



HON. WM. MCKINLEY'S MOTHER.

CHAPTER IV.

First experience as a candidate for the Presidency—Trying times and personal triumph in Chicago—Prosperity under the McKinley Law—Gerrymandered out of Congress—Governor of Ohio.

In 1888 Ohio went to Chicago solid for John Sherman. Difficulties had been patched up and Ohio for the first time in years was united. Two Ohio men were particularly prominent in their efforts for Sherman. These were Foraker and McKinley. Each was considered at different times during the convention as a Presidential possibility. McKinley was more prominent in that connection and he there declined to be presented as a candidate. It will be recalled that there were a number of Presidential candidates, including Sherman, Harrison, Gresham, Depew, Allison, and Alger. The contest was rather prolonged. There was a strong sentiment for Blaine, but he prevented any action on his name by a cablegram from Scotland. During the fight Ohio stood solidly for Sherman. Foraker was chairman of the delegation. McKinley was recognized as a force, and was roundly cheered whenever he came into the hall.

As the contest went on it seemed as if a solution would be difficult. The convention was becoming weary of balloting. There was an admirable chance for a dark horse. When it came to the sixth ballot some one voted for the Major. The convention cheered. Then he was given seventeen votes by a State following. It looked as if McKinley would be the man. It seemed impossible to prevent it. It was recognized that he was able and brilliant, safe and sound on all political subjects. His labor for Sherman, his pleas for the Ohio Senator as he went from delegation to delegation, had won him support for himself.

It was a most trying time for the Ohio protectionist. He was then but forty-five years old, and seemed younger, as with pallid face he stepped on a chair. His frock coat was buttoned tightly around him. His eyes flashed forth the fire that is so characteristic of them, when he is in earnest. There was a stern look in his face. The convention was silent. The buzz had ceased. Delegates and spectators leaned forward to catch what he was about to say. There was a feeling that he was about to relinquish the Presidential prize, that he was to sacrifice ambition to gain renown by faithfulness to a trust. As he spoke his voice rang through the great auditorium. There was a defiant tone to it. It was commanding. It was irresistible. He said:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am here as one of the chosen representatives of my

State. I am here by resolution of the Republican State Convention, commanding me to cast my vote for John Sherman for President, and to use every worthy endeavor to secure his nomination. I accepted the trust, because my heart and judgment were in accord with the letter and spirit and purpose of that resolution. It has pleased certain delegates to cast their votes for me for President. I am not insensible to the honor they would do me, but in the presence of the duty resting upon me I cannot remain silent with honor. I cannot consistently with the wish of the State whose credentials I bear, and which has trusted me; I cannot consistently with my own views of personal integrity, consent, or seem to consent, to permit my name to be used as a candidate before this convention. I would not respect myself if I could find it in my heart to do or to permit to be done that which could even be ground for any one to suspect that I wavered in my loyalty to Ohio, or my devotion to the chief of her choice and the chief of mine. I do not request—I demand that no delegate who would not cast reflection upon me shall cast a ballot for me."

That settled it. McKinley had won. He received no more votes and Harrison was named on the seventh ballot. An eye-witness remembers going into the Ohio headquarters before this incident had occurred. There was talk of McKinley for President that night. The Major was in an inner room. He looked tired. There were lines of care on his

face. It was on the Sunday prior to the final adjournment. Everywhere outside there was excitement. Bands were playing and clubs marching. McKinley was outwardly calm. It was apparent that he was bothered though. He talked for ten or fifteen minutes, when it was suggested that he might be nominated, and said: "No, that will not happen here. I came here for John Sherman, I shall stand by him until he is nominated or defeated, but I shall not be named." It was on that night that he visited the New Jersey delegation. He had heard that the New Jersey delegation proposed to vote for him. He intended to prevent it, and made a stirring appeal to the chairman of that delegation. The Major spoke with suppressed feeling until he said in finishing: "Rather than that I would suffer the loss of that good right arm. Yes, I would suffer death. To accept a nomination, if one were possible, under these circumstances, would inevitably lead to my defeat, and it ought to lead to my defeat." The last words sounded like a clarion. Then the Major asked the New Jersey delegation to vote for Sherman.

THE McKINLEY BILL.

Major McKinley took an especially prominent part in opposing the Mills bill when it was considered during the Fiftieth Congress. This was an ultra free-trade bill. There was no horizontal reduction about it. It was plain free trade. Mills

came from Texas, a State without industries. He cared little for the industrial communities. He was a theorist, and a more rabid free-trader than Professor Wilson. The fight in the House lasted for a long time. Carlisle was Speaker, and naturally friendly to the bill. Randall was opposing it. McKinley was, too. As a member of the Ways and Means Committee, he showed up its fallacies, its menace to the country. He could not defeat it, because the Democrats were in the majority, but, nevertheless, he made many telling points. It was a great fight. Randall was his friend. They had been drawn together by a community of interests, for each was a protectionist. One was trying to prevent his party from taking the wrong road, while the other was leading his in the right direction.

McKinley, during that fight, displayed better than ever his wonderful ability as a debater, and many is the Democrat whom he disturbed by his arguments for protection. Mr. Randall was closing the general debate on the bill the last day before the debate under the five-minute rule. Major McKinley was to follow him. Randall had not finished his speech when his time was up. His friends asked for an extension of time, but Colonel Mills objected. He feared the piercing arguments of his colleague. Here it was that McKinley showed his characteristic courtesy. He arose and yielded his time to the able Democratic protectionist.

The November elections of 1888 had given the

Republicans a majority in the House. The free-trade folly of the Democracy had beaten it. Mr. Reed and Major McKinley were among the candidates for Speaker. After a hot fight Mr. Reed won, and appointed Major McKinley as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, thus making him leader of the House. Judge Kelley had died, and it was but natural that McKinley, the great protectionist, should have been made chairman of that important committee. During the twelve years of his congressional life he had been preparing for the opportunity. He had mastered the tariff, and was ready for the work before him. The Act of 1883 was producing too much revenue. The changes of conditions since its passage had made it necessary to revise it. It was to be revised by hands friendly to protection. Major McKinley was the man to direct the work. The object was to reduce revenue and to equalize duties where necessary, to adjust them to the prevailing conditions, to afford protection to American industries and farmers.

For this work Major McKinley gave his time. He labored early and late. The committee gave hearings and worked incessantly. Major McKinley did not permit his daily work at the capitol to end that on the tariff. He was busy until midnight and later in his office at the Ebbitt House, studying the question more thoroughly, listening to arguments in favor of certain duties, laying out the plans of the tariff. It was a herculean task. He never swerved. His good

health and regular habits gave him the strength to perform the almost impossible work. Under his direction no interest was permitted to be injured. No duties were fixed without every condition that surrounded them had been considered. The work was thorough. It was honest. The result of this continuous application by Major McKinley and the other members of the committee was that the bill, when finished, was the best, the most complete bill ever produced.

The committee was even more thorough in its work than the tariff commission had been. Possibly it may be well to explain that Mr. Cleveland had, prior to the election of the Fifty-first Congress, transmitted a free-trade tariff measure to the House. The issue was accepted by the Republican leaders, and it was thereon that General Harrison was elected President, along with the Reed-McKinley Congress. The Republican party that had been a protective institution for some time, but not so much so as the President's message, defining as it did the difference between Republican and Democratic revenue policies, enabled it to become in that campaign. It was to keep the pledge made to the people in 1888, to revise the tariff with friendly hands, that Major McKinley and his committee set to work.

The Major, in presenting his wonderful bill to the House, did not feel compelled to discuss at length the difference between the economic policies of the two parties. The people understood them, and with

that knowledge had elected that Congress. The bill reduced taxation on internal revenue products over seventy millions, and as McKinley said in offering it to the House for its consideration: "The tariff part of the bill contemplates and proposes a complete revision. It not only changes the rates of duty, but modifies the general provisions of the law relating to the collection of duties. These modifications have received the approval of the treasury department." The administrative features of the McKinley law—there were really two laws, the administrative one being enacted in July, 1890—was really the joint work of McKinley and Senator Allison. Mr. Allison had had a bill on that line passed in the Congress before, and McKinley took it up and improved on it. It was so admirable in all of its features that it was little changed by the Democrats when they so disastrously passed the sugar-trust-Wilson-Gorman-Brice tariff bill in 1894.

It is useless to go into an extended comment on the tariff fight. One thing about the bill that is worth remembering is, that it recognized more fully than had been done before the fact that wherever possible, specific duties are the better, because they prevent under-valuations that fraudulently reduce the revenues, and thus at the same time the rates of duties. The McKinley bill also established an industry. The advance of the duty on tin plate made it possible to manufacture these plates in America. The Democratic campaign orators and others deliberately lied

about this. The McKinley tariff established nearly two hundred mills for the manufacture of tin plate, which had an average of five million boxes a year. The American dinner-pail and the American canning factories were benefited by this and would have been even more so had it not been for the reduction of duty on tin plate made in 1894 by the Wilson bill. Yet, established as they were, they have struggled along somehow or other, though there are fewer mills than there would have been, and they are not producing as much tin plate. That was one great result of the McKinley bill.

The Major, in the debate in favor of the bill, called attention to the fact that the protective tariff had never failed. It had aided in reducing a debt of \$2,750,000,000 at the close of the war at a rate of sixty-two millions each year, or one hundred and seventy-four thousand dollars each day, and made the debt less than one billion. It might be mentioned here that Grover Cleveland's present administration has added \$265,315,400 to the interest bearing debt since it came into power, or more than eighty millions a year, and most of this increase was caused by the Democratic tariff bill's revenue deficiencies.

The McKinley bill was amended in the Senate. It is the habit of some people to assume that the Senate had more to do with it than Major McKinley. Without proposing to detract one whit from the reputation of such able men as Senators Allison and Aldrich, who have fought in the Senate the battle of

protection for years, who stood manfully against the Wilson bill and did much to lessen its dangers to industries, it may be said that though amended in the Senate these amendments were in the line of what Major McKinley approved, such as were made necessary by conditions. The principle was his and most of the schedules. More than three-quarters of the changes of duties made by the Act of 1890—the McKinley bill—were made in the House. It is not worth while to discuss these changes and the causes of them. Suffice it to say that Major McKinley did the greatest amount of work on the tariff of 1890. He inspired it, and had it not been for him it might not have been enacted. The question is not so much one of schedules as of principle. The purpose of the McKinley bill was to produce protection and it succeeded in that. For his share of it Major McKinley deserves credit, and his labor was the greatest of any one concerned in constructing the measure. The Republican party appreciated this, and, therefore, nominated him at St. Louis.

The McKinley bill has been misrepresented, maligned, misconstrued, vilified, and all needlessly. The Democrats were intent upon their policy of free trade and started an agitation that resulted in the passage of the sugar trust tariff. The people now understand the differences between McKinley protection and Wilson free trade. There is no object lesson needed. The people have it now. Protection and its importance and necessity is understood thoroughly.

Besides establishing the tin-plate industry the McKinley bill made sugar free, and the workman and manufacturer got his sugar twenty pounds for the dollar as a result. That was a great boon, the greatest possible. The Wilson bill places a duty on it at the dictation of the sugar trust. That is a contrast between the two parties. Never did the country see better times, never were more men employed, never were people happier than under the McKinley bill, before a Democratic Congress and President had been elected to produce panic, depression, and disaster. Mills were running, everybody was employed, business brisk. It is needless to do more than mention this, because the past three years have showed the people the truth.

In Patchogue, New York, is a lace curtain factory which was established through protection—McKinleyism. Plushes are also now manufactured here, a great factory having moved from Huddersfield for that purpose. It brought capital and gave employment to labor. Instead of sending our money abroad for plushes, we buy them here; the wages of the workmen who make them are paid here. Then pearl buttons are now made here and they were not before, but why continue this argument for protection? It is not needed.

In dealing with the McKinley bill it is perhaps worth while to explain the reciprocity features. It has often been agreed that he and Mr. Blaine were not in accord on that, that McKinley was compelled



to yield to the forcefulness of Blaine. Major McKinley never opposed it. He never sought to take from Mr. Blaine the credit for reciprocity. He has always admitted its importance and the advantages that accrued from it. Perhaps there can be no better way to describe the matter than by quoting from an intimate friend of ex-Secretary Blaine. The gentleman referred to is William E. Curtis, formerly Secretary of the Bureau of American Republics, and at present the Washington correspondent of the *Chicago Record*. Mr. Curtis is a man of marked ability and high character. On August 19th, 1891, he was interviewed by a reporter of the *Massillon, O., Independent*. Mr. Curtis said that Mr. Blaine opposed any disturbance of the duties on South American products. To this the Ways and Means Committee did not agree. Then Mr. Curtis proceeded to say:

"When Mr. Blaine found that it was proposed to remove the duty on sugar he sent me to Mr. McKinley with a proposition which he wanted added to the bill as an amendment. It afterward became known as the Hale amendment. It provided that the President should be authorized to take off the duty on sugar whenever the sugar-producing nations removed their duties on our farm products and certain other articles.

"Mr. McKinley presented this amendment to the Committee on Ways and Means. It was not adopted. Mr. McKinley voted for it the first time it was presented. Then a second proposition containing some

modifications was presented, and Mr. McKinley voted for that, as he voted for the Blaine reciprocity amendment every time it was submitted in whatever form.

"It has been currently reported that Mr. Blaine denounced the McKinley bill with such vigor that he smashed his hat. Mr. Blaine's opposition to the bill was because of the free sugar clause. He criticised the refusal of Congress to take advantage of conditions which he thought were favorable to our trade. They proposed to throw away the duty on sugar when he wanted them to trade with it.

"When what was known as the Aldrich amendment was adopted Mr. Blaine was perfectly satisfied, and there is nothing in the current tales that he is unfriendly to Major McKinley. On the contrary, he is one of his warmest friends. Had it not been for Mr. McKinley and Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, the reciprocity clause in the Tariff Act would never have been adopted."

DEFEATED FOR CONGRESS; ELECTED GOVERNOR.

The McKinley bill became a law on October 1st, 1890. The Republican party was immediately rushed into a hot campaign. The measure they supported had not yet been fully understood, had not had a chance to demonstrate its advantages. The election of 1890 was disastrous for the party and many men fell, the Democrats securing an unprece-