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Mount Vernon Democratic Banner Supplement September, 1893

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FRAUD!

Misnamed "Protection!"

Analyzed by Ohio's Matchless Orator.

Lawrence T. Neal's Great Speech Against McKinleyism.

It Robs the Multitude for the Enrichment of the Few,

The Relations Between the Money Metals and the People.

Brilliant Oratory, Irrefutable Logic and Indisputable Facts Delivered at Newark, September 14.

Mr. President and Fellow Citizens: I have no personal claims to urge today. I come to plead the cause of the people, and it is not inappropriate that I should plead their cause in this place, where nearly one hundred years ago, in 1797, were married my grandfather and grandmother, children of patriots and soldiers, who, in resistance to unjust taxation, for almost seven long years, endured the hardships and encountered the dangers of the great struggle for freedom and free government, by which independence was achieved for themselves and for us.

Two questions of great public interest, one temporary in its character and effects, but disastrous in the highest degree to the business of the country, the other farther reaching in its influence, fraught with the happiness and prosperity, or the political oppression and slavery, not only of this generation but of generations yet unborn, now command our most thoughtful consideration.

That which was prophecy has become history. We are now reaping the bitter harvest of republican legislation.

The Sherman silver law and the McKinley tariff law underlie the feeling of distrust and the want of confidence, which at this time pervade financial circles.

These two acts are alone responsible for the prevailing stagnation in business and trade, the closing of our mines and factories, and the general depression in agriculture, and a condition of prosperity can only be restored to us, as a people, by our adherence to the democratic faith in the matter of both currency and tariff reform.

Public confidence, must, in all cases rest upon public honesty; public honesty, like public credit must rest for its basis upon honest money; and to secure the latter, the conflicting claims of gold and silver as money must be determined in favor of bimetalism.

The relation of the debtor and creditor classes of our people can not be equitably and impartially adjusted upon any other basis.

The purchasing clause of the Sherman silver law must be repealed.

The provision of the government is to coin money and regulate its value, not to act as a broker in the purchase of silver bullion.

But the unconditional repeal of this clause in that act is but one step towards the accomplishment of the desired end.

The democratic party stands committed not only to its repeal but to the unlimited use of both gold and silver as money.

The platform adopted by the democratic national convention at Chicago last year declared, in unequivocal terms, for the use and coinage of gold and silver alike, upon terms of equality, without discrimination, with the single limitation that the dollar of the one should be intrinsically equal in value to, and exchangeable for the dollar of the other, thus making the power of every dollar, whether of gold or silver, equal at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts.

The democracy of Ohio, have in the platform adopted by them at Cincinnati, this year, re-affirmed the declaration of the national democracy upon this question.

I stand by that declaration. I give to my personal endorsement, because I am thoroughly convinced that it is correct in principle, and will prove the satisfactory and successful solution of the unfortunate financial conditions that confront us, and give to us relief from them, in so far as they have resulted from the present monetary system of the government.

But the re-establishment of bimetalism will not cure all the ills and evils that now afflict the country.

"Taxation is a mode of raising revenue for public purposes."

Public necessity must, therefore, mark and prescribe the constitutional limit for the exercise of such power.

This principle has been universally recognized as a fundamental one by judicial tribunals of the last resort.

The courts, in announcing it, have time and again, declared that when taxation is prostituted to objects not connected with the public interests it ceases to be taxation and becomes plunder; and that the transfer of money from the owners of it into the possession of those who have no title to it, though it be done under the name and form of a tax, is unconstitutional for all the reasons which forbid state legislatures and congress to usurp any other power not granted to them. The supreme court of the United States, years ago, expressed the principle in these words:

"To lay with one hand the power of the government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation." * * "There can be no lawful tax which is not laid for a public purpose."

But despite this principle which is thus incontrovertibly established, the leaders of the republican party still assert that there can be no limitation of the uses for which the power of taxation can be exercised, and boldly and defiantly maintain that the power to tax is the power to absolutely destroy one citizen for the benefit of another—aye, to destroy ten thousand citizens for the benefit of one.

The law which bears the name of the republican governor of Ohio, which was passed by a republican congress and received the signature of a republican president, and which is now declared to be the successful embodiment of republican principles, presented for the first time in the history of our government, naked and undisguised, the question whether taxes shall be imposed for the payment of the expenses and obligations of the government, or for the purpose of creating and maintaining manufacturing establishments owned, operated and controlled by private individuals, private corporations, trusts and syndicates.

The McKinley tariff law took effect on the 6th day of October, 1890.

The receipts of the government during the fiscal year which ended on the 30th day of June, 1890, exceeded its expenditures by nearly \$100,000,000.00.

The official reports of the secretary of the treasury show that this excess of receipts over expenditures was equally great during the two or three years immediately preceding the year 1890.

These reports further show that, at the very time the McKinley bill was being prepared, and when it was enacted into a law, the estimated surplus for the then current year, which ended on the 30th day of June, 1891, under the revenue and other laws in force at the time such estimates were made, would be fully as much.

The people then upon every principle of justice and right, ought to have been relieved from taxes to the extent of this surplus. An application of the doctrine that unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation would have required the revenue of the government to be reduced, by a reduction of taxation, to a level with its expenditures. But, bound hand and foot by the manufacturers and monopolists, who were interested in protected industries already existing, and were desirous of entering upon new and untried experiments in the establishment of new industries, under the stimulus of excessive bounties bestowed by the government, the republican party, by the enactment of the McKinley law, increased, not decreased taxation.

Admitting that a reduction of more than \$70,000,000.00, per year, in the revenue ought to be made, the republican congress with the sanction of a republican president, attempted to compel such reduction, by so increasing the rates of duty upon imported goods as to prohibit their importation.

The protection of favored enterprises was made to override all public purposes; and, in this attempt to diminish the revenue, and aid such enterprises, by such increase of duties, additional taxes to the amount of more than \$65,000,000.00 per year were imposed upon articles that are absolute necessities, essential to the daily comfort and well being of the people.

Take, if you will, woolen goods as an example. The average increase in the rates of duty upon these goods made by the McKinley act was twenty-five per cent; the per cent of increase in the duties themselves was a little over thirty-seven per cent; and the average rate of duties, as advanced by the act, upon woolen and worsted goods, including carpets, was, in round numbers, nine-two per cent. This made the increase in duties upon these goods \$14,145,008 per year, and the whole tax upon them \$32,055,537 per year, estimated upon the importations for the fiscal year 1890—the year immediately preceding the passage of the act, and the avowed purpose of it was to obstruct the importation of such goods, and thereby enhance the prices of domestic articles of the same kind.

Do you ask me how, or in what way, these taxes can inure to the benefit of home manufacturers, and affect the value of their products to their profit? The answer is a plain one. By giving to them the almost exclusive control of the markets in this country for their goods.

The duties upon the imported manufactures of wool, and it is so in the case of all other foreign goods upon which tariff duties are laid, where like goods are manufactured in this country, protect the home manufacturers of such goods from competition from abroad.

They enable the home manufacturers to increase the prices of their goods to the extent of the taxes or duties imposed upon the imported goods, and compel consumers to pay to them, in every instance, a tax equal to that which the government collects from

the importer. If the tariff duties be raised to a prohibitory point upon any line or class of goods, it will give to the home manufacturers of such goods a monopoly, and will forever dispose of the question made by Gov. McKinley as to who pays the tax upon the imported goods, whether it be the foreigner, the importer or the consumer; for, in such case, no goods being imported, there will be no tax to be paid to the government, but the whole of it will be paid by the consumer to the manufacturer, in the shape of an increased price for his goods.

It is in this way that protection is secured to the home manufacturer. His protection, which represents the extra profit given to him by the tariff law upon all the goods manufactured and sold by him, is the exact equivalent of the tax or duty imposed by the law upon imported goods of the same kind, with the cost of transportation from the foreign country added thereto.

So that, when the government collects ninety-two per cent, upon an average, under the McKinley law, upon the value of all imported goods embraced in the schedule for manufactures of wool, the wool manufacturers of the United States collect from their customers a like per cent, upon the whole amount of goods purchased and used by the people. And as the value of the domestic manufactures of wool is at least six times as great as that of the imported woolen goods, the woolen manufacturers of the country extort from the consumers of their goods, with the aid of the federal government, six dollars for every dollar collected by the government itself as a tax upon imported woolen goods.

As it is with woolen goods, so it is with the product of other protected industries.

This rule or principle of protection applies with equal force to every other class of dutiable goods manufactured

down on the dock in the city of New York, he can not regain possession of them until he pays to the proper officer of the government the tariff tax or duty upon them. This tax is, as I have already told you, 92 per cent upon an average under the McKinley act. The amount to be paid, therefore, is \$4,000. It is paid by your home merchant, not by the English manufacturer. The tax being paid, your home merchant reclaims the possession of his goods, puts them upon the cars and ships them to your city. When upon arrival here they are delivered to him at his place of business, and he gets them in readiness for sale to his customers, what does your home merchant do? He proceeds to ascertain the cost of the goods as laid down in his store. Taking the cost as his basis, he fixes the selling price, after determining to his own satisfaction the per cent of profit, which he will exact of his customers. But how does he arrive at the cost of his goods? Does he take simply the \$5,000 he paid to the English manufacturer and figure his per cent of profit upon that? No. He adds to that sum the \$4,000 which he paid as tariff taxes to the government. To these two amounts, the \$5,000 and the \$4,000, he adds the freight by ocean steamer and by rail, and other incidental expenses, call it \$400, and upon these three amounts, which aggregate \$10,000, he figures his per cent of profit, whether it be twenty-five or fifty per cent.

This done, he disposes of the goods so imported to the people in this vicinity. All being sold, who, I ask, will have paid the tariff taxes to the government? Not the English manufacturer; not your home merchant; but the final purchasers of the goods, the customers of your home merchant, the consumers.

The proposition that the consumer pays the duty becomes, when thus stated, a self-evident one.

It is as plain as that two and two

make four, that your home merchant simply advanced the tariff taxes to the government, and that the consumers not only repaid them to him, but repaid them with his twenty-five or fifty per cent profit added thereto.

It is just as plain that the taxes, though indirectly paid, more than doubled the cost of the goods to the ultimate purchasers.

The whole burden of taxation under such a system rests upon the consumption of the people. The property and wealth of the country pay no part of its taxes.

This destroys that principle of equality, which is an essential requirement of a just method of taxation.

The rich and the poor are not placed on an equality in their contributions of taxes, under such a system. The taxes paid by them are not in proportion to their ability to pay. The very fact that consumption constitutes the basis of the tax, prevents equality in the payment of it, and does so to the disadvantage of the poor man, because the consumption of the rich man does not bear the same relation to his income that the consumption of the poor man bears to his earnings.

The burden presses with the most unequal weight upon those who are least able to sustain it.

This is true even when the tax is collected by the government upon a purely revenue basis for its own support.

But that which is in such case an injustice, becomes a crime against the great masses of the people, when the laws impose the highest duties and return the lowest revenue, to compel the giving of gratuities and the payment of tribute to those whose riches and power already endanger the perpetuity of our free institutions.

The enormity of the offense is aggravated by the indirect and subtle manner in which the tax is collected, as is that of the assassin by the stealth and secrecy with which it is committed.

But, pernicious as is this system of taxation in its general effects upon the farmers, mechanics and laborers of the country, as developed by the McKinley act it reaches the acme of iniquity and wrong when, in the adjustment of its burdens, it discriminates against the humble and poorer classes of our people, by imposing the heaviest duties upon the coarsest and cheapest of goods, which are primary necessities in the households of the wage earners and toilers of the land.

The true principle of taxation would impose the highest duties upon articles of luxury and the lowest possible duties upon the necessities of life. But the McKinley act, reversing this principle and adopting the contrary one, made more rugged and harder to travel the pathway through life, and more difficult of attainment the means of livelihood for every laboring man, woman and child in this country, by its increase in the duties, already too high, on clothing, blankets, carpets, felt hats, earthenware, glassware, cutlery, tinware, kitchen utensils, and almost every conceivable article required for personal comfort and daily use and convenience in their homes; and did it, while they were lulled into non-resistance to its infamous provisions by the siren song of protection to American labor, and the constant iteration of Governor McKinley's absurd proposition "that we should never tax our own people so long as we can have other people to tax."

It has been demonstrated to a mathematical certainty that the increase made in the rates of duty upon the necessities of life by this act, increased the cost of living to the people of the United States during the first year of its operation, as a law, more than \$185,000,000.

The alleged protection to American labor by such legislation is just as much a fiction and a fraud as is the miserable pretext that our tariff taxes are paid by foreigners whose goods we buy.

The protected barons, whose selfishness and greed have eradicated from their very nature, the common instincts of humanity, care not for the welfare of the laboring men of this, or any other country.

They believe in free trade in men. Cheap labor is with them as essential a part of their protective system as high tariffs; and the profession of a desire by them to secure protective duties in the interest and for the benefit of the men who work in their protected industries, is a dishonest concealment of their true motives and purposes.

The history of tariff legislation proves this to be true.

latest pretext for the maintenance of the protective system, was conceived in hypocrisy and fraud. It was intended as an appeal to the prejudices of ignorant and unthinking people.

It has no foundation upon which to rest. It will not stand the test of honest investigation. Such an investigation will show that the inequalities of wages in the industries of the same kind, in the several states of the union, are as many, and oftentimes as great, as like inequalities between some of the states and England, which is always selected by the protectionist to sustain him in his position.

Not only is this true, but in some of the industries in England the average of the wages paid to the operatives exceeds that of the wages paid in the industries of the same kind, in some portions of this country. For example, the average rate of wages paid in the cotton mills of England is \$1.17 per day, while in Vermont it is only \$1.15.

We might multiply cases of this kind. But, if we take an extreme case where the difference is the other way, that of a man working in a shoe factory in Massachusetts, who receives upon an average more than twice as much money for his work per week as does a man working in a shoe factory in England, we can still prove that our working man does not need to be protected against the lower wages of his fellow-workman in England.

A man making men's shoes in a factory in Massachusetts earns upon an average \$11.55 per week; a man in a factory in England, making shoes of the same kind and quality, earns less than one-half of this sum—\$5.00 per week; but we can not, from this fact alone, conclude that the labor of the Massachusetts man is sold for more than twice as much money as the labor of the Englishman.

We must go a step farther in our investigation and ascertain what amount of work each man is required to do, and does so, to earn his weekly wages, before we can determine the question of relative compensation between them. In other words we must look to the product of the labor of each in connection with his wages, to determine which of them is actually getting the higher and better compensation for his work. When we do this we find that the Massachusetts man makes thirty-five pairs of shoes per week for which he receives thirty-three cents per pair to earn his \$11.55, and that the Englishman makes but ten pairs of shoes per week for which he gets fifty cents per pair to earn his \$5.00. If the English shoemaker were to make thirty-five pairs of men's shoes per week instead of his ten pairs, and were to still get his fifty cents per pair for them, his weekly wages would amount to \$17.50 as against the Massachusetts shoemaker's \$11.55, thus showing that the wages he receives are in reality higher, not lower than those of the Massachusetts man.

But, to make the comparison between them full and complete, we must consider another thing, the purchasing power of the wages of each of them, and this being done, you will be fully convinced, if you are not already so, that "republican protection is a fraud," for in the purchase of blankets, flannels, woolen clothing and other necessities for himself and his family, every dollar of the Englishman's wages will buy almost, if not quite, twice as much as two dollars of the wages of the Massachusetts man.

Whatever advantage in wages the American wage-earner has over his English and other foreign competitors he has acquired for himself, in spite of this pretended protection, by his superior intelligence, industry and skill, and his longer hours of unremitting toil. This sham republican protection has been to him a hindrance and a drawback. This is as true of the labor in unprotected occupations, which constitutes at least eighty-five per cent. of all the labor of the country and receives no possible benefit from protection, as it is of the fifteen per cent. in protected industries, for which alone even the shadow of a pretext for the claim of a benefit by protection can be made.

We must remember, in considering the welfare of the American laborer, another thing, and that is that steady employment is not second in importance to high wages. Good wages and continuous employment are each essential to the prosperity of labor. But we look in vain for such employment to labor, even in the protected industries, under the McKinley system of taxation.

The independence of labor is destroyed by such legislation. The tyrannical will of capital becomes supreme, and it restricts and limits the employment of labor, both as to terms and time. Reduction in wages, strikes and lockouts become the order of the day. Enforced idleness results. And you know the rest. The object lessons of the unfortunate conflicts between protected capital, relentless and cruel, and honest labor, begging only for the opportunity to sell itself for a living price, are indelibly stamped upon your memories, and I need not recall them.

Gov. McKinley may call this Americanism and patriotism, if he will. But, I say to you, no darker pages in American history will be written than those which record these irrepressible conflicts between capital, protected, proud, arrogant and all-powerful, upon the one side, and labor, wronged, fretful, impatient, contending for its just rewards, upon the other.

We must have a higher order of Americanism than this; our patriotism must be broader than this; and we must, under the guidance of a wiser statesmanship, break the restraining shackles of this republican protection, and give to labor, and capital as well, a freer and larger market for the limitless productions of our mines, our factories and our fields.

We are essentially an agricultural people. There is no industry that has contributed so much to the commercial progress, advancement and wealth of the country as agriculture; and none that deserves higher consideration or more favorable recognition by the government.



LAWRENCE T. NEAL.

But this, the greatest of all our industries, has been the principal victim of this cruel and odious doctrine of protection.

In 1860 more than one-half of all the people in this country were engaged in agricultural pursuits. The farmers of the United States at that time, owned almost one-half of all the wealth and property of the country. They had, during the preceding ten years, when McKinleyism was unknown, more than doubled their wealth. The increase in the value of their property had been over one hundred per cent.

But to-day, after more than thirty years of seedtime and harvest, representing long hours and days and weeks and months of slavish drudgery and toil, they find themselves poorer instead of richer than they were in 1860.

The farmers of the United States still constitute, according to the last census, nearly one-half of our population; but instead of owning one-half of the property of the country as they did in 1860, they own less than one-fourth of it; and that which they do own is steadily depreciating in value from year to year.

What a commentary upon the baneful influence of this cunningly devised and revolutionary use of the power of taxation. How great the tribute paid during these thirty-three years, by the American farmer to the American manufacturer.

The "home market" argument of Gov. McKinley and other protectionists could not be more effectively disproved than by this plain and simple statement of the changed condition of the agriculturists of the country. The farmer's loss has been the manufacturer's gain. As the one has grown poorer, the other has grown richer. And it is an insult to the intelligence of the American farmer, who has been continuously robbed in the interest of the manufacturer, to longer attempt to induce him to believe that he receives either protection or benefit, from such a system of taxation.

The republican charge that the democratic party is responsible for the depressed condition in our agricultural interests, existing at this time, is baseless to the degree of idocy; and belief ought not to be given to it by the most ignorant and credulous of men. Such a condition is the legitimate result of protection. We have been, for nearly one-third of a century, "sowing the wind" and we are now "reaping the whirlwind" of this protective taxation.

We are still under republican laws. No change in legislation has been made by the democratic party. But it will be made, and made soon; and in the prospect for such change by the democratic congress now in session, the signs of improvement have already appeared, and the outlook for higher prices and returning prosperity for the American farmer is gradually but surely growing better from day to day.

Awake then, my friends! Arouse yourselves! Shake off any feelings of indifference you may have in regard to the final determination of this great issue, the magnitude of which can not be overestimated. Be wise to-day! Realize the danger that confronts and surrounds you before it overwhelms and destroys you.

Do not, I beseech you, permit yourself to be reproached when it is too late with the thought that you could have remedied this most grievous wrong, and you would not.

The only hope for a revision and reduction of the tariff lies in the continuance of the democratic party in power. Tariff reform can be had in no other way.

The defeat of the republican party in this state in November next will, by common consent, be everywhere received as the full and final decision of the American people upon this question of protective taxation.

The overthrow of McKinley and McKinleyism in Ohio will affirm the judgment of the people of the entire country entered in the presidential election of last year, in favor of a tariff for revenue alone. It will encourage that able and trusted leader of his party, who possesses in the highest degree the confidence of the people regardless of their political affiliations, Grover Cleveland, and the democratic representatives in the congress of the United States, in their efforts to carry out the instructions of the people as voted in that election.

I appeal to you, then, to vote the democratic ticket. Shall I appeal in vain? It is for you to answer. But, in answering, I beg you to remember that the democratic party is the party of the people; that it has always been the party of the people, that it has, at all times and in all places, and under all circumstances, in sunshine and in storm, in prosperity and in adversity, in peace and in war, watched, as a guardian angel, over the rights, interests and liberties of the people; and that, whether it wins or loses the election in Ohio this year, it will continue this fight for tariff revision, reduction and reform, until it shall break and destroy the stronghold of the monopolists and protectionists upon the throats of the people, and give to us a system of taxation, which, just and equal in its provisions, will blot out all discriminations and distinctions between one citizen and another, and secure to each and all alike freedom from taxation to the fullest extent consistent with a pure, honest, wise and economical administration of the government.

The following, which we quote from the New Lisbon Patriot, is as meaty as an egg. These hard times a round \$100 is not easily picked up. We suggest that some pension howler, who followed some money-making pursuit between 1861 and 1865 goes for this reward: "The Patriot will pay a reward of \$100 to any responsible party who will furnish the name of a single deserving soldier who has lost his pension. Do not go off a thousand miles to find one; but put your finger on one somewhere in reach. The deserving soldier is now in the house of his friends and the master of the house, Grover Cleveland, will see that the pension roll be kept at a high level of honor. You brainless howlers, who never heard the thunder of battle, shut up or furnish the proof and get your money."

ROBBERY,

Duplicity and Demagoguery

Mercilessly Uncovered and Boldly Denounced

AT NEWARK, SEPTEMBER 14,

By W. A. Taylor, the Democratic Candidate

For the Office of Lieutenant Governor.

Base Falsehoods Concerning the Pensions Exposed.

How the People of Ohio Were Robbed by the Boodlers of the Seventieth General Assembly.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

For myself, and for the political organization I have the honor to represent, I shall appeal to no man's passions or prejudices, with a view of influencing his vote.

That work I shall leave to the demagogues of the opposition.

For two decades they have used prejudice and passion as a foil to conceal the real workings of a legislative and administrative system that set at war the common interests of a common people, and, under a false and pernicious pretext, enriched the few at the bitter cost of the many.

For years the masses have felt the pulsing effects of over-taxation and class legislation, and their recent experience was but the dying struggle of a dethroned dynasty.

Your candidate for governor is here, and I am here to-day, not to appeal to your passions, not to incite ancient prejudices, but to reason with you with that calm deliberation which befits an intelligent people alive to their own best interests.

It argues well for the immediate future of Ohio and the union, that the occupation of the demagogue, like Othello's, is gone. The ghost of demagoguery may gibber on some of the stumps in Ohio, about hard times and about pensions, and shriek for higher taxation, but it will not succeed in fooling anybody.

It is to reason and intelligence, therefore, that I appeal, and, I do not overestimate the intelligence of the 850,000 voters of Ohio, when I express my confidence that that appeal will be in vain.

That many of the older members of the republican party should cling to the organization, even after it had fulfilled its mission, and abused its opportunities, is perhaps the natural result of remissness and association.

But why any young voter of thirty-five years, or under, can march under its banner of Bourbonism is incomprehensible. And I address myself especially to young men and young republicans. Why should you link yourself to the Bourbon corpse? Why should you act as pall-bearers at the funeral of your own opportunities?

Unjust, inequitable and burdensome taxation, levied for any purpose, and especially for the purpose of enriching a class at the expense of all others, is oppressive to the middle-aged and the old, but to the young it is the blighting milder which destroys their hopes and withers their opportunities upon the very threshold of their lives.

The McKinley bill unfurled the Algerian flag of rapacious and piratical Mammon, in opposition to the glorious banner of the brain and brawn and muscle of American youth; of the young and virile, born to the plow and not to the purple, engaged in a noble battle to free themselves from their early environments and reach the highest planes of American citizenship without trampling down and destroying the rights and opportunities of their fellows.

Under which flag? You must give your answer at the polls, and in giving it you should save your common opportunities from overthrow and destruction.

Let demagogues maunder, but vote for the preservation of your own future.

The overthrow of McKinleyism in Ohio this year insures the triumph of the people in state and national affairs for years to come. The rock of their safety towers like Mt. St. Elias above the spray of the culminating storm in the nation's capital. There we have the cheering spectacle of democratic president and congress—

"The temple of a people's hope,
The center of a land's desire,"
working out the people's will.

The redemption of the promises made to the people has begun long before the regular assembling of congress, and it will go on until the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the mighty and the humble, shall each and every one come into his rightful heritage, bequeathed by the fathers and guaranteed by the constitution. We want you young men, you young republicans, to come with us this year and help emphasize the triumph of a free and intelligent people.

And now concerning the pension question. I desire to say a few words on that. I have the right to say it here in democratic old Licking county. It

could be no more appropriate anywhere, for from this county you sent your democratic boys to the front by the thousand.

On almost every battle-field, from Gettysburg to Galveston and from the banks of the Ohio to Savannah, where Sherman's invincible troopers saluted the sea under the light of the southern stars, sleeps one or more of the democratic sons of old Licking county!

And yet demagogues, seeing power and place about to slip away from them, are filling the land with the lying statement that the democratic administration is going to take the pensions away from the deserving old veterans. I call it a lying statement, because I believe in the use of plain Anglo-Saxon words.

The men who coin and the men who circulate it, know that it is a lie, but are anxious to ride again into office on the back of a lie, since truth no longer refuses to carry them.

I desire to say here and now to our republican friends, surrounded as I am by the bronzed democratic veterans of the war, and the democratic fathers and mothers and wives and sisters of the heroic democratic dead, that these illustrious dead are our dead as well as yours; that the honored living are our fathers and sons and brothers as well as yours, and that their comfort and care and welfare are as dear to us as they can be to you!

And shame upon the demagogues who seek to trade upon patriotism, so often the last ditch of the undeserving, and whose love for the soldier never manifests itself except in a political campaign.

Nowhere between the rising and setting of the sun, in all this broad land, in office or out of office, is there a single man who marches beneath the flag of democracy, but is in favor of giving the most ample pension to every deserving veteran who needs it.

And now, if there is any man here

And now let me give you a specimen of the love of those sleek republican politicians for the soldier and his father or mother and his widow and his orphan. One Charles W. F. Dick, Chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee, has entered into partnership with one Henry D. Phillips, a pension attorney, of Washington, D. C., under which Mr. Dick agrees to put the circular of Phillips in the hands of every soldier, every deceased soldier's widow or father or mother, and every deceased soldier's minor child, or guardian in the state of Ohio.

In this circular are sixteen questions with blanks left for answers. The answers will show the military services of every soldier who responds, and what right to a pension the other respondents have, if any, and what right to a pension or an increase of pension the soldiers may have.

Five two-cent stamps must accompany each answer.

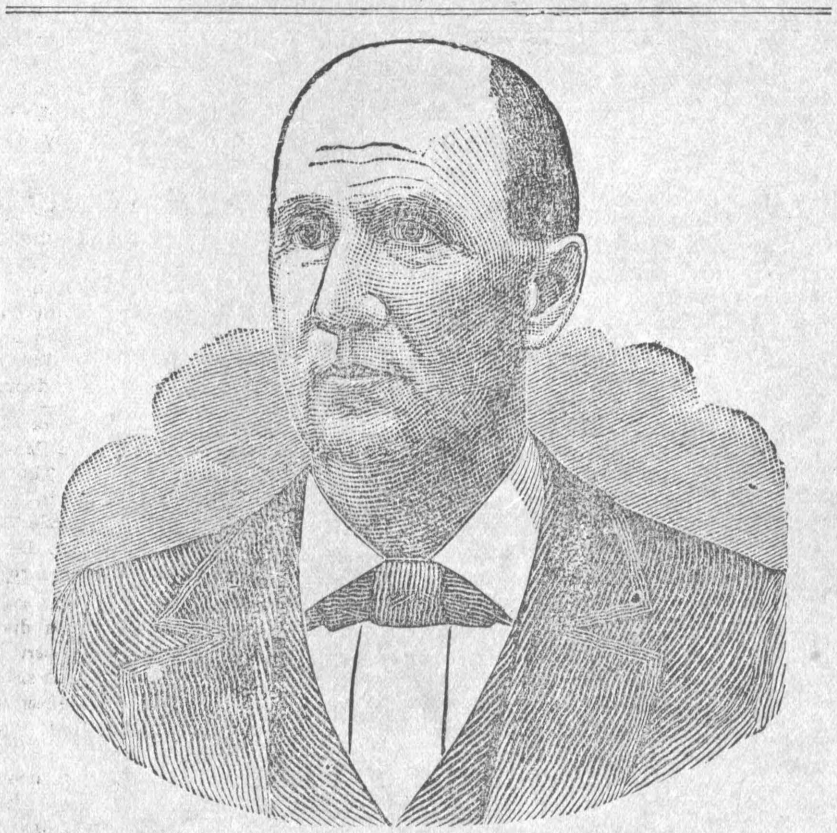
There are at least 400,000 men, women and children in Ohio to whom these blanks can and will be sent. Suppose that one-half of them should fill out the circular, and it is likely that number will, if they are not warned by what I am now saying, and enclose the stamps, what will the pension agent's harvest be?

The mere trifle of \$20,000. Only \$20,000 for the privilege of filling up Mr. Henry D. Phillips' circular and returning it at their own expense!

The opulent pension sharks have invented a good many schemes for working the soldier and the widow and the orphan, but this is the worst of all of them!

Just how the partnership fund is to be divided I don't know, but it is fair to suppose it will be divided even. This will give \$10,000 to Politician Dick and \$10,000 to the opulent pension attorney, Phillips!

What a beautiful scheme to fry \$10,000 worth of fat out of the old soldiers and widows and orphans to run the re-



W. A. TAYLOR.

who believes in paying pensions to the undeserving who do not need them, let him stand up and make himself known.

Why should we democrats be opposed to generous and honest pensions to the deserving? To the shattered members of our own household? The charge that we are the wilful falsehood of the despairing demagogue, and is beneath the contempt of every man who wore blue.

It is projected into this campaign by the same men who said that the election of a democratic president meant the payment of the rebel debt; that it meant the pensioning of the Confederate soldiers; that it meant the re-enslavement of the negroes; that it meant the nullification of the XIV and XV amendments to the constitution; that it meant the taking away of pensions of all union soldiers, and the immediate destruction of the government itself.

All these things were to come to pass between the 4th of March, 1885, and the 3rd of March, 1889, while Grover Cleveland was president. You know that not one of them came to pass. You know that each of them was a miserable falsehood.

So, too, is the charge in 1893 that a democratic administration proposes to deprive the battle-scarred veterans of their pensions, because it intends to make the pension roll a roll of honor, and pay honest pensions to the deserving without asking the politics of the pensioner.

If there ever is a party in this country, organized to take away the pensions of the soldiers, you will see it enter the field three years from now, and it will be marshaled by the same Bourbon republican demagogues, who to-day are lying about the democratic administration, in the hope and expectation of seducing democratic soldiers from their allegiance.

Let me say to the old soldiers of all parties. You have nothing to fear from the democratic party, founded in the hearts and consciences of the people, but keep your eyes upon the Bourbon republican leaders. They are anxious to deceive you out of your votes, but beyond those votes they have no use for you.

These republican politicians, who have raised this pension outcry, have no more use for you, after they fool you out of your votes, than they had for McClellan, and Hancock, and Thomas, and Morgan, and Steadman, and Corse, and Slocum, and McCook, and Ewing, and Wiley, and Rice, and Rosecrans, and all the long roll of democratic heroes, whom they reviled and denounced without limit as traitors, when they were candidates for public office on or advocated the success of the democratic ticket.

Ohio during the month of August, there was an actual increase of 4,563, an average of 150 per day.

In answer to Gen. Mitchell's invitation I called at his office and he showed me the rolls. These rolls give the following changes in the month of July, 1893:

Total loss to the roll.....	213
By death.....	154
By remarriage.....	8
By legal limitation.....	8
By transfers to other agencies.....	27
From other causes (suspensions).....	13
Added during July.....	106

During the month of August the following changes were shown:

Total loss to the roll.....	132
By death.....	102
By remarriage.....	11
By legal limitation.....	11
By transfer to other agencies.....	37
From other causes (suspensions).....	16
Added during August.....	4,563

Which includes 4,596 transferred from Dayton home.

There you have the whole story. To make up the 32,000 suspensions in August, each suspension was multiplied by 2,000, but that is a moderate falsehood when you take into consideration the desperate straits to which the Bourbon republican leaders find themselves.

During the closing months of Grover Cleveland's first administration in 1888-1889 there was but one question uppermost—how to reduce the tax burdens of the people and prevent the accumulation of a dangerous surplus in the national treasury, which, after meeting every reserve and every requirement, amounted to a round \$100,000,000.

During the closing months of Benjamin Harrison's administration in 1892-1893, there was but one question uppermost, how to increase the tax burdens of the people so as to raise enough revenues to meet the hungry demands upon a treasury that carried a deficiency instead of a surplus!

The \$100,000,000 of surplus was gone, and the dimes and nickels and pennies were counted as available cash in the treasury balance.

The \$100,000,000 gold reserve for the redemption of the legal tender notes, had been impaired, and was being maintained only as a fiction.

While President Harrison prayed for the speedy arrival of the 4th of March, Secretary Foster clamored for the right to issue \$50,000,000 in bonds to bridge the yawning chasms.

Our gold was flying across the ocean at the rate of \$20,000,000 per month, and the trusts and combines created by the McKinley bill were collapsing and threatening to engulf the nation in financial ruin.

The economical methods of a democratic administration had been hooted out of every department and the looters had done their perfect work. When a democratic president and congress came into power on the 4th day of March, 1893, they found an empty treasury and a financial panic, and they heard the hoarse shouts of the pirates charging it all up to the people and the democratic party, jeering at the democratic salvage corps and shouting: "You wanted a change and you've got it!"

And with that cry they hope to unship horse sense in Ohio and carry the state for McKinleyism and Shermanism, the dangerous reef from which the democracy have just succeeded in rescuing the ship of state.

But here in Ohio, with each succeeding republican state administration and legislature, the people have seen their taxes increase and the public institutions unload larger and larger deficiency upon a consumptive treasury.

A democratic congress and president over in Washington, with fresh and emphatic and unmistakable instructions from the people, are at work relieving you from the burdens of a quarter of a century of republican class legislation and twenty-one years of republican mal administration, and that gives you Buckeye voters the golden opportunity to do a big job of threshing on your own threshing floor.

Every officer to be voted for in Ohio, from governor, state officers and legislature, down to county infirmity director, with the exception of a single congressman to fill a vacancy, has to do only with your state and county affairs and will determine whether Ohio is to be turned over to the bond brokers and tax-gatherers, or whether the load of taxation for all purposes in the state is to be reduced below \$40,000,000 limit next year, or whether it shall go beyond the \$46,000,000 limit of this year, and call upon you for \$50,000,000 or more of taxes annually.

If you want to see it reduced, you will turn the present republican state government and legislature out of power.

If you want to see it increased, you will re-elect Gov. McKinley and a republican legislature, and by that vote give them carte blanche to confiscate your property without the right of appeal.

No man more cheerfully concedes to Gov. McKinley all the high attributes of honesty and integrity claimed for him by his friends than I. I have known him for many years, and known him only to respect him.

But his administrative misfortunes have been so many and so signal that he well might pose as the modern Jeremiah and issue a new edition of Lamentation.

Beginning with all the public institutions carrying the most enormous deficiencies to the yawning mouth of an empty treasury, the procession is a solemn one and conducive of tears.

A high public official, reappointed by him to an office that is designed to care especially for the workingman and woman, was brought to the bar of a public investigation by the democratic and independent press, and was shown to have looted the treasury to the extent of thousands of dollars.

A part of his misdoings, but not all of them, were exposed, and a part of the thousands of the people's money, wrongfully taken, but not all, was returned in the executive chamber, and the perpetrator went thence unmolested, although the state's law officer, now asking a re-election at your hands, was present and knew the full depth of the offense against public morality and public safety.

It is for you, my fellow citizens, to say

whether malfeasance in office is to be thus condoned with the approval of the people. Are you ready to set the seal of your approval upon this sort of an invitation to some other state official to open the vaults of the treasury with a crow-bar and help himself?

And then there were scandals and scandals in the penitentiary and other departments of the state government—but you will excuse me for not referring to them; for as the learned Mr. Wegg said to the learned Mr. Boffin: "There are ladies present!"

But what the state administration lacks in lurid beauty is more than made up by the late legislature. Its record towers above all others, as the mountains of the moon tower above a collection of mole hills.

It was two-thirds republican in both branches, and yet Gov. McKinley and the republican correspondents are trying to lay its sins on the democratic party. That is, when they are not denying its record, or are praising its worst misdeeds, as they do sometimes.

If any job, any license to a syndicate to plunder the people of their rights without redress, failed to pass, it was because its promoter had more conscience and less gall than the two-thirds majority.

If the prayer of any farmer or any workman for relief from any burden, or protection against any rapacity, was heeded in a legislative enactment, the recording angel dropped a tear of surprised joy upon it and washed it out, for it can not be found in the record.

If it left upon the statute books any democratic law cutting official salaries down to reasonable proportions, the fact is unknown to the taxpayers of the state. It found the law there and wiped it out under the whip of a suspension of the constitutional rules and the gag of the previous question.

It appropriated every dollar of possible revenues in the treasury, and then emulating the example of the man who conducted double-entry book-keeping, by charging the items up twice, it appropriated \$600,000 that was not in the treasury, but which must be drawn from next year's revenues to meet the expenditures of this.

This is one of the things which Gov. McKinley especially praised in his speech of acceptance. He described it as a new and beautiful system of advanced drafts, which relieved the necessities of the present.

But if any of you should catch your clerk, or cashier, or book-keeper making advance drafts on his next year's salary to meet his riotous expenditures of this year, how long would you permit him to have charge of your business?

This same legislature, during its two sessions, devoted itself to piling local indebtedness upon the people, and passed all sorts of special bills, good, bad, indifferent and strictly devilish, until at the end of the second session it had added about \$80,000,000 to that form of tax-creating and tax-eating obligations.

When that legislature expired, it expired amid the universal execration of all men and newspapers, for this reason above all others. Now the republican leaders and newspapers are trying to deny or conceal the record.

Their denials, however, are in vague and general terms. Some try to cut the enormous mountain down one-third; others want to reduce it one-half, but they take good care not to produce the record.

One of them declares that if we "omit the road bills and other measures, the total increase of the bonded indebtedness is only \$21,800,000!"

He reminds one of the fellow who was being tried for the unlawful selling of whisky, and who plead that he only sold cocktails. "But what composes a cocktail?" inquired the judge. "You take a little water, and a little sugar, and a little stoughton bitters, and a little lemon, and a little pine apple and a few other little things and mix them together," was the reply.

When pressed to tell what the other "little things" were, he offered to sell the court the recipe for \$25. So with the republican writer who wants to omit the "road bills and other measures," which make up the other \$8,200,000 and complete the legislative cocktails.

On the morning on which the regular and adjourned sessions of the legislature quit work in 1892 and 1893, there appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer, one of the leading newspapers of the country, complete lists of all the bond-creating bills, with their number as introduced, description and the amount of bonds they called for.

These lists are still accessible in its files. Their accuracy has never been successfully questioned and never will be. The auditor of state has officially certified that the increase of local debt following the regular session of 1892 was \$12,400,000, exactly verifying the list for that year, published in the Enquirer.

The list published in 1893 shows an increase of \$17,000,000 in round numbers, and the next annual report of the auditor of state will confirm its accuracy.

This year, for the first time, the general laws are bound in one volume and the local laws are to be bound in another. The local laws create the \$17,000,000 debt. The general laws have been printed and bound; the local laws have not. Nor will they be in all likelihood. This side of the November election. They are the record of the bonds, and are under the seal of secrecy in a friendly printing office in Norwalk. The republican leaders deny the enormity of the burden and say: "Produce the laws and show the amount of bonds!"

This is what they call republican statesmanship in Ohio!

And in that same printing office are buried the journals of the two houses, and there they will remain buried until after the election, and the republican members, denying their records, will defy their constituents to prove them by the journal!

There are republican officers about the state house, who know more about that printing office and its secrets, and who are backing it, than they care to tell. But touching these and several other matters, I shall speak at future dates and places.