

CHAPTER VIII.

Glowing Tribute to Our Lamented President—Speech on Being Notified of His Second Nomination—Masterly Statement of the Political History of Our Country.

THE sorrow over Mr. McKinley's untimely death was not confined to any one section of our country. This is made plain by the following editorial from the "Atlanta Constitution," which gives eloquent voice to the grief that was common to our whole people:

"The death of the President comes to the people of the United States as a common grief. In the North, to whose cause he was espoused when civil war raged; in the South, to whose people he brought a message of real fraternity; in the new nation, baptized in the blood of all sections, the name of McKinley had become a household word. He was close to each, without indifference to either; with the love of a father, he looked forward to the maturity of the nation over which he had been called to preside.

"The hour of death removes politics, but better still the love of a lifetime had extracted whatever asperity might have existed. The high office of President was fittingly filled by a man measuring up to its requirements. To him it made no difference whether patriot had worn blue or gray; he accepted the heart-loyalty of the present as the token of the future. There will be many evidences of the dead President's administration to perpetuate his name.

"He had an eye to the material supremacy of the Union; he had expanded the limits of American authority beyond the seas, but, greater than all—the greatest possible—was the binding of domestic wounds and the healing of internal estrangement.

"The nation mourns for McKinley; the South kneels at his bier; the whole world sees a weeping but united nation.

"But government never stands still. With the closing of the career of the President, the Vice President comes into office. This brings to the nation no shock of policy or of person. The people elected McKinley and Roosevelt as in one purpose, and one in policies. Theodore Roosevelt is an outspoken man; brave, and ready to meet every emergency. Placed in positions of untried trust, he has proven equal to every occasion. His qualities are of the manly order. He, like the late President, is full of hope for his country, and looks to a glorious future for it. In his blood there courses a Georgian strain. That he will meet his new responsibility there need be no doubt. Theodore Roosevelt will prove a worthy successor of William McKinley.

A LESSON OF RESPONSIBILITY.

"To the nation itself there comes the lesson of responsibility. A government of laws can only be upheld by a people devoted to law observance. We have permitted canker to grow up in the body politic. We have overlooked the vile abuse of our institutions by men who sought our protection only to betray it. While the nation's chief was in agony vile men rejoiced, and brazen women, like the Goldman fiend, laughed officers to scorn. Law was mocked, and there was only helplessness to look on. There must be a change! There must be no compromising with civic crime! The Anarchist must go! He must not gloat over the grief of a strong nation. Herein lies work for the people!"

This eulogy is fully merited, as may be seen from the public utterances of Mr. McKinley which have regard to every section of our broad land and to all the varied conditions of labor and finance. His address to the committee that notified him of his second nomination for President was an elaborate declaration of great principles. Every issue involved in the campaign was discussed at length, and the document possesses great value as a sketch of the political history of the country during the administration. The following is the text of the address:

The nomination of the Republican Convention of June, 1900, for the office of President of the United States, which, as

the official representative of the convention, you have conveyed to me, is accepted. I have carefully examined the platform adopted and give to it my hearty approval. Upon the great issue of the last national election it is clear. It upholds the gold standard and endorses the legislation of the present Congress, by which that standard has been effectively strengthened. The stability of our national currency is, therefore, secure so long as those who adhere to this platform are kept in control of the government.

#### FRIENDS OF THE GOLD STANDARD.

In the first battle, that of 1896, the friends of the gold standard and of sound currency were triumphant, and the country is enjoying the fruits of that victory. Our antagonists, however, are not satisfied. They compel us to a second battle upon the same lines on which the first was fought and won. While regretting the reopening of this question, which can only disturb the present satisfactory condition of the government and visit uncertainty upon our great business enterprises, we accept the issue and again invite the sound money forces to join in winning another, and, we hope, a permanent triumph for an honest financial system which will continue inviolable the public faith.

As in 1896, the three silver parties are united, under the same leader who immediately after the election of the year, in an address to the bimetallists, said :

"The friends of bimetallism have not been vanquished ; they have simply been overcome. They believe that the gold standard is a conspiracy of the money-changers against the welfare of the human race—and they will continue the warfare against it."

The policy thus proclaimed has been accepted and confirmed by these parties. The Silver Democratic platform of 1900 continues the warfare against the so-called gold conspiracy when it expressly says : "We reiterate the demand of that (the Chicago) platform of 1896 for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall rest re and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate

restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

So the issue is presented. It will be noted that the demand is for the immediate restoration of the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. If another issue is paramount, this is immediate. It will admit of no delay and will suffer no postponement.

Turning to the other associated parties, we find in the Populist national platform, adopted at Sioux Falls, S. D., May 10, 1900, the following declaration :

"We pledge anew the People's party never to cease the agitation until this financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute books, the Lincoln greenback restored, the bonds all paid, and all corporation money forever retired. We reaffirm the demand for the reopening of the mints of the United States for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted, dollar for dollar, for the bank notes issued by private corporations under special privilege, granted by law of March 14, 1900."

#### EXTRAORDINARY ANNOUNCEMENT.

The platform of the Silver party, adopted at Kansas City, July 6, 1900, makes the following announcement :

"We declare it to be our intention to lend our efforts to the repeal of this currency law, which not only repudiates the ancient and time-honored principles of the American people before the Constitution was adopted, but is violative of the principles of the Constitution itself ; and we shall not cease our efforts until there has been established in its place a monetary system based upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold into money at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 by the independent action of the United States, under which system all paper money shall be issued by the government, and all such money coined or issued shall be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, without exception."

In all three platforms these parties announce that their efforts shall be unceasing until the gold act shall be blotted from the statute books and the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 shall take its place.

The relative importance of the issues I do not stop to discuss. All of them are important. Whichever party is successful will be bound in conscience to carry into administration and legislation its several declarations and doctrines. One declaration will be as obligatory as another, but all are not immediate. It is not possible that these parties would treat the doctrine of 16 to 1, the immediate realization of which is demanded by their several platforms, as void and inoperative in the event that they should be clothed with power. Otherwise their profession of faith is insincere.

#### FIGHT ON THE SILVER ISSUE.

It is, therefore, the imperative business of those opposed to this financial heresy to prevent the triumph of the parties whose union is only assured by adherence to the silver issue. Will the American people, through indifference or fancied security, hazard the overthrow of the wise financial legislation of the past year and revive the danger of the silver standard, with all of the inevitable evils of shattered confidence and general disaster which justly alarmed and aroused them in 1896?

The Chicago platform of 1896 is reaffirmed in its entirety by the Kansas City convention. Nothing has been omitted or recalled; so that all the perils then threatened are presented anew, with the added force of a deliberate reaffirmation. Four years ago the people refused to place the seal of their approval upon these dangerous and revolutionary policies, and this year they will not fail to record again their earnest dissent.

The Republican party remains faithful to its principle of a tariff which supplies sufficient revenues for the government and adequate protection to our enterprises and producers; and of reciprocity which opens foreign markets to the fruits of American labor, and furnishes new channels through which to market the surplus of American farms. The time-honored principles of

protection and reciprocity were the first pledges of Republican victory to be written into public law.

The present Congress has given to Alaska a territorial government, for which it had waited more than a quarter of a century; has established a representative government in Hawaii; has enacted bills for the most liberal treatment of the pensioners and their widows; has revived the free homestead policy. In its great financial law it provided for the establishment of banks of issue with a capital of \$25,000, for the benefit of villages and rural communities, and bringing the opportunity for profitable business in banking within the reach of moderate capital. Many are already availing themselves of this privilege.

#### UNITED STATES BONDS.

During the past year more than nineteen millions of United States bonds have been paid from the surplus revenues of the Treasury, and in addition twenty-five millions of 2 per cents matured, called by the government, are in process of payment. Pacific railroad bonds issued by the government in aid of the roads in the sum of nearly forty-four million dollars have been paid since December 31, 1897. The Treasury balance is in satisfactory condition, showing on September 1, \$135,419,000, in addition to the \$150,000,000 gold reserve held in the Treasury. The Government's relations with the Pacific railroads have been substantially closed, \$121,421,000 being received from these roads, the greater part in cash and the remainder with ample securities for payments deferred.

Instead of diminishing, as was predicted four years ago, the volume of our currency is greater per capita than it has ever been. It was \$21.10 in 1896. It has increased to \$26.50 on July 1, 1900, and \$26.85 on September 1, 1900. Our total money on July 1, 1896, was \$1,506,434,966; on July 1, 1900, it was \$2,062,425,490, and \$2,096,683,042 on September 1, 1900.

Our industrial and agricultural conditions are more promising than they have been for many years; probably more so than they have ever been. Prosperity abounds everywhere through-

out the Republic. I rejoice that the Southern as well as the Northern States are enjoying a full share of these improved national conditions, and that all are contributing so largely to our remarkable industrial development. The money lender receives lower rewards for his capital than if it were invested in active business. The rates of interest are lower than they have ever been in this country, while those things which are produced on the farm and in the workshop and the labor producing them have advanced in value.

#### SATISFACTORY FOREIGN TRADE.

Our foreign trade shows a satisfactory and increasing growth. The amount of our exports for the year 1900, over those of the exceptionally prosperous year of 1899, was about half a million dollars for every day of the year, and these sums have gone into the homes and enterprise of the people. There has been an increase of over \$50,000,000 in the exports of agricultural products; \$92,692,220 in manufactures, and in products of the mines of over \$10,000,000. Our trade balances cannot fail to give satisfaction to the people of the country. In 1898 we sold abroad \$615,432,676 of products more than we bought abroad; in 1899, \$529,874,813 and in 1900, \$544,471,701, making, during the three years, a total balance in our favor of \$1,689,779,190—nearly five times the balance of trade in our favor for the whole period of 108 years, from 1790 to June 30, 1897, inclusive.

Four hundred and thirty-six million dollars of gold have been added to the gold stock of the United States since July 1, 1896. The law of March 14, 1900, authorized the refunding into 2 per cent. bonds of that part of the public debt represented by the 3 per cents, due in 1908; the 4 per cents, due in 1907; and the 5 per cents, due in 1904, aggregating \$840,000,000. More than one-third of the sum of these bonds was refunded in the first three months after the passage of the act, and on September 1 the sum had been increased more than \$33,000,000, making in all \$330,578,050, resulting in a net saving of over \$8,379,520.

The ordinary receipts of the government for the fiscal year 1900 were \$79,827,060 in excess of its expenditures.

While our receipts both from customs and internal revenue have been greatly increased, our expenditures have been decreasing. Civil and miscellaneous expenses for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, were nearly \$14,000,000 less than in 1899, while on the war account there is a decrease of more than \$95,000,000. There were required \$8,000,000 less to support the navy this year than last, and the expenditures on account of Indians were nearly two and three-quarter million dollars less than in 1899.

#### ITEMS OF INCREASE IN TAX.

The only two items of increase in the public expenses of 1900 over 1899 are for pensions and interest on the public debt. For 1890 we expended for pensions \$139,394,929, and for the fiscal year 1900 our payments on this account amounted to \$140,877,316. The net increase of interest on the public debt of 1900 over 1899, required by the war loan, was \$263,408.25. While Congress authorized the Government to make a war loan of \$400,000,000 at the beginning of the war with Spain, only \$200,000,000 of bonds were issued, bearing three per cent. interest, which were promptly and patriotically taken by our citizens.

Unless something unforeseen occurs to reduce our revenue or increase our expenditures, the Congress at its next session should reduce taxation very materially.

Five years ago we were selling Government bonds bearing as high as five per cent. interest. Now we are redeeming them with a bond at par bearing two per cent. interest. We are selling our surplus products and lending our surplus money to Europe. One result of our selling to other nations so much more than we have bought from them during the past three years is a radical improvement of our financial relations.

The great amounts of capital which have been borrowed of Europe for our rapid, material development have remained a constant drain upon our resources for interest and dividends, and made our money markets liable to constant disturbances by calls

for payment or heavy sales of our securities whenever moneyed stringency or panic occurred abroad. We have now been paying these debts and bringing home many of our securities and establishing countervailing credits abroad by our loans, and placing ourselves upon a sure foundation of financial independence.

In the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and the Boer States of South Africa, the United States has maintained an attitude of neutrality in accordance with its well-known traditional policy. It did not hesitate, however, when requested by the Governments of the South African republics to exercise its good offices for a cessation of hostilities. It is to be observed that while the South African republics made like requests of other powers, the United States is the only one which complied. The British Government declined to accept the intervention of any power.

#### CARRIED BY FOREIGN SHIPS.

Ninety-one per cent. of our exports and imports are now carried by foreign ships. For ocean transportation we pay annually to foreign ship owners over \$165,000,000. We ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the world and we ought to build them in American shipyards and man them with American sailors. Our own citizens should receive the transportation charges now paid to foreigners. I have called the attention of Congress to this subject in my several annual messages. In that of December 6, 1897, I said:

"Most desirable from every standpoint of national interest and patriotism is the effort to extend our foreign commerce. To this end our merchant marine should be improved and enlarged. We should do our full share of the carrying trade of the world. We do not do it now. We should be the laggard no longer."

In my message of December 5, 1899, I said:

"Our national development will be one-sided and unsatisfactory so long as the remarkable growth of our inland industries remains unaccompanied by progress on the seas. There is no lack of constitutional authority for legislation which shall give to

the country maritime strength commensurate with its industrial achievements and with its rank among the nations of the earth.

"The past year has recorded exceptional activity in our shipyards, and the promises of continued prosperity in ship building are abundant. Advanced legislation for the protection of our seamen has been enacted. Our coast trade, under regulations wisely framed at the beginning of the government and since, shows results for the last fiscal year unequaled in our records or those of any other power. We shall fail to realize our opportunities, however, if we complacently regard only matters at home, and blind ourselves to the necessity of securing our share in the valuable carrying trade of the world." I now reiterate these views.

#### GREAT WATERWAY WANTED.

A subject of immediate importance to our country is the completion of a great waterway between the Atlantic and Pacific. The construction of a maritime canal is now more than ever indispensable to that intimate and ready communication between our Eastern and Western seaports demanded by the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and the expansion of our influence and trade in the Pacific.

Our national policy more imperatively than ever calls for its completion and control by this government; and it is believed that the next session of Congress, after receiving the full report of the commission appointed under the act approved March 3, 1899, will make provisions for the sure accomplishment of this great work.

Combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people, by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good, and should be made the subject of prohibitory or penal legislation. Publicity will be a helpful influence to check this evil. Uniformity of legislation in the several States should be secured. Discrimination between what is injurious and what

is useful and necessary in business operations is essential to the wise and effective treatment of this subject. Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, create monopolies and control prices should be effectively restrained.

The best service which can be rendered to labor is to afford it an opportunity for steady and remunerative employment, and give it every encouragement for advancement. The policy that subserves this end is the true American policy. The last three years have been more satisfactory to American workingmen than many preceding years. Any change of the present industrial or financial policy of the government would be disastrous to their highest interests. With prosperity at home and an increasing foreign market for American products, employment should continue to wait upon labor, and with the present gold standard the workingman is secured against payments for his labor in a depreciated currency.

#### SHORT DAY FOR LABOR.

For labor, a short day is better than a short dollar; one will lighten the burdens, the other lessen the rewards of toil. The one will promote contentment and independence; the other penury and want. The wages of labor should be adequate to keep the home in comfort, educate the children, and, with thrift and economy, lay something by for the days of infirmity and old age.

Practical civil service reform has always had the support and encouragement of the Republican party. The future of the merit system is safe in its hands.

During the present administration, as occasions have arisen for modification or amendments in the existing civil service law and rules, they have been made. Important amendments were promulgated by Executive order under date of May 29, 1899, having for their principal purpose the exception from competitive examination of certain places involving fiduciary responsibilities or duties of a strictly confidential, scientific or executive character,

which it was thought might better be filled either by non-competitive examination or by other tests of fitness in the discretion of the appointing officer. It is gratifying that the experience of more than a year has vindicated these changes in the marked improvement of the public service.

The merit system, as far as practicable, is made the basis for appointments to office in our new territory.

The American people are profoundly grateful to the soldiers, sailors and marines, who have, in every time of conflict, fought their country's battles and defended its honor. The survivors and the widows and the orphans of those who have fallen are justly entitled to receive the generous and considerate care of the nation. Few are now left of those who fought in the Mexican War, and while many of the veterans of the Civil War are still spared to us, their numbers are rapidly diminishing, and age and infirmity are increasing their dependence.

#### CARE FOR OLD SOLDIERS.

These, with the soldiers of the Spanish War, will not be neglected by their grateful countrymen. The pension laws have been liberal. They should be justly administered, and will be. Preference should be given to the soldiers, sailors and marines, their widows and orphans, with respect to employment in the public service.

We have been in possession of Cuba since the first of January, 1899. We have restored order and established domestic tranquillity. We have fed the starving, clothed the naked, and ministered to the sick. We have improved the sanitary condition of the island. We have simulated industry, introduced public education, and taken a full and comprehensive enumeration of the inhabitants. The qualification of electors has been settled, and under it officers have been chosen for all the municipalities of Cuba. These local governments are now in operation, administered by the people.

An election has been ordered to be held on the 15th of September, under a fair election law already tried in the municipal

elections, to choose members of a Constitutional Convention, and the convention, by the same order, is to assemble on the first Monday of November to frame a constitution upon which an independent government for the island will rest. All this is a long step in the fulfillment of our sacred guarantee to the people of Cuba.

We hold Porto Rico by the same title as the Philippines. The treaty of peace which ceded us the one conveyed to us the other. Congress has given to this island a government in which the inhabitants participate, elect their own legislature, enact their own local laws, provide their own system of taxation, and in these respects have the same power and privileges enjoyed by other territories belonging to the United States, and a much larger measure of self-government than was given to the inhabitants of Louisiana under Jefferson.

#### ESTABLISHING A GOVERNMENT.

A district court of the United States for Porto Rico has been established and local courts have been inaugurated, all of which are in operation. The generous treatment of the Porto Ricans accords with the most liberal thought of our own country and encourages the best aspirations of the people of the island.

While they do not have instant free commercial intercourse with the United States, Congress complied with my recommendation by removing, on May 1, eighty-five per cent. of the duties and providing for the removal of the remaining fifteen per cent. on the 1st of March, 1902, or earlier if the Legislature of Porto Rico shall provide local revenues for the expenses of conducting the government. During this intermediate period Porto Rican products coming into the United States pay a tariff of fifteen per cent. of the rates under the Dingley act, and our goods going to Porto Rico pay a like rate.

The duties thus paid and collected both in Porto Rico and the United States are paid to the Government of Porto Rico and no part thereof is taken by the National Government. All of the duties from November 1, 1898, to June 30, 1900, aggregating the

sum of \$2,250,523.21, paid at the Custom House in the United States upon Porto Rican products, under the laws existing prior to the above mentioned act of Congress, have gone into the Treasury of Porto Rico to relieve the destitute and for schools and other public purposes. In addition to this we have made expenditures for relief, education and improvement.

For the sake of full and intelligent understanding of the Philippine question, and to give to the people authentic information of the acts and aims of the administration, President McKinley presents at some length in excerpts from his messages and other state papers, the events of importance leading up to the present situation, and then says of the Filipinos:

"Every effort has been directed to their peace and prosperity, their advancement and well being, not for our aggrandizement nor for pride of might, nor for trade or commerce, not for exploitation, but for humanity and civilization, and for the protection of the vast majority of the population who welcome our sovereignty against the designing minority whose first demand after the surrender of Manila by the Spanish army, was to enter the city that they might loot it and destroy those not in sympathy with their selfish and treacherous designs.

#### WHAT WAS TO BE DONE?

"Would not our adversaries have sent Dewey's fleet to Manila to capture and destroy the Spanish sea power there, or, despatching it there, would they have withdrawn it after the destruction of the Spanish fleet; and if the latter, whither would they have directed it to sail? Where could it have gone? What port of the Orient was open to it? Do our adversaries condemn the expedition under the command of General Merritt to strengthen Dewey in the distant ocean and assist in our triumph over Spain, with which nation we were at war? Was it not our highest duty to strike Spain at every vulnerable point, that the war might be successfully concluded at the earliest practical moment?

"And was it not our duty to protect the lives and property of those who came within our control by the fortunes of war?