of national bank circulation. If this provision had been adopted years ago, I believe our bank currency would have played a more beneficial part in our monetary system, and we should not be in the predicament in which we are now. In my opinion, this vast hoard of gold, now approximating ten hundred million dollars, should be converted into a redemption fund and with notes drawn against it we should pay off the several kinds of paper currency which we have now outstanding and for which the government is solely responsible. Upon the basis of three, or even two and one-half, dollars of paper to one of gold, there would be a ample margin left for an additional issue of \$500,000,000, as provided in the substitute of the Senator from Texas (Mr. Bailey), which could be loaned to the banks as emergency required in amounts and at a rate of interest within fixed limits, to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury. In this way the Government could, through the rate of interest fixed from time to time, largely control movements tending to undue expansion or contraction of the currency. Such a system would give the country an ample supply of money to do the ordinary business of the country, covered by gold, backed by the aggregate wealth of the nation, with an elasticity which would respond to the requirements of business and afford ample protection against undue inflation or contraction.

Mr. President, we have in recent years issued a great many municipal bonds in the South, and our local banks sometimes buy these bonds, but almost invariably when they are bought by the banks they are bought as a security for government deposits, they buy them for the purpose of selling them again at a profit. They do not carry them as a permanent investment. It is a fact, which is a matter of common knowledge, that the great bulk of these bonds, especially the select class required by this bill, are purchased by the banks for the purpose of increasing their bank-note circulation in the particular section where the bank is located. First, because it would add to the bank's assets, and secondly, because while the general stock of money in the country at large would be increased, the amount in the particular section where the bank is located would not only be increased, but, on the contrary, would be decreased precisely to the extent of the difference between the cost of these bonds and the amount of new notes allowed to be issued against them.

Mr. President, I have undertaken to show, and I think I have shown, taking the situation of the country at large and the conditions which surround the commercial banks, except possibly those in the West, that the supply of money is usually in excess of the demand, that bank notes issued against municipal and railroad bonds under the conditions imposed on this bill will not only be profitable to the banks, but, therefore, could not be loaned at a reasonable profit at less than, say, 10 or 15 per cent.

Now, if the municipal and railroad bonds required in this bill could be bought at a profit, they would be subject to taxation by the State and its subdivisions, on account of the tax imposed, the cost of bank notes secured by these bonds would be between 4 1/2 and 7 per cent, and they could not be loaned at the usual commercial rate of 6 per cent, except at a loss of from two-thirds to 1 per cent, nor be loaned at a profit of 1 per cent, as is the case of notes secured by United States bonds for less than 7 1/2 per cent.

I have before me a letter from one of the leading bankers of North Carolina, in which, after declaring that circulation of bank notes is a business, and that the banks of the South and West at least 8 per cent, he asks the pertinent question: "If the banks have to pay these rates for this circulation, what will their borrowing be? They will carry all 8 per cent, and will bid the banks in the State like North Carolina, where the rate of interest is 6 per cent?" Mr. President, the laws of North Carolina not only fix the rate of interest at 8 per cent, but they impose heavy penalties and forfeitures if a greater rate is reserved for the use of money. The same is true of most of the Southern States, and perhaps of many other States, and the banks of the country, so that the banks of North Carolina, and other States with like interest laws, could not, without violating these laws against usury and leaving the rest of the penalties and forfeitures to the State, loan at these rates without a certain loss of at least 1 per cent, and a probable loss of from 3 to 4 per cent.

Mr. President, does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

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