

paid at home will be spent at home. This is the philosophy of protection, and it cannot be abandoned, amended or abated."

[Springfield, O., September 10th, 1895.]

"My friends, there is one objection to the law, if there were no others, which must make its permanency impossible. It fails to raise the needed revenues for the daily expenses of the government. That would condemn it in the judgment of the American people whatever differing views they might have on the question of protection and free trade. The law from the date of its enactment to the present time—and it is now a year old—has not raised enough money from customs duties and internal revenue combined to meet the necessary expenses of the government. The result has been a monthly deficiency. No law like that can be approved by the American people, for they prefer Protective Tariffs to an increased and increasing bonded indebtedness, and they would rather have a safe balance in the treasury than a deficiency, and even a surplus, to a tainted public credit.

"The operation of that law in respect to its revenues alone, independent of any other consideration, is vitally important in this discussion. It is worth while to know from official sources the revenue-raising power, both of the law of 1890 and that of 1894. The people themselves know from their own experience the difference between the two laws in respect

to their own incomes and the general business of the country. It is unjustly charged that the Republican law of 1890 was incapable of supplying the needed revenues for the government, and that the deficiencies in the treasury, which have occurred since the incoming Cleveland administration, were directly traceable to it. The Republican tariff law went into effect in October, 1890. The receipts under it for the first nine months, commencing October 1st, 1890, to July 1st, 1891, were: From customs, \$153,287,831.47; from internal revenue, \$106,436,500.01; the receipts from miscellaneous sources were \$22,118,356.21. The total receipts for that period were \$281,842,687.69. The expenditures for that period of nine months, from October 1st, 1890, to July 1st, 1891, were \$280,710,748.34. The receipts, therefore, exceeded the expenditures by \$1,131,939.35. There was no deficiency up to this time. The receipts under the Republican law of 1890, from July 1st, 1891, to July 1st, 1892, were: From customs, \$177,452,964.15; from internal revenue, \$153,971,072.57; the receipts from miscellaneous sources were \$23,513,747.52; total receipts, \$354,937,784.24. The total expenditures of the government for that year were \$345,023,330.58, showing an excess of receipts over expenditures of \$9,914,453.66. There was no deficiency up to this time. The receipts under the Republican tariff law for the fiscal year commencing July 1st, 1892, and ending July 1st, 1893, were: From customs, \$203,355,016.73:



from internal revenue, \$161,027,623.93; the receipts from miscellaneous sources were, \$21,436,988.12; total receipts for fiscal year of 1893, \$385,819,628.78. The total expenditures for that year were \$383,477,954.49, an excess of receipts over expenditures of \$2,341,674.29. There was no deficiency up to this time.

"Now, in that year, 1893, on March 4th, the present Democratic administration came into power, pledged to reverse the protective policy of the government, which had existed for more than thirty years. Then there were distrust and consternation in every business circle. No business man knew what to do, for he could not predict what the party in power would do. Business collapsed. Panic and failures followed. Then the receipts commenced to fall off, as I will show you. The receipts from July 1st, 1893, to July 1st, 1894, during all of which period the Cleveland administration was in control of every branch of the government, were: From customs, \$131,818,530.62; from internal revenue, \$147,111,232.81; the receipts from miscellaneous sources were \$18,792,255.82; total receipts \$297,722,019.25. The total expenditures during that period were \$367,525,279.83. Here occurs the first deficiency. Here is the first time that the receipts fell short of the expenditures of the government, the deficiency being \$69,803,260.58. Is it any wonder that there was a deficiency when we consider the condition of panic, poverty, and business paralysis which prevailed at that

time and which immediately followed the restoration to full power of the Democratic party? The law continued in operation until August, 1894, and for the months of July and August, 1894, the receipts from customs were: \$26,828,595.47; from internal revenue, \$25,252,094.89; the receipts from miscellaneous sources were \$2,715,971.13; total receipts, \$54,796,661.49. The total expenditures for those two months were \$68,305,219.38, a deficiency of \$13,508,557.89. On August 28th, 1894, the Brice-Gorman Act went into operation. The receipts under that law from September 1st, 1894, to September 1st, 1895, were: From customs, \$161,391,367.76; from internal revenue, \$115,877,954.01; the receipts from miscellaneous sources were \$15,089,503.98; total receipts for that year, \$292,358,825.75. The expenditures during this first year were \$358,953,315.23, an excess of expenditures over receipts for the first year of this Democratic Tariff Act of \$66,594,489.48. During the first year, under the Brice-Gorman law, the receipts from customs and internal revenue were \$276,269,321.77. During the first fiscal year, under the Republican Tariff law, receipts from customs and internal revenue were \$331,424,036.72, a difference in favor of the Republican law of \$55,000,000. Under the Republican law sugar was free; under the Democratic law sugar is taxed. Even in the last fiscal year when the Republican law was in operation, with universal distress throughout the country, there was more money collected from



customs duties and internal revenue than was collected during the first year under the Democratic Brice-Gorman Tariff law.

"The statement of the condition of the United States Treasury, on the 31st day of August 1895, shows an excess of expenditures over receipts for the month of August of \$3,693,103.30.

"During the first nine months of the Tariff law of 1890 the receipts from customs and internal revenue equaled within \$17,000,000 the total receipts from customs and internal revenue of twelve months under the Brice-Gorman law. The average monthly receipts from customs and internal revenue, under the Republican law, for the first nine months, was over \$28,000,000, and under the Brice-Gorman law was \$33,000,000.

"The average monthly receipts from customs duties during the operation of the Republican Tariff law were \$17,066,774.67; the average monthly receipts from customs duties under the Democratic Tariff law of 1894 were \$13,167,533.63—a difference in favor of the Republican law of \$3,899,241.04 per month. One thing must not be forgotten—that at no time from the passage of the Republican Tariff law of 1890 down to the close of President Harrison's administration did that law fail to raise all the revenue needed to meet every expense of the general government, and during no part of that period did the gold reserve fall below \$100,000,000. The revenue-raising power of the Republican Tariff law was only

crippled and impaired after the country had placed in power a full Democratic administration pledged to overthrow it.

"It is loudly proclaimed through the Democratic press that prosperity has come. I sincerely hope that it has. Whatever prosperity we have has been a long time coming, and after nearly three years of business depression, a ruinous panic, and a painful and widespread suffering among the people, I pray that we may be at the dawn of better times and of enduring prosperity. I have believed it would come, in some measure, with every successive Republican victory. I have urged for two years past that the election of a Republican Congress would strip the Democratic party of power to further cripple the enterprises of the country, and would be the beginning of a return of confidence, and that general and permanent prosperity could only come when the Democratic party was voted out of power in every branch of the national government, and the Republican party voted in, pledged to repeal their destructive and un-American legislation, which has so seriously impaired the prosperity of the people and the revenues and credit of the government.

"It is a most significant fact, however, that the activity in business we have now is chiefly confined to those branches of industry which the Democratic party was forced to leave with some protection, notably, iron and steel. There is no substantial improvement in those branches of domestic industry



where the lower duties, or no duties of the Democratic tariff, have sharpened and increased foreign competition. These industries are still lifeless; and if not lifeless are unsatisfactory and unprofitable, both to capital and labor.

"There is a studied effort in certain quarters to show that the apparent prosperity throughout the country is the result of Democratic tariff legislation. I do not think that those who assert this honestly and sincerely believe it. It is worth remembering, and can never be forgotten, that there was no revival of business, no return of confidence or gleam of hope in business circles until the elections of 1894, which, by unprecedented majorities, gave the popular branch of Congress to the Republican party, and took away from the Democratic party the power to do further harm to the industries of the country and the occupations of the people. This was the aim, meaning, and purpose of that vote. With the near and certain return of the Republican party to full possession of power in the United States, comes naturally and logically increased faith in the country and an assurance to business men that for years to come they will have rest and relief from Democratic incompetency in the management of the industrial and financial affairs of the government. Whatever prosperity we are having (and just how much nobody seems to know) and with all hoping for the best, and hoping that it may stay and increase, and yet all breathless with suspense, is in spite of Democratic legislation, and not be-

cause of it. You would suppose in reading some of the Democratic newspapers and Democratic literature of the country that there has been a wonderful increase of wages, and the Democratic leaders are claiming it as the direct result of Democratic tariff legislation. It is true there has been an increase in wages in some branches of industry, but a careful analysis will show that wherever the increase has been had, it has been in those departments of industry where protection was not wholly withdrawn or the least withdrawn, or where the home markets are secure from foreign competition; and where there is the most protection there will be found the best wages. Considering the condition in which the country has been for two years and a half, any amount of work resumed, no matter how little; any increase in the demand for labor, no matter how insignificant, would mean more and better wages. For two years and a half wages were not only abnormally low, but employment was so scarce and employés so plenty that they could be had upon any terms and at any price. It was not a question of wage; it was a question of work; and men, rather than accept charity, and in order that they might give their families even scanty support, were ready to work at any price and at any employment. It must be remembered also that in the fewest branches of industry, if any, the wage scale has been restored to what it was in 1892. The increase of wages in 1895, much as it may be and gratifying as it is, does not equal the decrease of



wages from 1892 to 1895; and there is yet a vast difference, as every workingman realizes, between the price paid labor now and the price paid labor before the Democratic party took control, in March, 1893. This difference represents much, very much, to the workingmen of the country, and deprives many fire-sides of the comforts they enjoyed before 1893. Moreover, not only are the wages less now than in 1892, but a vast number of men employed then are out of employment now. I do not propose to make comparisons between the wages paid labor now and the wages paid labor prior to 1893. That is unnecessary. Every man who labors in this country knows whether he is employed now as satisfactorily and steadily as then, and whether he is paid as well now as he was when Republican policies were in operation during Republican administrations. Every workingman knows what his pay-roll is now, and knows what his pay-roll was then; and he knows it better than anybody can tell him; and he knows better than anybody else the exact measure of difference between the wages he receives now and the wages he received then. Nor is he in doubt as to the cause of this difference. He knows when he lost it and how he lost it; and he will vote at every opportunity in opposition to the party whose policy he believes produced it. This subject, therefore, can well be left with the laboring men of the country.

"No one can observe the shrinkage of the wool production in the United States without being pro-

foundly impressed with the injustice and crime of that part of the tariff law of 1894, which places wool upon the free list. Among the heaviest losses since 1893 are those of Pennsylvania, which has fallen from 9,823,296 pounds to 5,899,867 pounds; Texas, from 30,341,857 pounds to 22,669,809 pounds; West Virginia, from 4,627,887 pounds to 2,149,393 pounds; Ohio, from 21,893,625 pounds to 18,534,610 pounds; Michigan, from 16,370,536 pounds to 12,140,524 pounds; California, from 26,808,444 pounds to 23,153,956 pounds; and New York, from 9,328,300 pounds to 6,250,392 pounds. The total product of the United States for 1893 was 348,538,138 pounds. In 1894, 325,210,712 pounds, and in 1895, 294,296,726 pounds. It is no wonder that the wool-growers of Ohio, in their convention at Columbus, last Wednesday, September 4th, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the singling out of wool among so-called raw materials for sacrifice by the late Congress, while the "less important ones were cared for and protected, was an outrage upon agriculture, involving far greater evils than party perfidy and party dishonor," and should be resented at the polls and elsewhere in every proper way."

"Mr. Brice will not be long in discovering that the farmers of the State of Ohio do not accept the law of the trusts and combinations as the final settlement of this great economic question. This subject can well be left with the intelligent farmers of Ohio.

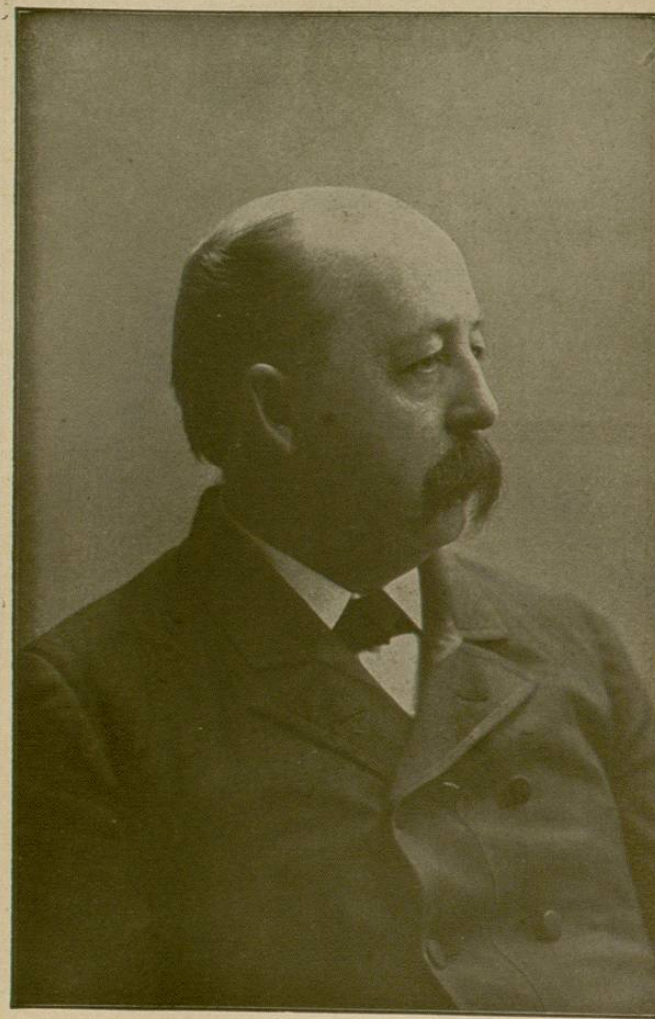


They will have the opportunity at the coming election to directly commend or condemn our junior Senator in striking down one of their greatest industries and chief sources of revenue. They will not forget that our candidate for Senator, ex-Governor Foraker, is opposed to free wool, but favors full and just protection to this most important industry."

#### THE TWO PARTIES ON SILVER.

The two skeleton maps show far more impressively than any array of figures could how the two parties stand on the question of free-silver coinage and honest money. On the Republican map all the States in which the Republican party is for free coinage, and also all the States in which it is doubtful on the subject and has dodged or straddled it, are shaded. The figures on each State show the number of electoral votes to which it is entitled, the delegates in National Convention being double that number. At a glance it is seen that the battle has been fought and won in all the great States of the North and West as far as the western line of the Dakotas and Kansas, and also in Oregon, Wyoming, and Washington, and that Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, iron and coal-producing States, have broken through the centre of the South, while West Virginia and South Carolina have also joined the right side.

But the Southern States are not needed to elect a President. The solid body of Northern States be-



SENATOR CUSHMAN K. DAVIS.







SENATOR HENRY C. LODGE

tween the Atlantic and the western border of the Dakotas and Kansas, now all Republican, including Missouri, West Virginia, and Kentucky, are of one mind on the silver question. They cast, including Wyoming, 302 electoral votes, or more than two-thirds of the whole, without any from the South or the Pacific Coast. In all these States the Republicans had at the last election a plurality, and in all except Kentucky, Missouri, and Nebraska, which have thirty-eight votes, it had a clear majority over Democrats, Populists, and Silver men added together.

The Democratic map presents a vast dark body with a few white spots. The States that have declared against free-silver coinage are white—namely, the eleven Eastern States, Minnesota, Michigan, and South Dakota. The States which have not yet declared or have evaded the question are half shaded—namely, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and Louisiana. All the other States are fully shaded, the Democratic party in each of these States having declared in convention or by choice of delegates for free-silver coinage. Including all the undecided and doubtful, the anti-silver Democrats might muster over a third of the delegates in Convention, but far short of a majority. No man of practical sense can look on the map and imagine that the almost solid Democracy of the West and South is going to yield its passionately-cherished opinions to the small fraction of the party at the East.



The figures do not quite tell the whole story. For generations the seat of power in the Democratic party, its home and its citadel, has been the South. The Democrats of the North and West have been a subject race, from boyhood educated to obey the dictation of Southern leaders, to accept and fight for their theories, and to take without flinching the popular disfavor and the annual beating which support of such theories involved in most Northern States. It is past conception that a Northern or Eastern Democrat should hope to defy and resist the power which has ruled the party for more than half a century. The great body of its electoral votes has always come from the South, far more than half its votes in Congress, nearly all of its experienced men and practiced leaders in either House. But the home and citadel of the Republican party has always been the free North, originally the Eastern and Central States, between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, including later their many children of the West. In that region the convictions of the Republican party are formed, its electoral votes are secured, and most of its votes in Congress. The opinions of the East and Central North are as certain to shape the action of the Republican as the opinions of the South are to shape the action of the Democratic party.

Let business men throughout the country contrast these two pictures, and it will not take them long to judge which party they can trust in any question of money or finance. The ideas of the South are those

of the plantation. The Republican party is of necessity, as it ever has been, the instrument by which the millions of wage-earners and of business men have defended and promoted their interests. The North tests every question of money by the needs of the wage-earners and the business men. For more than thirty years they have been perpetually assailed and often imperilled by the theories and crazy notions of the Democratic party, never more unreasoning or more dangerous than now, when it has gone mad over free coinage of silver. To intrust power to such a party was the height of folly in 1892, when its destructive capacity had not been tested. To-day it would be for wage-earners and business men an act of impossible madness.