

Republican Speech

but a selfish struggle for place and power? Who shall measure its results? The well-being of sixty millions and their children forever may be affected by a mistake. It may make but little difference who is at the helm today; but tomorrow there may be a storm--aye, in an hour there may arise a hurricane. How much in blood and treasure has the nation lost already by placing the weakling Buchanan in charge while treason was perfecting its plans for the overthrow of our government. How much did it mean to the future that the unswerving patience and wonderful sagacity of Lincoln were entrusted with the reins of power in that unexpected crisis of our fate or that the work of restoration was entrusted to the unflinching strength of Grant? It is possible of course that the next four years may be uneventful, but in all our history there has hardly been a quadrenniate in which the seed has not been sown which has fructified into

a curse or a blessing.

you give.

Will the country into Republican or Democratic control during the next four years? This is the question that confronts every voter and one which he must answer.

Three answers will be given to this question. One great army will reply, "I will do all in my power to continue the Democratic party in the ascendance." Another will reply, "I will do all in my power to restore the Republican party to power." Still a third group of citizens, less than either, but numerous enough to change the verdict, will reply, "I will not do anything to incline decision one way or the other, I am not a Democrat: I am not a Republican: I am a Prohibitionist, or belong to some other squad who are willing the country should go to perdition unless the rest of the people will

adopt their notions.

How and then we ^{shall} will find a man who is even too good to vote. He will have nothing to do with politics. The devil tempts some men to serve him but such men do his work for nothing and board themselves. They are worse than thieves and murderers. They ought to be cast out of every decent community as unfit to enjoy the blessings they will do nothing to extend or maintain. The very women whom we will not allow to exercise their judgment for the common good ought to spit upon and spurn these self-unsexed neutrals, who seek to be esteemed their equals in purity by assuming to rival their irresponsibility. I can honor a Democrat and pity a Prohibitionist, who cannot see that there is a difference between desiring the highest good and avoiding impending evil: but the man who deliberately refuses to perform the functions of the citizen--to do his share in

government--sits so low on the inverted apex of his own heaped up insignificance that he is not even worthy of a decent man's contempt

Yet he cannot avoid the responsibility he seeks to shirk. As certain as the Lord rules and the heaven shines above--as certain as the years roll by and the earth continues the abiding-place of man--so certain is it that either the Republican or Democratic parties will control the destinies of the American Republic during the next four years, and not only those will be responsible for the result who voted to secure it but those who did not vote to prevent it. A man cannot sit idly by and let the ship drift on the rocks because his fellow passengers do not agree with him as to the shortest course to their destination. Knowing that one great party must prevail, it is every man's duty to choose that which he believes

will be most likely to do the most good and the least harm. Even if it comes to a choice of evils, it is the part of a wise man and an honest ruler to choose that which he may deem ^{the} least harmful. It is not enough to wish for the highest good of the greatest number but also to do what is possible to promote the general good.

no peril of the government.

3--That this surplus should be preserved from further encroachment by the reduction of taxation and that this reduction may best be made in the manner indicated in that part of law known as the "Wells Bill" and along the lines indicated by the President in his message to Congress of last December.

These propositions they claim to be true and because they are true they believe that the Democratic party should be continued in power to deal with this war and carry this surplus. This is the height and depth, length and breadth of the Democratic plan for the war. Of course the party claims to have exhibited in its four years of power a special regard for carrying to their fulfillment and improved the public service; that it is the peculiar friend of the soldier.

and the only party which has a due and proper regard for the views and wishes of those who live in the public conviction that it is the essence of a yet inviolable navy; that it has settled the Fisheries question in such a manner as to leave no doubt in regard to our right to fish in our own waters, provided we allow ourselves the same privileges; that they are especially interested in guaranteeing to the colored man all his rights as a citizen and encouraging him to exercise them, and may have considerable things which they are confident general consideration of this old and ~~valuable~~ party. These are intentions, however, merely by way of inducement and we are not held to constitute specific grounds for a continuance.

Their special claim to preference is based entirely upon the ~~supremacy~~ ~~claim~~, — the discovery of the ~~Republic~~ and the ~~method~~

posed to prevent its increase. In response to this claim, the Republican party makes several arguments, some in rebuttal and some in evidence.

It says, in the first place that if there is a dangerous accumulation of money in the Treasury, the fact is due to the action of the President himself, who was fully authorized by law to buy bonds of the United States to such an amount as might deem necessary to relieve any stringency of the money market that might occur. Now as there is not today any stringency in the money market, nor any sign of business trouble of any sort, the method of relieving it was the plan of the Treasury and needs of business has never been more fully adopted by his predecessors, and as the United States still owes a very little debt of one billion, two hundred million

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dollars, it would seem that the only danger to be apprehended from the surplus now in the Treasury arises from a Democratic President: viz. in the likelihood to pay it out. The fact that the Democrats themselves do not regard the present surplus as a source of any possible danger is evidenced by the fact that they have not proposed any method for reducing it or distributing it to some. It is to be noted, however, a circumstance that they do not mention, in their platform, in Congress, in the President's message— even in his letter of acceptance, proposed any method of getting rid of this dangerous accumulation. Indeed the mere fact of a Democratic administration is considered a sufficient guarantee that any thing will be left in the Treasury when it comes to turn over the government.

There is a danger then to be apprehended from the existing surplus. No one need lie awake at night from apprehension on account

of this one peril which is all that is left of the Democratic charge
of four years ago. That they were going to "burn the books",
count the cash, "turn the screws out", "fill the jails with them
until their legs stick out of the windows."

They "turned the screws out", and acting on the plan of setting
a thief to catch a thief, they got collectors and forgers and counterfeit
bank staffers and peddlers, and buyers - a heavy bunch and diverse
in the places of our shore every element and made legs and legs
and hands were unashamedly exhibited of "efficiency" particularly. Then
they "burned the books", and "counted the books" and what is the re-
sult? Not a Republican official indicted for malfeasance from Maine
to California - not a dollar misappropriated - a dime forfeited - nothing
for nothing, not for anything, all that the most rigid scrutiny could de-
mand was paid over? No evidence of fraud - no sign of any improper

use of the millions entrusted to its care. The only legs that drove
all through the jail windows were the striped ones of Democratic hal-
low-hat staffers and fingers of election machines.

Oh, but the surprise, that is the result of Republican *incapacity!*
The fact is that they have overturned the people's verdict that millions
they have wronged from a *population* already groaning under the burden of
corruption and oppression was wrong. It would seem that if anybody on
earth ought to fight off anything, a Republican ought to be care-
ful about mentioning war. But they say "the war is over"—a
good many of them found it was over before they heard that it was
beginning—then with the war-torn!

The simple fact is the Republican party undertook an entirely
new sort of business when the war ended—they undertook to pay a na-
tional debt. No nation on the continent had ever undertaken such a

thing before. In other countries a national debt has come to be regarded as a sacred institution. It is expected to outlive powers and dynasties and has come to be regarded by the British public as the main stay of the British throne. If the interest is paid it is all that any national creditor demands although that may of them live to see the begin to pay the debt, not by making a new one but by actually paying off and diminishing the loan. The world looked on in wonder still the millions poured into the Treasury and as

fast as they came in they were paid out. Little by little, then more and more rapidly, the debt grew less until now twenty two years after the declaration of peace, more than half of it has disappeared and twenty more years of Republican rule would serve to wipe out the last dollar or provide for its payment when presented.

and still the people have kept on prospering richer and richer
 or and richer they have grown every year. But now they tell us the
 people have been robbed of this surplus. The Republicans do not do
 up that the country has prospered ever beyond their expectations.
 They do not question the fact that the interest on the public debt
 has sunk far below the hope of the most sanguine. They only point
 in accusation of their faults that they had no surplus and could find
 no surplus that might guide them in working out this surplus. When
 they came in after twelve years of peace, they found an empty treasury
 and a debt of \$1,000,000,000. They had not at that moment it might
 please Providence in His inscrutable wisdom to punish us for our
 sins by the infliction of a Democratic administration and in that
 case they knew a surplus would speedily be a reality.

The event has proved their vision. Always, the excess of non-

year's estimated revenue over the appropriations required to meet the fixed charges of government is only \$1,000,000,000, which might by no means be reduced while we have a bill more than a billion dollars of bonded indebtedness to pay. But there are things--the existing surplus that nobody dreams worth considering and the prospective one which the President thought he had secured in one of the most remarkable episodes in our history.

I have a little neighbor at home who is fond of jumping off the gate-post. I was watching him the other night when he said, looking at the distance he had been able to stand from the perpendicular, "That's isn't much of a jump, is it? Now if you'll just help me up again and go round the corner while I make myself a little, I'll show you how I can jump." After Congress adjourned last year, Mr. Cleveland spent four months in searching himself, and when December

came, he ~~imagined~~ what a fall was there, by ~~countrymen~~ for the first time in the history of the country, a president was fit to disregard the constitutional requirements to give the Congress information as to the state of the Union, and carried his annual message di-

rectly to himself, the Congress and the method in which it should be presented.

Curiously enough, the document sounded more like an argument for free-trade than anything else. He has heard it over in his letter of acceptance and says now that it is not free-trade nor anything of that sort. But the American people are suspicious - very suspicious of what a Democrat says when he begins to talk about the tariff. And it is no wonder that they are. The party had a spite for the idea of using the power of taxing imports so as to advance

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the prosperity and diversify the character of our industries. Some-
times this has been openly avowed as in the Democratic platform of 1856,
and in the Confederate Constitution of 1862. Again it figured
under the guise of a "tariff for revenue only," and yet again it
what Mr. Webster elegantly termed "the standard" of 1856. But we
were told that when the Committee of the House reported, we would find
that not what Mr. Cleveland wanted and when the Democratic Convention
met they said the Miller Bill was what he wanted and after nine-
ty-six days of gestation,--his letter of acceptance finally saw the
light, he too, said that the "West" letter Bill expressed exactly
his idea. Now despite the President's persistent denial and the re-
peated denials of very many of his supporters, the impression became
at once almost universal, that the President and his party, instead
of being anxious to reduce the tariff in order to restrict the ac-

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accumulation of a surplus, ~~and~~ anxious to nurse the surplus in order to strike an effectual blow at the protective feature of the tariff.

In this avowal that the accumulation of a surplus should be perpetuated by a reduction of the tariff, therefore, the Republican party makes this answer.

We think that such reduction of the tariff should be made as is consistent with the real interests of the laboring masses and if any further reduction of the revenue is demanded, we favor the reduction or entire removal of the special or internal revenue, made necessary by war and never resorted to by our government except in such emergencies.

So the question really is, not whether an accumulating surplus shall be perpetuated. That is admitted to be undesirable and was

rendered possible only by the unprecedented success of the Republican re-funding measures and the unparalleled prosperity of the country. The great question is whether the Democratic method of preventing a surplus in the future, carried into effect by the Democratic party, is likely to be more in accordance with the true interests of the country than the Republican method of dealing with the same problem carried into effect by the Republican party.

How is this question to be determined? Perhaps not in a thousand years, perhaps not one in ten thousand would be able to determine, by a comparison of the measures presented by the two parties precisely what would be the effect of each upon the various interests of the country, if he should study the two schedules from now until the situation. ^{item in the schedules of the Mills bill} There is no question concerning the prosperity of nations in regard to which men differ so widely and so honestly as upon the

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question of free-trade and a protective duty, or in regard to which the opinions of men vary so greatly with time and place. A great deal depends upon the point of view of the individual. The merchant who in England is pretty sure to be a universal free-trader, in the United States is apt to be a protectionist. To the English workman, free trade means steady work; to the American workman, protection means good wages. The English agriculturalist has been almost swept out of existence by open competition and low prices. Labor has been driven from the farm into the factory; the farms have been quadrupled in size and the cities doubled in population. The wealth of the nation--that is the row of figures which represents the aggregate of individual possessions has increased but the pauper population has increased even more rapidly. Ireland which forty-three years ago supported more than eight millions of people now hardly

contains five. While there are no doubt many skilled laborers who
 derive a comfortable support from their labor, the number of the de-
 pendent has vastly increased and the proportion of the unemployed
 is becoming terrible to contemplate. The ratio of self-employed
 has ~~decreased~~ reached a pitiable limit and the work of the people
 has become the chief concern of the British government. If it has
 not been for the untold suffering by American indignation and the
 systematic management of flightiness to the colonies, there can be
 no question that the proportion of Great Britain would long ago
 have passed the limit of public endurance. Yet there are those
 who consistently believe that we should adopt the same policy in
 other, as they suppose to increase the employment of our already ex-
 panded resources. Such people argue in regard to the nation as
 an abstraction, the inflation of which they take as the measure of

proportion.



The American idea, as we have seen is different. National pro-
 portion with us is measured by the average intelligence, independence
 and character of the people. You might take three siphers off the ag-
 gregate population of Illinois but if at the same time you took
 away just 3,000 persons out of your citizenship and made them in-
 dependent, self-supporting citizens, you would have more of your pro-
 portion than you do now. John Smith may be worth a million dollars
 and John Jones one dollar. It is an immense advantage for the na-
 tion a big average for both, but John Jones is no better for the ag-
 gregate or average. A nation of three millions, having a million
 John Smiths and two millions John Joneses, would be a rich nation but
 a hopelessly degraded people. Yet the theoretical average would be

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concepts and the aggregate represented. The American ideal is the
minimum of want rather than the maximum of wealth.

Which of these two contending parties is likely to be most
realistic in carrying that ideal?

No man can foretell with certainty the results of the plan
which either proposes, but every man has it in his power to deter-
mine with reasonable certainty the probable result of the denigra-
tion of either. The constitution and record of any party afford the
most trustworthy testimony as to what its action will be in any
case where specific interests are involved. The constitutional im-
position of a party like the established character of a man, may be
relied on with almost absolute certainty to indicate its policy and
methods.

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The love of the two parties in regard to the interests of the average citizen--the laboring masses in particular. The Democratic convention, party, voters and president--all were actuated by a free trade feeling to improve upon the minds of the people a belief that they do not intend harm to the American laborer. They were convinced that a competition exists in regard to their native in the course they propose.

It is not strange that they should have this feeling. Slavery was the natural enemy of free trade in our Republic. The economic basis of both were identical. To buy in the cheapest market; employ the cheapest labor; import everything that another people or nation could produce cheaper than they--these were the economic theories which slavery imposed on the southern states and exemplified in

their development. Practically they constituted a free trade nation-
 ship, exempting the admitted free of duty from the manufacturing
 states of the North and nothing was done to build up home industries
 or vary their domestic production. With the former signing the most
 liberal capacity; the best water power, the best natural advantages
 and a population increasing naturally and rapidly; they raised cotton,
 tobacco and rice with abundant and dependent labor and purchased
 with these raw commodities almost everything they consumed; they
 bought wheat from Illinois and cotton from the English.

None trade was the desperate political dogma of slavery because
 it did not deem free labor essential or desirable; a subject manage-
 able labor was still
 able labor was and still is the ideal of those raised under its in-
 fluence. The Confederate constitution voiced the almost universal
 idea of southern states.

idea of southern political economy when it provided that no duties should ever be collected on imports. What were the results of this system? With every advantage in their favor the southern states fell behind in every phase of what we regard as prosperity. The fourth of their white males were and still are unable to read and write and the average of rising comfort and opportunity were measurably in favor of the northern states. The Democratic party of today is dependent on the 153 electoral votes of the "Solid South", but the people of the South who represent this predominating influence were trained and educated in the economic of slavery. Can they ever expect its instruments to be intelligently and faithfully administered by men of such training and circumstances or by a party dominated and controlled by them?

The Democratic members, press and president, may with almost
tactful persistence that they are in favor of the bill as a
step in the right direction. But it is a curious fact that every-
body in this country and every other country, foreign manufacturers,
every body of the Republic and every free individual the world
over is in favor of the Democratic party, have for the passage of
the bill and has a number in waiting to vote any Democratic
candidate. And thus the main the glory of the nation and the ob-
ject the future part of these self-supporting nations who have their
and are created its prosperity,--and such are hope to see their in-
terests protected by a party that support and their interests

And there is more in this matter of the constitution and
none of the political parties one of which must dominate the coun-

try during the next four years that appears upon the north-side of
the map that the Republican party represents in a particular manner
the idea of national unity. It represents the, in a possible degree
the average intelligence and prosperity of the country. Where labor
is the most varied, where the most active, where the most
evenly distributed; schools the most numerous, where the most comfort
able and prosperity the most unobtainable--in those states and their
territories, the Republican party flourishes best. Where the lot of
the half-free slave holds the freedom when the poor impoverished,
where the poor-white drags out his life of weakness and ignorance;
where poverty and vice hold together in the over-crowded city,--there
the Democratic party flourishes! From such surroundings came its ma-
jorities take away the sick-warped sentiment of the South and the

poverty and crime surge about New York and what would be left of Democratic power is it from such sources that we are to expect good results from tomorrow's life?

Every labor man always look to free thought and free speech for protection and advantage. The strength of the Republican party lies in the intelligent self-supporting free men—farmers, mechanics, merchants and all laborers of all sorts who look to it for a maintenance of our prosperity and the security of their own happiness and the safeguard which is to protect their families from want. It believes in a free ballot and counts the denial of right of suffrage to one lawfully entitled to its exercise, the highest crime against freedom and perilous in the extreme to the peace and prosperity of the country. Yet the controlling element of the Democratic party believe in the debasement of the ballot now, just as sincerely as they

did in slavery in 1860 or in Secession in 1861. The very fact that they are sincere and that this belief is an element of what they believe to be patriotism makes the predominance of a party controlled by them especially hazardous to national interest at this time.

But the war is over and I am not going to say a word that the most sensitive Democrat soul can construe into even a flutter of the Bloody Shirt. I am only going to say that it is a misfortune of the Democratic party to have always had a peculiar attraction for those who were in the wrong upon questions of individual liberty, national unity and political economy. I do not want to question the sincerity of the party or the patriotism of its constituents. It was a misfortune, however, that all those who believed the perpetuation and extension of slavery of more importance than the preservation of the

union of the protection of free labor, should have attached them-
 selves to that party. It is unfortunate that ninety-nine out of an
 any hundred of those whose economic ideas were based upon the fun-
 damental ideas of slavery should have exposed its supports. It is
 unfortunate that ninety-nine out of every hundred of those whose po-
 sitions they occupied then to expose the cause of the Confederacy
 and offer their lives and fortunes to support free-trade and slave-
 republic, should today be found in the ranks of the Democrats. It is
 unfortunate that every one who ever killed a Nigger in a frenzy of
 patriotic devotion should today be a clamorous champion of Democracy
 is success. It is unfortunate that every one of those whose devo-
 tion to the welfare of the country is so intense that they are
 ready to whip and outrage and kill the duly-enfranchised citizen

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of the United States in defiance of law, should have consecrated the fruits of their ~~shameful~~ brutality to the Democratic party and that on them three-fourths of its power in the nation should now rest. It is unfortunate that it should be the only party that has ever approved or excused murder as a political instrumentality in the Republic and become the champion and apologist for that terrible array of crimes which have made the American Republic notable in the history of the 19th century as the one nation in which murder was an approved political instrumentality--a nation in which more citizens were killed, maimed and outraged in order to secure the supremacy of the Democratic party, than were ever evicted in Ireland or exiled in Russia during a like period. It is unfortunate that a black citizen of any Democratic state ~~cannot~~ cannot exercise the powers or enjoy the privileges of a citizen of the United States unless

he votes the Democratic ticket. It is unfortunate that those who sought to destroy the union find comfort for defeat and consolation for their failure in the arms of Democracy. It is unfortunate that six years in succession, in a time of profound peace, the Democratic party was unable to manage the finances of the country so as to have revenue enough to meet current expenses. It is an unfortunate thing that when Republican party came into power it found an empty treasury, a large deficiency and the credit of the country so debased that it had to pay a higher rate for loans than when the debt contracted in putting down rebellion was the greatest.

The Republican party denies absolutely that any peril can arise to the business interests of the country from any accumulation of a surplus in the treasury, except through the stupidity, stubbornness or neglect of the President who is fully authorized to use the same in buying bonds at such a price as he may see fit to prevent such a result.

It denies also that the danger of an increasing surplus is anything like so great as the organs of Democratic sentiment aver, since the estimated receipts for the next fiscal year and the disbursements already allowed or absolutely necessary, leave a balance of only \$20,000,000,000, over the fixed charges of the government.

It denies the policy of reducing the duties on imports according to the schedule of the Mills Bill, alleging, (1) that its adoption would seriously derange the business interests of the country

(2) That it would reduce the wages of our mechanical laborers and thereby impair the interests of all classes whose prosperity is in any degree dependent on theirs, and (3) That by reducing the rate, it will increase the volume of import and that its probable result would be to increase the aggregate of duties and thereby enhance the rather than diminish the surplus.

The Republican party also impeaches the general policy and efficacy of the Democracy, alleging, (1) a design to overthrow that system of taxation on imports which has been so large an element in our prosperity; (2) that it represents, is animated and controlled by sectional influences; (3) that it has shown itself deficient in financial ability and inclined to economic fallacies, and (4) that it lacks those evidences of patriotic devotion to the best interests of the whole country which should be regarded as indispensable to a

party entrusted with the control of the national power.

So the issue is made up and the whole matter resolves itself finally into the question which every voter is to answer in December for himself.

"Which party is most likely to promote the general interest of the whole people and secure the peace, welfare and prosperity of the future by the control of the national government during the next four years?"