252

"I guess all the boys who know Mr. McKinley like Mr. McKinley as well as he likes them, because the boys of Canton, O., have already formed a drum core. Its the first campaign club in the country, and the boys are very proud of it. I'd join if I lived in Canton. The boys all wear white suits and drill, and are going to march for McKinley.

"HARRY WILSON."

Harry Wilson has beaten all the accomplished reporters, and his photograph of McKinley at home is perfect. It is valuable, for it is true all through, and the wholesome, serious, earnest, kindly, loving, genuine man, McKinley, stands revealed—symmetrical, strong, and genial.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONTRASTED CONDITIONS.

Between Republican protection and prosperity and Democratic meddling, disorganizing industry and forcing hard times, displayed in speeches by McKinley in 1892 and in 1895—A plea in Boston for protection and prosperity.

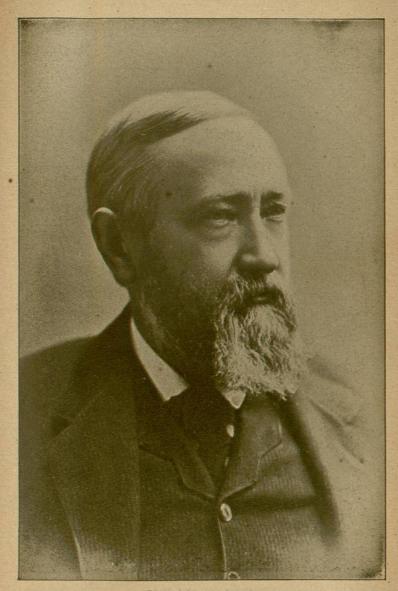
OVERNOR McKINLEY, on October 4th, 1892, in American Hall, Boston, addressed the people, beginning then, as he might now, saying:

"This year we have two great questions. The contention of the Republican party is for the industries and the labor and the prosperity of the country. The second contention of the Republican party is for an honest currency with which to measure the exchanges of the people."

He proceeded to make a speech most pertinent to these times, and put to the front the leading questions. His remarkably forcible speech is now just as it was reported for the press. We quote:

"The Democratic contention, no matter what Mr. Hill may have said in his Brooklyn speech, no matter what Mr. Cleveland may have said in his recent

letter of acceptance—the contention of the Democratic party is for free trade and for a debased, worthless currency. If this is disputed, the history of the most unfortunate Cleveland adminstration proves it. [Applause.] The leaders of the Democratic party have been financially unsound for more than thirty years. [Applause.] This unsoundness has not always taken on the same form, but its effect has always been the same—to corrupt the currency of the country. You will remember its opposition to the greenback currency, its opposition to the national bank currency, its opposition to the resumption of specie payments, its declaration in favor of the inflation of the currency without limit in value and irredeemable. You will remember its declaration for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. These have been the positions of the Democratic party in every national contest for the past thirty years, one or the other, and driven from the one they have taken up the other. Their last was the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Driven by the party exigency, by the near approach of a Presidential campaign, they abandoned the free and unlimited coinage of silver, put in nomination a candidate in opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and when they did that they had to break out in some other place. [Applause.] And so they declared in their platform of 1892 for the abolition of the ten per cent. tax on State bank circulation, the only object of such a declaration being to restore



HON. BENJAMIN HARRISON.

such State bank circulation, and the only effect of such restoration would be the retirement of the national money of the country.

"This is the worst form of financial unsoundness that has ever emanated from the Democratic leaders, and I purpose for a few minutes, and only a few minutes, to call the attention of this audience to what the return to State bank circulation means—means to every business in the country, means to every interest of the country, means to every wage-earner of the country, means to every dollar of invested capital in the country—a proposition to go away from the national bank and the greenback and the treasury note currency to the wildcat currency of thirty years ago. [Applause.]

"You will remember that in 1866 the Congress of the United States imposed a tax on State banks. The purpose of that tax was to retire State bank circulation, and to substitute in its place national money, and it had the desired effect. State bank money went out and national currency came in. And we had to do it. We had a nation to save and we had to have national agencies to save it. State agencies would not do.

"Now, it is proposed to go back to that, when we have got the best currency in the world. And I want to read you the condition of the banks of this country prior to 1860. I have lying on this table the old Bank Note Detector, which every business man had to have to know whether the money he was receiving was



HON, R. PROCTOR.

genuine or whether it was counterfeit. Here is the old document, dated the first day of December, 1859. Now, what does it show? It shows that this country at that time had 1,590 State banks of issue, exclusive of what were called 'State banks and their branches' -1,590 of them, and the notes of but fifty of those banks were at par. The notes of the 1,540 other banks were at a discount. There was not a bank in the State of Massachusetts that was quoted at par in the city of Philadelphia. There was not a note issued by any State bank in Ohio, or in any State bank in Pennsylvania, or any State bank in Illinois that was current at par outside of the jurisdiction and limits of the State. The money was fairly good within the State, but when you stepped across the State lines then the holder of that currency had to look out for the speculator and the shaver and stand a discount. And that was the kind of money with which we did the business of this country. And no man when he got some of that paper was certain that before morning came the bank would not fail. [Laughter.] And then there were 890 broken, failed, and worthless banks, in addition to the 1,590, scattered throughout every State of the Union, whose notes had been put in circulation, had been taken by the people of this country, value given for such paper money, which proved to be worthless in the hands of the people, and of no more account than the paper upon which it was printed. The Republican party is against the return to the State bank circulation. [Great applause.] "Daniel Webster, away back in 1832, said in this city, and I cannot do better than to quote his words, upon this very subject of State banks:

"'These State banks, lying under no restraint from the General Government or any of its institutions, issued paper money corresponding to their own sense of their immediate interests and hopes of gain. . . . I believe, gentlemen, "the experiment" must go through—the experiment of State bank money. I believe that every part and every portion of our country will have a satisfactory test of what they call the "better currency." I believe we shall be blessed again with the currency of 1812, when money was the only uncurrent species of property. We have amidst all the distress that surrounds us men of power who condemn the national bank in every form, maintain the efficacy and efficiency of State banks for domestic exchange, and, amidst all the sufferings and terrors of "the experiment," cry out that they are establishing "a better currency." 'The experiment,' says Mr. Webster-'the experiment upon what? The experiment of one man upon the happiness, the well-being, and, I may also say, upon the lives of 12,000,000 human beings'-63,000,000 to-day is what the experiment would mean; it was 17,000,000 then-'the experiment that found us in health, the experiment that found us with the best currency on the face of the earth, the same from the North to the South, from Boston to St. Louis, and possessing the unlimited confidence of foreign coun-

tries, and which leaves us crushed, ruined, without gain at home and without credit abroad. The Government of the United States stands chargeable, in my opinion, with a gross dereliction from duty in leaving the currency of the country entirely at the mercy of others without seeking to exercise over it any control whatever. The means of exercising this control rests in the wisdom of Congress. . . . It is a power that cannot be yielded to others with safety to the country and with credit to them. The Government may as well give up to the States the power of making peace or war, leave the twenty-six independent States to select their own foes, raise their own troops, and conclude their own terms of peace. It might as well leave the States to impose their own duties and regulate their own terms of trade and commerce as to give up control over the currency in which the whole nation is interested.' [Applause.]

"That was the language of Daniel Webster in 1832, and every word of it applies to the situation to-day. It is proposed by the leaders of the Democratic party to give up the national currency, which is the best in the world, and go back to this unstable and unsatisfactory and worthless currency which Mr. Webster characterized as unfit to do the business of this great country. We have to-day gold and silver and paper money, each the equal of the other—equal in debt-paying and in legal-tender power; good not only at home, but good in every business corner of the world; worth 100 cents on the dollar every week of

every month of every year. [Applause.] There is not a man in this great audience who has a national bank note in his purse to-night who knows where that note was issued. He does not know the city or the town or the county or the State from whence it came. He does not know whether it was issued in Maine or whether it was issued in California, and he does not care [great applause], because it is good wherever it was issued; because the government of the United States stands behind it [applause], and that government has for its security the bonds of the United States, which sell at a premium in every money centre of the world. [Renewed applause.] Every dollar we have got, because the government stands behind it, is as good as every other dollar. There is one thing the people of this country have no business to trifle with, and that is the money of the country, which measures the products of your land and your labor, the products of your energy and your skill. [Applause.] That should be fixed and unalterable and unchangeable, and that is its situation to-day. The currency of this country should be as national as its flag. [Applause.] It should be as unsullied as the national conscience and as sound as the government itself. [Applause.] And there is not a business man or workingman, no matter to what political party he belongs, if he will honestly vote his convictions, who will not vote against the party that proposes to re-establish a system under which this country lost millions upon

millions of dollars. [Applause.] We have had all of the Confederate currency we want. [Loud cheers.] We are for United States currency in some form for all time in the future. [Applause.] And we are not only opposed to Confederate currency, but we are opposed to British political economy. We not only fight for our industries and our labor, that they may be prosperous and well paid, but we insist that when they have earned their money they shall be paid in a dollar worth one hundred cents. [Great cheering.] When a workingman gives ten hours a day to his employer—ten full hours—he is entitled to be paid in a dollar worth full one hundred cents. [Applause.] Free trade shaves down his labor first, and then scales down his pay by rewarding him in a worthless and a depreciated State currency. [Applause.] The one reduces his wages, and the other cheats him in the pay. [Applause.] And that is the Democratic platform of 1892. [Applause.] No man can escape it. Mr. Hill undertook to do it in his Brooklyn speech, but Mr. Hill undertook to do in that speech what the National Democratic Convention had declared by solemn vote it would not do. [Applause.] And then, besides, if I may be permitted to speak with the greatest respect of Mr. Hill and in perfectly parliamentary language, Mr. Hill is hardly in a position to make a platform for the Democratic party which the Democratic convention rejected when he himself was rejected by the same party. [Prolonged cheers.] He says it is

true that protection is unconstitutional, but he is willing for the good of the country to take it in small quantities [great laughter], even of the unconstitutional article. He says protection is a fraud, but he is in favor of incidental protection—that is, he is in favor of an incidental fraud. A fraud by accident he does not object to. A fraud by a casualty he sees no objection to, or a fraud by incident; but protection plain and simple, says Mr. Hill, although he tries to fix up a new platform, is a fraud upon the American people. And he says it is unconstitutional. Protection unconstitutional? I know of but one constitution which it violates and that is the constitution of the Confederate States. [Long applause and cheers.] It is in direct violation of that instrument. But we are not operating under it. [Laughter.] That instrument went down before the resistless armies of Grant and Sherman and Sheridan [cheers], and the Constitution of Washington and Lincoln was sustained. [Applause.] And that is the Constitution under which we are operating to-day—the Constitution of Washington and of Lincoln and of Grant. [Cheers.]

"Unconstitutional? That is the last objection of the Democratic leaders. [Laughter.] It usually precedes immediate acquiescence and surrender. [Laughter.] It comes after they have tried every other objection. They do not seem to know that the man who made the first Protective Tariff law we ever had, in 1789—the men who made the first Protective Tariff law—made the Constitution of the United States. [Loud cheers.] James Madison, a member of the Constitutional Convention, and who afterward became President of the United States, reported that bill to Congress. It passed the House of Representatives, composed as that body was largely of members of the Constitutional Convention; it passed that body unanimously, and passed the Senate of the United States by a vote of five to one, and in that body were a large number of men who made the Constitution itself. And that Protective Tariff law was finally signed by George Washington, the President of the United States. [Applause.]

"That is not all. I have always liked the fathers, for they had a blunt, plain way of saying what they meant. They put into that first protective law what has never appeared in a Protective Tariff law since. They put into the preamble of that law exactly what they meant. What did they say? They said, 'We levy these duties to raise money to pay the debts of the government; to provide money for the expenses of the United States, and to encourage and protect manufactures in the United States.' [Enthusiastic cheering.] There is not a historic Democrat, from Jefferson down to Cleveland-excluding Mr. Cleveland-who has not always sustained the constitutionality of a Protective Tariff. Jefferson sustained it, as did Jackson and Madison and Wright and Benton and Buchanan, and dozens and dozens more of names well known in the political history of our country.

Is Grover Cleveland a better constitutional lawyer than Thomas Jefferson? [Shouts of 'No.'] Is Adlai Stevenson a better constitutional lawyer than James Madison? [Laughter.] Is Governor Russell a safer expounder of the Constitution than Daniel Webster? [Applause and cries of 'No.'] Is Henry Watterson safer than Henry Clay? [Shouts of 'No.'] Are all of them combined as safe to be relied upon as the Supreme Court of the United States, which, over and over again, has sustained the constitutionality of a Protective Tariff? [Applause and cries of 'No.' Have Mr. Cleveland and the other Democratic leaders forgotten that within twelve months the Supreme Court of the United States has put its judicial sanction upon the tariff law of 1890? [Applause.] And if that is not a Protective Tariff law [great laughter] it is the result of accident and not design. [Long applause and cheers.]

Protective tariffs are not only constitutional, but in our own experience they have proved wholesome to the great body of the American people. [Applause.] No nation in the world has done so well as ours; not one. Match it if you can under any circumstances the world over. [Applause.] We are the youngest nation on the face of the earth, and yet we have reached the first rank in mining, in manufacture, and in agriculture of all the nations the wide world over. [Applause.] But they said your protective tariffs, and especially the law of 1890, would build a Chinese wall around this country, and