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GOVERNOR CAMPBELL'S SPEECH,

(Delivered at Sidney, Ohio, Thursday, September 17, 1891.)

The Occasion Being the Opening Meeting of the Democratic Campaign in Ohio--The Silver Question and the Tariff Issue Candidly and Ably Discussed--McKinley's Unfortunate Record on Silver Coinage Exposed--His Tariff Act Oppresses the Great Mass of People and Enriches a Few--Senator Sherman a False Prophet.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

One of the most encouraging features of the pending campaign is the universal apprehension exhibited by the Republican leaders with respect to the tariff. Their concerted efforts to ignore that issue, or to treat it as secondary and unimportant, are exceedingly suggestive. Less than a year ago, when the author of the most oppressive tariff in our history was defeated for re-election, the Republicans with an almost unanimous voice demanded his nomination for governor. Before the convention met it was whispered that the election might be jeopardized by the nomination of one who was the incarnation of protection in its most aggravated form. It was not only too late, at that time, for a reconsideration, but, undoubtedly, a large majority of the delegates did not favor it. They did not then realize the deep-seated hatred of the people for excessive and unjust taxation. While they were somewhat staggered by the depression in wool, the slump in iron, and the semi-panic condition which had prevailed in the money market since the passage of the tariff bill, they yet harbored the hope that the election crops here and the failure abroad would result in a temporary spurt of prosperity for which, as usual, they could credit the tariff. So the nomination, being in other respects unobjectionable, was duly made.

DODGING THE ISSUE.

The nominee had, for many years, been a conspicuous leader in the movement for a prohibitive tariff. He had risen, by long and faithful service, to the congressional command of the protection forces. He was the personification of protection gone mad. He was deservedly, and pre-eminently, the champion of a cause which gained its greatest triumph in a law that bears his name. However meritorious his many other services may have been, deemed by his party, it was for none of them that he was selected as their leader; nor yet was it for any supposed credit due him as a long-standing and consistent opponent of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, because, as will be shown here today, he has, since then, been an ardent supporter of such coinage. He was nominated wholly, and solely, because, as chairman of the committee on ways and means in the Fifty-first congress, he had been the principal figure in the enactment of the tariff. His nomination emphasizes the issue as the supreme struggle of the campaign. The Democracy accented this gauge of battle; the people of Ohio prepared for a contest upon that issue; and the entire country awaited the onset. The Republican press of the state gleefully announced that the nominee for governor would be enabled to confine himself entirely to the tariff, because, as they said, Senator Sherman would handle the subject of coinage, and Secretary Foster defend the billion dollar congress. The last named gentleman failed the most miserably, and failed upon this satisfactory arrangement. He said:

"With two such men as Sherman and McKinley on the stump, Governor Campbell will be kept rather busy. I think, Sherman will take care of the financial end of that discussion, and the gallant leader in that contest will see that the subject of protection is properly handled."

Citations without number could be made from newspapers in other states to the same purport. One from the New York Press, the especial organ of protection, will suffice here. It says: "The paradoxical fact is, that, however, is the tariff, and the Democrats may be sure there will be no shirking it, no sidetracking, no letting down in its advocacy. Besides the nomination of Maj. McKinley stamped the issue of protection indelibly on the Ohio contest--and it is debatable that it can not be removed by any agency whatever."

SENATOR SHERMAN A FALSE PROPHET.

Mr. Sherman's speech was largely devoted to prophecies of the various evils that would result from the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The senator has always been a prophet of evil in regard to silver. For many years whenever silver has been mentioned, he has played the role of Cassandra with unvarying regularity. It is true that none of his evil prophecies have ever come to pass, but he continues to indulge in them with undaunted spirit. He aided to demonize silver when it was more valuable (in its ratio) than gold. As secretary of the treasury he appeared before the committee having in charge the coinage act of 1876, and predicted dire disaster should it pass. It did pass, however, and after thirteen years of continuous silver coinage under its provisions, amounting to over four hundred millions of dollars, none of those evil results have occurred; and Senator Sherman himself voted last year for an act to take the place of the law of 1876,

whereby the issue of currency based on silver bullion is more than doubled. In 1885, when an unsuccessful attempt was made to discontinue the coinage of silver dollars, Senator Sherman again unloaded a stock of lugubrious predictions, which turned out to be false. In this instance, however, he was in unusually good company, as can be readily ascertained by reading the letter of ex-President Cleveland, which was so inaptly quoted by Major McKinley in his opening speech. It seems odd that the prudent Republican candidate should quote with approval a letter of prophecy which has failed of verification. Especially is this remarkable since no later than February last, at Toledo, he vehemently inveighed against Mr. Cleveland on account of the very same letter for which he now commends him. He said:

"All of his [Cleveland's] years at the head of the government, he was dishonoring one of our precious metals, one of our great products, discrediting silver, and ennobling the price of gold. He endeavored even before his inauguration to stop the coinage of silver dollars, and afterwards, and to the end of his administration, persistently used his power to that end."

So well aware was Major McKinley that Mr. Cleveland's predictions had not been realized that he voted, more than five years later, for another and much greater silver inflation bill than the one which he had so recently denounced. This he did in congress, June, 1890:

"It is to give to the people of this country not \$2,000,000 monthly, but to give them four and one-half millions monthly, or two and one-half millions more than what is now provided by the existing law. No man should hesitate between two millions a month that we have now and the four and one-half millions a month that we shall have under the proposed law. We get an increased volume of currency, with safety to the government and citizens."

MR. McKINLEY VOTES FOR FREE SILVER.

In his opening speech Major McKinley plays upon the variations in a high key, upon the "dishonest dollar," the "shoddy dollar," the "short dollar," and the "eighty-cent dollar." He then touches a minor key and proceeds to bewail the sad condition of the poor old soldier whose little stipend of twelve cents per month will, he predicts, shrink to nine dollars and sixty cents, should we enter upon free coinage of silver. Now is the time, and this is the place, to respectfully inquire of the major why he was not equally as solicitous about the dear old soldier upon the fifth of November in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, for, upon that day, as page 241 of the Congressional Record discloses, he not only voted for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, but so eager was he to pay off the old soldier in "eighty-cent dollars" that he actually voted to suspend the rule in order that the bill might be lost in the infliction of this great outrage (as he now terms it) upon helpless pensioners.

The full text of this bill is as follows, and it should be pasted in the hat of every man who wishes to keep track of the major's record and cherished career on the subject of free silver:

"HOUSE BILL 1093."

"Be it enacted, etc., That there shall be coined at the several mints of the United States, of standard silver, four hundred and twelve and one-half grains troy of standard silver, as provided in the act of January 18, 1837, on which shall be device and superscriptions provided by said act; which coins, together with all silver dollars heretofore coined and to be coined, shall be a legal tender, at their nominal value, for all debts and dues, public and private, except where otherwise provided by contract; and any owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at any United States mint or assay office, to be coined into dollars for the same terms and conditions as gold bullion is deposited for coinage under existing laws."

"SECTION 2. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are repealed."

Remembering that McKinley had forgotten his first love--silver--during the last campaign, for, on October 27th, 1890, he addressed a letter to the secretary of the Stark County Farmers' Alliance wherein he wrote: "I would honor gold and silver alike." What does that mean, especially in the light of the major's long-time devotion to silver? Can he not be honored alike when an unlimited amount of one of them may be taken to the mint for coinage, while the other one is not coined and but a limited amount stored as pig metal in the vaults of the treasury? Another question that arises is, whether the devotion to silver may be cited. On February 23, 1878, the Bland bill, requiring not less than two million silver dollars to be coined every month, was passed over the veto of President Hayes. It requires very deep conviction indeed for a congressman to vote for the passage of a bill over the veto of a president belonging to his own party, yet the major, at that time, was so earnest in pursuit of silver coinage that he did vote to pass the bill over the presidential veto.

In the light of all the foregoing facts, and in view of the record, the following extracts from Mr. McKinley's speech at Kenton has a very pungent flavor. He said:

"Governor Campbell says that he is willing to 'chance' free silver. I am not willing to chance it. Governor Campbell will take a great many chances this campaign, but we don't propose to take any chances."

The major is undoubtedly right when he says that he "doesn't propose to take any chances," for he has been officially recorded upon every side of the question.

SECRETARY FOSTER FOR FREE SILVER.

Perhaps this would be as good a time as any to call attention to the former attitude and official record of the present secretary of the treasury, a gentleman whose face now blanches with apprehension when he contemplates the dangers of free silver coinage. A brief search through the Congressional Record discloses the fact that he not only voted with Major McKinley to suspend the rules and pass

the free coinage bill No. 1093, before referred to, and that he also voted with him to override Mr. Hayes' veto of the Bland bill, but that he has even a better record than the major as a friend of silver, for he voted in favor of another bill providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver on the 13th day of December, 1876. It is but just to the major to say that he did not have the opportunity to vote for this latter bill, as he was not then a member of congress.

FREE SILVER MEN CLAIM 'McKINLEY.'

Returning, however, to Mr. McKinley it need not surprise you to learn that, in spite of his vehement attack on free silver, the friends of unlimited coinage are claiming him as their own. About the time the silver certificate act of 1890 was passed, Mr. Francis G. Newlands, vice-president of the national silver executive committee, printed an interview in the Washington Post, a Republican paper, wherein he said of the major: "He is a bi-metalist, and thinks free coinage can be safely carried out, but will not make a fight for his views." As Mr. McKinley was then voting against free silver, we would be inclined to doubt Mr. Newlands' statement were it not that on the second day of this month the Cincinnati Commercial Gazette published a dispatch regarding the views of this same Newlands (who is a Republican from Nevada), wherein he says: "McKinley stands upon the Republican platform, which approves the present silver act as a progressive step towards bi-metalism. I would rather see McKinley elected than Campbell. McKinley is a bi-metalist." Apparently Mr. Newlands is being used to hold in line that portion of the Republican party in Ohio which favors free silver.

BOTH PARTIES DIVIDED ON COINAGE.

The truth is that in Ohio (notwithstanding the declaration in their platform) and everywhere else--especially in the central and western states--the Republican party is seriously divided upon the free coinage of silver. In the United States senate the vote on that question stood sixteen Republicans for free silver and twenty-six against it. The Republican conventions in many states, beginning with Indiana, and moving westward, have declared in favor of it.

Doubtless also the Democratic party is equally as divided. There is an honest difference of opinion concerning the time and manner in which silver can be restored to the place in our coinage which it occupied prior to its stealthy demonization in 1873; but the entire Democracy desire to see this done with honor and advantage, and under conditions will permit. We do not intend that this subject shall go undebated, neither do we intend that our enemies shall divert us from the decisive issue of the tariff. The Ohio Democracy propose to defend bi-metalism, which is the right of both metals to unlimited coinage, although we may differ among ourselves as to the means of reaching such coinage.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM ON SILVER.

We most emphatically do not believe in the doctrine enunciated by the Ohio Republican platform, which reads as follows:

"Thoroughly believing that gold and silver should form the basis of all circulating medium, we endorse the unadvised coinage act of the last Republican congress, by which the entire production of the silver mines of the United States is added to the currency of the people."

The act therein referred to is not a coinage act at all. It is a law which provides "An act to provide for the warehousing of a certain pig metal;" it provides

"That the secretary of the treasury is hereby directed to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion to the aggregate amount of four million five hundred thousand ounces, or thereabouts, to be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding one dollar for three hundred and seventy-one and twenty-five hundredths grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases of silver bullion treasury notes of the United States to be prepared by the secretary of the treasury, which form and of such denominations, not less than one dollar nor more than one thousand dollars, as he may prescribe."

Under this law paper certificates are issued, but no silver will be coined save in exchange of the redemption of such certificates. The law therefore provides for the coinage of silver. These certificates are practically warehouse receipts for so much bullion, and are based upon its daily fluctuation in the market. If any dollar could be more thoroughly a "shoddy dollar" than these pig-metal paper certificates, it is surely this. It is difficult to describe. There is no good reason why the government should not store pig-lead or pig-iron as well as pig-silver, and issue circulating notes upon them. The next step is logical sequence, if you follow out the Republican theory under which the silver, corn and oats in government elevators, and issue currency on them. This is the Alliance idea, which the Republicans consistently denounce as visionary.

The issue of certificates, which are receipts for an article of merchandise returnable on demand, is not a function of government, and it should not be undertaken by the constitution to the coinage of money. It is mere pawnbroking. Printed tickets or certificates might as well be issued upon the temporary deposit of watches, jewelry or second hand clothes. Under this new system of financing the mint at Philadelphia, about to be abandoned, and the symbolic sign of three golden balls hung over the entrance of the treasury at Washington.

Mr. McKinley says: "The silver dollar now issued under a limited coinage has 80 cents of intrinsic value in it, so accredited the world over, and the other 20 cents is legislative value, the mere breath of congress. That is, what the dollar lacks of value to make it a perfect dollar congress supplies by public declaration and holds the extra 20 cents in the treasury for its protection."

Under what item does the extra 20 cents appear in the treasury? In what form and manner is it held? The certificates are redeemable in "coin," and there is only silver coin wherewith to redeem. If the mere breath of congress can add 20 cents to each of the four million five hundred thousand certificate dollars issued monthly and redeemable in silver,

why not to more? Then we should have Republican free coinage.

But, says Mr. McKinley, referring to free coinage, "The silver producer, whose 412½ grains of silver are worth only 80 cents in the markets of this country and the world, is thus enabled to demand that the government shall take it at 100 cents. Will the government, be as kind to the producer of wheat and pay him twenty cents more per bushel than the market price?" Not at all. Is the free coinage of gold the purchase of gold? Under free coinage the government does not save any silver, it merely stamps the weight and fineness of the silver brought to the mint, and the owner takes away just exactly what he brought, and nothing else. Perhaps, if the major had a law passed, the government could also certify to the weight and quality of a silver dollar. The major, however, does not agree upon free coinage, but they do agree that nothing could be quite as absurd and unnatural as the circulation of warehouse receipts, or pawn tickets, based upon uncoined metal.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM ON SILVER.

The Ohio Democratic platform, which reads as follows, was adopted by a nearly equal division in the convention: "We denounce the demonetization of silver in 1873 by the party then in power as an iniquitous alteration of the money standard of the country, and against the debtors, taxpayers and producers, and which, by shutting off one of the sources of supply of primary money, operates continually to increase the value of gold, depress prices, hamper industry and disarrange enterprise, and we demand the restoration of the constitutional standard of each metal to its equal right of each to free and unlimited coinage."

Who defends the demonetization of silver? Every man connected with it, except Senator Sherman, denies having had knowledge of it at the time. The senator, however, has been very candid in his speech, that it was done after full debate. Yet he must know that Garfield, Allison, Thurman, Kelley, Voorhees, Blaine, Conkling, Howe, Cannon, Beck and scores besides have repeatedly denied knowing that the bill was so amended. He must be aware that no person asked or petitioned for it, and that the people were not cognizant of it until resumption took place. Silver became cheapened in comparison with gold--and gold only--through this act, and by reason of other hostile legislation and unimpaired credit.

The Ohio Democracy would invoke the legislative and treaty powers to undo the wrong they have perpetrated; and to aid, so far as lies in their power, to restore silver to its proper place and use. They believe in the doctrine of the party from Jefferson's day, that both metals should be silver in any money. They have in their platform demanded the free and unlimited coinage of both metals, for the reason that they do not believe that either of the metals alone furnishes a sufficient basis for the increasing credit transactions of the world. They believe that silver is slightly higher until the war of 1812, when they took an upward spurt owing to the necessity for war revenues. The first decidedly protective tariff was passed in 1816, and was not wholly superseded until 1842, although amended in 1824, and 1828, and 1832, and 1836, and 1840, and 1842, which was abrogated by the low tariff, or Walker tariff, of 1846. The highest point reached in all these years of protection was less than 30 per cent, upon the total value of the goods and manufactures which were protected. The language of Henry Clay will best describe it. In 1840 he said:

"No man, President, in the commencement of the protective policy, ever supposed that it was to be perpetual. We hoped and believed that the public credit, extended to our infant industries, would bring them up and enable them to withstand competition with those of Europe."

"INFANT" INDUSTRIES.

That was the day of the "infant industries" idea. Those same "infants" are still rocking in the public cradle, although some of them are a hundred years old. In 1810 Albert Gallatin, then secretary of the treasury, and who was already "firmly established," yet they have received additional protection in every tariff for eighty years. In 1824 Daniel Webster said:

"I consider the cotton manufacturers not only to have reached, but to have passed the 'point of competition.' Sixty-six years later protection was raised to more than 50 per cent upon everything that could be made of cotton. In 1861 Horace Greeley predicted that 'ten years of protection would enable us to compete on even terms with Europe.' After thirty years of protection higher than was then dreamed of, we find the protected industries more clamorous than ever."

THE LOW TARIFF ERA.

From 1846 to 1861 the Walker low tariff stood untouched, except that in 1857 there was a lowering of rates. New England supported this reduction. The tariff was then less than 10 per cent. of the total imports. These fifteen years were the "Golden Age" of the republic. In 1859 mess pork sold for \$18.12, wheat for \$1.65, and wool for forty-five cents; and yet one dollar went farther than it supports a family than two dollars will go now. Garfield said, in 1878, "The fact is, Mr. Chairman, that the decade from 1850 to 1860 was one of peace and general prosperity, a tariff as any we ever had." Mr. Blaine said: "The tariff of 1846 was yielding abundant revenue, and the business of the country was in a flourishing condition."

Referring to the redundant revenue under this tariff which was overflowing the national treasury, Mr. Blaine also said: "It is not surprising, therefore, that with a plethora of condition of the national treasury for two or three consecutive years the Democratic congress, in the

condition of the United States treasury. The official statements, since the recent changes in reporting and book-keeping were made, are curious and humiliating. The cash balance purported to be on August 31st \$90,274,394.95. There are scheduled as "cash" \$23,198,151.87 due from national banks now out on deposit, and \$18,440,721.99 of fractional coins, also \$37,098,577.01 in silver bars, and \$3,048,153.04 in trade dollar bars. If the money were drawn out of the national banks and put in the treasury there would, even then, be but \$1,680,942.91 lawfully available for current demands, save and except the uncoined pig metal, and the non-legal tender small change, which include coppers, three-cent pieces and nickels.

The great Democratic surplus is gone. There is not enough left for Mr. Foster to furnish a respectable "remnant count" for the treasury. The Democratic party is to be congratulated for its efforts to juggle book-keeping in order to conceal the barrenness of its coffers. The secretary under whose administration this poverty-stricken condition exists has boastfully said that "this is a billion dollar country." His empty treasury is the only thing that is a billion dollar country. The Democratic party is a legacy bequeathed to the country by the "billion dollar congress." The gentlemen who constituted that unenviable body left nothing behind them but the reserves, which they could not use. Well may it be said in the forcible language of Capt. Lee: "For the first time in the history of Ohio political party asks commendation for its profligacy in public expenditures."

TARIFFS IN THE UNITED STATES.

In the same session he adds, "and also for its wanton increase of taxation, for its monopolistic legislation, and for its dispensation of bounties and subsidies to a favored few." Let us examine this indictment.

The first congress laid a tariff common known as the Hamilton tariff, with duties averaging 8½ per cent. This is the average as agreed by every authority upon the subject. Wool and pig iron were free. Cotton and woolen goods paid five per cent; iron and steel goods seven and one-half per cent; and unmanufactured goods five per cent. This tariff was designed for revenue, with incidental protection. The effect of protection is conceded by its friends to "divert industry into channels into which it would not naturally flow." Even the slight protection of this tariff had such an effect, and these unmanufactured industries began to grow, with a clamor for further protection. By the time of Jefferson's administration rates had already risen, as will be shown by the following extract from Mr. McKinley's speech at Niles:

"In 1804, in the midst of Jefferson's administration, the average rate was 23.40, not 7½ per cent, as Mr. Campbell stated."

The curious thing about this statement is that in relation to myself, I have never before mentioned the tariff of Jefferson. The major should quote accurately. The tariff rates grew slightly higher until the war of 1812, when they took an upward spurt owing to the necessity for war revenues. The first decidedly protective tariff was passed in 1816, and was not wholly superseded until 1842, although amended in 1824, and 1828, and 1832, and 1836, and 1840, and 1842, which was abrogated by the low tariff, or Walker tariff, of 1846. The highest point reached in all these years of protection was less than 30 per cent, upon the total value of the goods and manufactures which were protected. The language of Henry Clay will best describe it. In 1840 he said:

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Referring to the redundant revenue under this tariff which was overflowing the national treasury, Mr. Blaine also said: "It is not surprising, therefore, that with a plethora of condition of the national treasury for two or three consecutive years the Democratic congress, in the

closing session of Pierce's administration, enacted what has since been known as the tariff of 1857. By this law the duties were placed lower than they had been at any time since 1812."

Yet the Republican candidate for governor says that--

"A revenue tariff has not in our experience been a success even as an agency for raising the money required for public purposes."

It may be added that in all these years of a revenue tariff such a thing as a "tramp" or a "trust" was unknown. In 1861 the war came, and for a few years tariffs and kinds were passed without stint, and almost without debate or question. In the overpowering necessities of that struggle rates went up to what was regarded as a phenomenal height; yet the end of the war found them scarcely more than half what they were before the war. The tariff rates after Lee's surrender. The contemplation of this fact must certainly shock every man's good sense and spirit of fair dealing.

INTERNAL REVENUE ABOLISHED.

It is true that some kinds of taxes were taken off. Mr. McKinley in the debate on the tariff bill during the eleven years in which the Republicans have controlled from 1866 we wiped from the statute books three hundred and sixty-two millions of annual taxation. But upon what were those reductions made? In 1862 internal revenue taxes were laid upon almost everything. The manufacturers, alone, were compensated for these taxes by having the tariff increased on competing foreign goods. Senator Morrill said at the time in the debate: "We intend to impose an additional duty on imports equal to the tax which has been put on the domestic articles. It is thus by way of compensation to the domestic manufacturers against foreign importers. These internal revenue taxes on manufacturers, amounting to \$127,000,000 annually, were promptly repealed at the close of the war; but the tariff taxes on competing goods, which were intended to offset, were not only retained, but, in many cases, have since been doubled. Other internal revenue taxes, such as \$72,000,000 annually on incomes, and the taxes on railroads, express and telegraph companies, and smaller tax systems, were also repealed. These were the reductions that were made, and the people should never forget it, for they were made for the express purpose of reducing the revenues to a point which would necessitate the retention of the tariff duties."

REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION TO POST-BELLUM TARIFFS.

The enormous increases in the tariff after the war were not without Republican opposition. Our Ohio statesmen were not without words of warning. Senator Sherman said in 1867:

"If you converse with intelligent men engaged in the business of manufacturing, they will tell you that they are inclined to compete with England, France, Germany and all the countries of Europe at the old rates of duty. If you reduce the rates, they will be forced to compete with the people should never forget it, for they were made for the express purpose of reducing the revenues to a point which would necessitate the retention of the tariff duties."

AND AGAIN IN 1872, SAID:

"It must be remembered that the tariff duties, taken together, are far in excess of what they were before the war, and that they have been three times largely increased since the passage of the Morrill tariff act of 1871. * * * If the present rate of duty were high enough during and since the war, when home industry was burdened with heavy internal taxes--with stamp duties, income taxes and high rates on raw materials--then, surely, they are now too high when all these taxes are removed."

The Ohio Republican platforms, notably in 1874 and 1878, demanded tariffs for revenue, and protection. Strong anti-protection editorial recently appeared in the Cincinnati Gazette, the Ohio State Journal and other Republican papers, especially in 1888 and 1889. The excessive rates and frightful inequalities of the tariff finally broke the last twenty years, and the high scale of protectiveness which has become characteristic of their establishments, would permit our manufacturers to compete with their foreign rivals under a substantial reduction of existing duties."

"It would seem that the improvements in machinery and processes, and the high scale of productiveness which have become characteristic of their establishments, would permit our manufacturers to compete with their foreign rivals under a substantial reduction of existing duties."

Another law was then passed (1883) which was in some respects a slight reduction, but it did not satisfy the demands of the people.

THE McKINLEY BILL.

Then began the struggle out of which grew first the "Mills Bill," a Democratic measure for reduction, which never became a law; then the McKinley bill, which is the present law. The latter bill was rushed through the house hastily, in comparison with the Mills bill or other equally important measures. Debate was gagged, and half of its text was never discussed. When it reached the senate the rules were tampered with, and southern states threatened with obnoxious laws, in order to procure its speedy passage through the body.

There was no popular demand for such a law, and no justification for its passage. It was opposed even by Republicans in both houses, and a single specimen from each is offered. Before the passage of this bill Mr. Plumb said in the senate:

"Mr. President, there has been no fact produced of any kind or description whatever, no attempt made to justify this proposed increase of duties. * * *

"Nothing has been offered here to show that what is proposed is either wise or just, or even a tariff as any we ever had." Mr. Blaine said: "The tariff of 1846 was yielding abundant revenue, and the business of the country was in a flourishing condition."

Referring to the redundant revenue under this tariff which was overflowing the national treasury, Mr. Blaine also said:

"It is not surprising, therefore, that with a plethora of condition of the national treasury for two or three consecutive years the Democratic congress, in the

wronged and outraged by an abuse of a system which, in its origin and influence, was most beneficent, but which is now in danger of being utilized to oppress the many in the interest of the few. * * * No wonder there is an insurrection of labor! No wonder that Farmers' Alliances are formed throughout the country! No wonder there was a tidal wave in November! The real wonder is, however, that honorable gentlemen upon this floor should be unable to realize the significance of that tidal wave."

However, the bill passed, and already its authors and other Republican leaders in Ohio, are moving heaven and earth to find something else wherewith to distract the attention of the people from its exactions and inequalities.

INCREASED DUTIES--PEARL BUTTONS.

The increase of duty and consequent cost of goods is, in many lines, enormous and indefensible. The pretense for these advances was that wages would be increased and labor proportionately benefited. We were especially assured that it would work wonders for us as Americans. "America against the world" was their battle cry. Take some items of increased cost, and you will find the facts. If you please, with pearl buttons. The duty on them was raised all the way from 400 to 1,400 per cent, according to quality. As soon as this enormous duty was added the few manufacturers in this country discharged their American employees and imported Bohemians to replace them. The manufacturers, alone, were compensated for these taxes by having the tariff increased on competing foreign goods. Senator Morrill said at the time in the debate: "We intend to impose an additional duty on imports equal to the tax which has been put on the domestic articles. It is thus by way of compensation to the domestic manufacturers against foreign importers. These internal revenue taxes on manufacturers, amounting to \$127,000,000 annually, were promptly repealed at the close of the war; but the tariff taxes on competing goods, which were intended to offset, were not only retained, but, in many cases, have since been doubled. Other internal revenue taxes, such as \$72,000,000 annually on incomes, and the taxes on railroads, express and telegraph companies, and smaller tax systems, were also repealed. These were the reductions that were made, and the people should never forget it, for they were made for the express purpose of reducing the revenues to a point which would necessitate the retention of the tariff duties."

CARPETS--WOOLENS.

Another of the increased duties was upon carpets, as follows:

Quality.	Price per yard.	Increase per yard.
Alexander.	\$2.75	36.61
Wilton.	1.75	17.98
Brussels.	1.00	23.48
Antwerp.	.75	10.00
Treble Ingrain.	.75	12.22
Two-ply Ingrain.	.50	20.71
Pelt carpets.	.25	60.00

The cheap carpets of the poor are taxed 50 per cent more, while the Wilton and Alexander carpets of the rich are increased only from 16 to 18 per cent. The carpet makers came into operation the carpet manufacturers of Philadelphia, who own two-thirds of all the looms, met together and agreed to shut up a large per cent of them for at least a year, and the Hartford factory, employing several hundred hands, cut down wages 10 per cent. Let you are asked to believe that protection taxes are for the benefit of workmen's wages.

All other woollens were raised, especially the coarser grades used by the laboring classes, including knit goods, blankets, hosiery, hats, underwear, women's apparel, and all kinds of ready-made clothing, and wraps, such as coats, etc. As an indication of the benefit to American labor, especially on the last item of the foregoing list, read the following from the Chicago Herald: "The committee of the Trade and Labor assembly that has been investigating the clothing industries of Chicago has made its report. What has it found? Let a Chicago organ of McKinleyism be quoted as to a conversation with a pale-faced girl who worked on cloaks: 'How much do you earn, Lena?' she was asked. 'Forty cents in three days,' she whispered, glancing nervously around at her boss. 'How long do you work?' 'From 7 in the morning to 6 in the evening.' 'This is her share of the enormous increase.'"

LINENS--COTTONS.

Linens are not made in America, but every American workman wears them. Therefore, the duty was increased on shirts, collars, cuffs, etc., for the benefit, undoubtedly, of "American labor." Just where the benefit arises needs a "tariff diagram" to explain.

Cotton goods of all kinds were increased, including printed goods, ready-made clothing, handkerchiefs, socks, stockings, etc. A particularly high duty was laid on the goods imitating seal skin which are used as cloaks are made of. These were raised by working women. Since the new tariff passed, wages have almost universally been reduced in the cotton mills, the latest reduction being by the great Cotton Manufacturers' association of Fall River, who have resolved to cut ten per cent upon all employees in their immense manufacturing plants.

CROCKERY.

The tariff on crockery and queensware was either raised or kept at the already exorbitant figures. Of these goods Mr. McKinley said in his speech to the Erie county farmers' convention:

"The tariff has built up this industry and I am proud that I have seen it building.

