Ill-health is trying and a test of disposition, but Mrs. McKinley has never complained, and has always been resigned. The death of her children, Kate and Ida (the latter was born on Christmas, 1871), was a cruel blow, but both the Major and his wife have borne their sorrow patiently and with Christian spirit. They have sought the happiness that their children would have given in closer union and in the enjoyment of the little ones of others.

CHAPTER III.

McKinley in Congress—The rapid growth of his National Reputation—Became the Champion of Protection—First in a National Convention.

In the five years that followed his retirement from the prosecuting attorneyship of Stark County, Ohio, Major McKinley had grown in popularity and in the estimation of his neighbors. In the centennial year he was brought forward as a candidate for the Republican congressional nomination. L. D. Woodsworth, of Mahoning, was the representative, and there were other candidates, including three from Stark County. That county then elected its delegates to the congressional convention by primaries in every township. To the surprise of his opponents William McKinley, who knew, and was known, in every hamlet and town and village and community in the county, carried all the townships but one, and that was so small that it had but one delegate. The Major had been through all the other counties of the old eighteenth district, and in one of them he was born. It was not a difficult matter to secure a majority in these counties, and as a result he was nominated with a cheer on the first ballot.

It is not surprising that the old political war-horses

of the district were amazed at this rise of a young man, only thirty-three. McKinley had triumphed, and never afterward was it possible to contest his right to represent that district. He dominated it. The Republican party was proud of him, and though it was not customary in that district, and in fact it is not the habit in any Ohio district, except the one which General Garfield and E. B. Taylor represented for so many years, to name a man for more than two terms. It is this habit that makes Ohio less of a power in the national house than she would otherwise be. A Congressman, as soon as he has learned the ways of Congress and has been there long enough to do good work for his district, is superseded by some ambitious man, unprepared to do as well as his predecessor; but the anxiety to become a statesman is so general in Ohio, and there is so much good timber there, that it is not surprising that this should be the case.

Major McKinley represented the eighteenth district for fifteen years. The Democrats gerrymandered him three times. He had been in the House but two years, one term, when his county was placed in a district that had a Democratic majority of 1,800. Major McKinley stumped the district from one end to the other, and carried it by 1,300 plurality—truly a great victory. In 1880 he was again elected. Thus by the time he was thirty-nine he had represented his district in Congress three times. In 1882 the district was again gerrymandered. He had a

majority on the face of the returns of eight votes. His opponent was named Wallace. Toward the end of the session of that Congress he was unseated by a Democratic House and Wallace given his place. That year, 1882, was not a very bright one for the Republicans. It will be recalled that then it was that Secretary Folger was defeated for Governor of New York by Grover Cleveland, of Buffalo, by a majority of 192,000 votes. This was the beginning of the rise of the man whom McKinley will succeed in the Presidential chair. How remarkable it seems, looking backward, that the ex-sheriff of Buffalo and the ex-mayor of the city of Buffalo should have been chosen Governor over such a tried and true Republican as Folger. However, Mr. Cleveland is now even more unpopular than the Republican party was when he was elected Governor. Secretary Folger told McKinley in 1882 that he had won a great victory to be returned to Congress at that time.

Unseated toward the end of the Forty-eighth Congress, McKinley was re-elected to the Forty-ninth, in 1884, by a great majority, and remained in Congress, being a member of the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-first congresses, being defeated by a wicked gerrymander for the Fifty-second. Slowly but surely he has grown in influence. He had been modest in his first years of congressional life. A young man, full of enthusiasm and study and inheriting an interest in the industries of the country,

a natural researcher, he was from the beginning a protectionist. The district he represented was a manufacturing one. He studied its needs, saw where protection was a benefit, and proposed to stand by that cause. That he has done so is known to everybody. He has been nominated for the Presidency because he is a protectionist. He had the insight to see what policy was most important to his country, and, convinced that his view was the proper one, he prepared himself to support it. That he has done so ably even his enemies admit. He knows the industries of the country thoroughly, is informed of business conditions in every section—a student of economics, a patient digger for information, a persistent questioner regarding conditions everywhere. This is apparent from his wonderful tariff speeches. The tariff is a dull subject at best, but McKinley makes the figures and statistics which encumber it, and ordinarily weary, interesting. His hearers feel that they are a part of himself and accordingly are attracted. There is almost a poetic tinge in his eloquent tariff speeches. They are, many of them, as good English as is written. Then their facts are unassailable.

It was in his second term in Congress that William McKinley made a reputation as a tariff debater. He had probably addressed the House on other subjects, but then he had its attention, and it was appreciated by Judge Kelley, the leader on the Republican side, that a new force had entered Con-

gress, an able exponent of protection was on the floor. He was not a member of the Ways and Means Committee then, for General Garfield represented Ohio on that committee at that time. Few remember the Wood tariff bill of 1878—a bill intended to scale down revenue. McKinley saw that it was a blow to the protective system, that it was a step toward free trade, which he has been fighting ever since. He secured recognition in April of 1878, and addressed the House at length. His speech is very interesting reading now, and surprises even those who are informed of his ability, know his power and grasp of every subject, that he should then, so young and comparatively inexperienced in congressional work, have delivered such an admirable plea for protection, such an appeal to the House not to strike down the industries of his district—of the country. Every argument he made then is good now against free trade. It was really a wonderful speech, and it made the young congressman from the old eighteenth district a figure in the House. Ever after that when he spoke he received attention. His voice was capable of filling the hall, whose acoustic properties are so poor. He painted the theory of free trade as a dream, a menace, and was roundly applauded when he had finished. That speech made him a reputation that was national. It marked him as the successor of James A. Garfield on the Ways and Means Committee, for Garfield was then a candidate for the Senate, to which, it

will be remembered, he was elected before the Convention of 1880 made him a Presidential candidate.

McKinley's Washington life was not a very social one. A man of his industry and studious habits had little time for the frivolities of society. Then his wife's health would not permit him to enter therein. He enjoyed the friendship of President Hayes, who had been his war commander. Mrs. Hayes took an interest in his invalid wife and they were most intimate. Such a woman as Mrs. Hayes, a motherly, lovable, conscientious Christian woman, could not but have been interested in the little Ohio woman, whose husband promised to become such a man of force, and the friendship there made never ended until death claimed the beloved "Lucy" Hayes. But the McKinleys had friends. They were not social leaders probably, though then a congressman was, if he chose, a factor in Washington society. The wish of the plutocrats had not outstripped the congressional circle, and wealth was not one of the requirements for a successful Washington career, socially. Every one who had the pleasure of knowing the McKinleys appreciated their refinement and attractiveness. They were sought out by many, but preferred a life of comparative seclusion, brightened by the intimate friends who clung around them.

When General Garfield retired from Congress, to assume the ill-fated Presidency, Major McKinley was his successor on the Ways and Means Committee.

Older members of that brainy set of men were glad to have him one of them, and Judge Kelley, the leading Republican, the great exponent of protection, who earned for himself the title of "pig-iron" Kelley, welcomed the Ohio man. It was recognized that McKinley had a thorough and complete understanding of the subject under discussion and the tariff men were rejoiced to have their forces so strengthened.

There can be no doubt that Major McKinley advocated protection because he was convinced it was necessary for the prosperity of the country. It was to him a public duty to support it. He had mastered all its details, knew the theory, and was always able to show that the free-trade ideas meant destruction if put in force. The experience of the country under the present tariff reform measure, which Mr. Cleveland himself said was tinged with party perfidy and party dishonor, show conclusively that he was right. The people believe he is, and for that reason they demanded his nomination. Nothing could stop it. The wave of popular approval would not be hindered. It swept on and overwhelmed all opposition.

In 1882, as a member of the Ways and Means Committee, he urged that the Tariff Commission be appointed, and made an able speech in its support. The results of that Commission are known. McKinley was one of those who helped frame the tariff bill of 1883, which was in force for seven years, and was

an admirable act. It was partially his work, and in the debates on that measure he attained additional reputation. He opposed reduced taxation, and showed clearly that the farmers did not want it. Who now will tell a farmer that a tariff hurts him? Who will urge any agriculturist to support tariff reform when he has seen the injuries to agriculture, the reduction in the price of farm commodities such as potatoes, by reason of lessened duties thereon? McKinley knew what was best for the farmers then, and they now support him earnestly. After his connection with the Tariff Act of 1883 Major McKinley was admitted as the leading tariff advocate, its best exponent. Older men retired in his favor. He had won his promotion by merit, by work, and he deserved it. It was hard, earnest effort that advanced him. Naturally bright and intellectual, he improved his opportunities, and succeeded where men who might be more brilliant, but less studious and solid, failed.

The Act of 1883 was largely McKinley's. He and Judge Kelley had worked on it together, and each sought to give the other credit for it. The Morrison horizontal reduction bill came up the next year, and here McKinley fought free trade, the menace of reduced duties, with energy. He battled in vain, because the Democracy was in the majority in the House, but his speeches, his arguments, his figures, his logic, added to his great reputation. In this fight Judge Kelley and Major McKinley were

again intimately associated. They labored together for protection, for the preservation of our industries, and staved off the era of free trade—the experiment with a lower tariff that seemed inevitable. The Morrison bill proposed to reduce the duties in the Act of March 3d, 1883, by twenty per cent. This was the bill at which the Democrats had laughed because a Tariff Commission had aided in framing it. It was a singular anomaly that the Democrats should have brought in this measure, the one they had assaulted so vigorously, in exactly the same shape as it had been enacted, with the exception of the horizontal reduction of duties.

The Morrison bill never became a law, thanks to a Republican Senate, but it gave Major McKinley an opportunity to display his wonderful command of the tariff subject, to patriotically oppose the destruction of industrial America. It is a striking contrast—the fates of Morrison and McKinley. Morrison was defeated for Congress after that measure had passed the House, and became the chairman of the Commission on Interstate Commerce. McKinley was defeated for Congress after the passage of his tariff bill, and became Governor of Ohio. Morrison has been a Presidential aspirant ever since, and no one has recognized him except a few personal friends, and in his own brain alone has the Presidential bee developed. McKinley never permitted a bee to buzz until the people demanded that he should run. Twice he declined the nomination, or rather refused

to permit his name to be used when a nomination was possible.

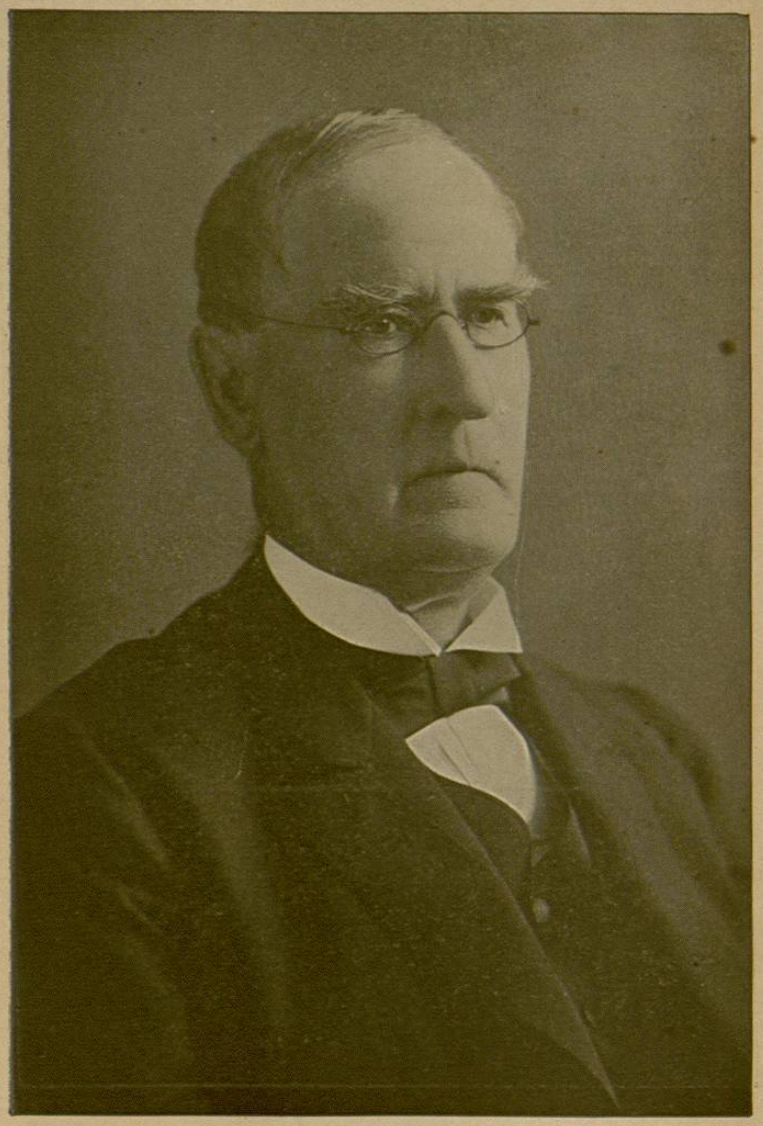
Up to 1884 Major McKinley had been known chiefly for his connection with Congress. He had by that time a national reputation, and was appreciated as a rising man. He had not, however, entered into the domain of national politics, nor taken any considerable part in Ohio affairs. He had simply represented his district in Congress, but Ohio was beginning to claim him as one of her great men. In 1884 he was made permanent chairman of the Republican State Convention at Cleveland. He displayed satisfactory parliamentary abilities there. He was for Blaine for President, representing the sentiments of his constituents. Sherman was a candidate, but Ohio, as usual, was divided, and was frittering away her strength. The Blaine men exceeded in their enthusiasm, but the Sherman men seemed to be better organized. They were managed by competent politicians, such as have always surrounded John Sherman in his native State. At that convention McKinley made a speech which was as admirable as are all his deliveries. It is perhaps worth reproducing in part. He, in purely extemporaneous form, drew a comparison between Republicanism and Democracy, that is as true to-day as it was twelve years ago.

"The difference," said he, "between the Republican and Democratic parties is this—the Republican party never made a promise which it has not kept, and the Democratic party never made a promise

which it has kept. Not in its whole history, commencing from 1856 down to the present hour, is there a single promise made by the Republican party to the people that it has not faithfully kept. And then it is not a laggard party. If there is any one thing the people like, it is courage. They neither like laggards nor do they like shams; and the Democratic party is the embodiment of both." How true are those words to-day, how aptly they describe the Democracy.

It was at this convention that Major McKinley showed stern determination to be true to a friend. With Blaine men and Sherman men fighting for the supremacy there, the contest was necessarily for the delegates-at-large. McKinley had promised friends who desired to go as delegates that he would not be a candidate. When Judge King of Mahoning named McKinley, the Major, from the platform, withdrew his own name. There was a sentiment for McKinley which would not be stilled. King of Muskingum put a motion to elect McKinley a delegate, but McKinley, as chairman, declared the motion out of order. General Grosvenor, since famous for his accurate figures of the progress of the McKinley boom for the Presidency, put the motion again and held it was carried. Again did McKinley rule it out of order. His decision was appealed from. He was not sustained, and General Grosvenor put the motion still again to elect McKinley delegate-at-large, and it was done. McKinley

would not have it, and again he was overruled, in spite of his appeals. Finally there was a roll-call and, McKinley insisting that his name be not voted for, was elected. In that Chicago convention McKinley made a name. He assumed the duties of leader of the Blaine men at one time and prevented an adjournment that was hostile to Blaine and Blaine was nominated. He wrote the platform that year, as chairman of the committee on resolutions. This was his first leadership in national politics. He had made himself famous in that convention.



HON. WM. McKINLEY'S FATHER.