

Speech  
McKinley's Political  
Campaign, at  
Bac Harbor, 1896  
me.

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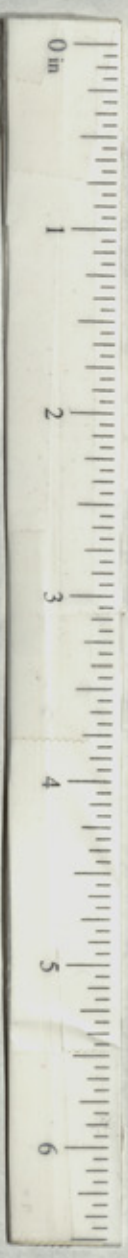
Subjects  
Politics



Wm. H. Brown  
Secretary, Portland  
Company, at  
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Gentlemen:-

As you well know it has been, for a long time, customary to have in our country two great national organizations. These have been regarded generally by thinking men as a safe-guard to our government. The present grand divisions have been named since just before the beginning of our war, the Republican and Democratic parties. Whigs and Democrats were the teachers of my early days. The Whigs were absorbed in 1860.

All the good things have not been found in one party to the exclusion of the other. Both have had policies that have on trial proved to be beneficial to the Republic, and both have had their deficiencies. Critical men complain; and will continue to complain; because these parties at best are human. Reformation is doubtless needed,- needed at the primaries,- needed yet at the ballot-box, needed in Civil Service, needed in stopping bribery, needed in checking monopoly and greed, needed in temperance legislation and what not !

*Political Speech, Cambridge 1896  
in defense of Bar Harbor, Me.*

I learned many years ago an important lesson from the Hon. Henry Wilson. He put it in this way: "If you cannot take two steps in the right direction, take one." Parties are obliged to do so!

A lady lately told me that both parties were corrupt and vile because they did not have in them her plank of Woman Suffrage. My answer given was a safe one, for it saves me from the fear of a curtain lecture. It is this: "I verily believe that when the women of the land want woman suffrage they will obtain it." "Mothers in Israel" will see to this matter by instructing their sons.

#### THE PLATFORMS AND THE CANDIDATES.

Mugwumps, free-traders, poor men, wise men and cranks cannot get into a public declaration at a party convention all the ideas and morals they want.

We call the announcement of such things as we can agree upon and do agree upon when put together in readable shape a party.



platform.

Our two largest parties have met this year in convention; the Republican at St. Louis and the Democratic at Chicago. They have chosen their candidates :

- (1) McKinley & Hobart for the Republicans,
- (2) Bryan & Sewall for the Democrats.

They have formulated their platforms and published them in the newspapers of the land. Everybody who desired to do so read them,- probably the next day after their promulgation.

The candidates are as individuals so unobjectionable that little need be said about them personally. I am acquainted with Major McKinley. He is not only a strong, resolute, fearless manly man; but he has a warm heart, and a pure, unassailable private character. As the young politicians say: There's nothing the matter with McKinley!

But the two great parties both claim our suffrage. They are to be judged in two ways by all of us; one is by the promises of their platforms, rightly interpreted and rightly

understood; and the other by their well known history of upwards of thirty-five years. You will find their principles or campaign issues in their platforms; and much of condensed history in the same place.

#### THE REPUBLICAN.

Now take up the Republican platform. It has twenty-two distinctive planks. The first is tariff. It names and defends a protective system. The foes of this tariff call it in derision "a paternal system!" As I don't know anything better than a father's love, except a mother's, I accept the new name. We might double up and call it a parental system. In all good families all the children are provided for. In this particular system protection should with discrimination and justice benefit all the citizens.

Somehow, strange as it may appear to certain educated theorists issuing their books from large colleges, the theorists who are advocates of free trade, the history of tariff results in our land for over a century abundantly sustain this Republican plank. How plain the enunciation :

• The ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest."

If McKinley's well known tariff, or one fashioned to meet present emergencies can be adopted, it will enable us to do



two important things: First to pay our honest debts;  
and Second, to generously meet the needs of the country.

### RECIPROCITY.

"Reciprocity" is the name of the next plank. Reciprocity was in that McKinley Bill and became the law. I like the sound of it. Hon. James G. Blaine in the outset urged it with his usual earnestness. Make good bargains with those who send us the necessaries of life which we do not produce; send them the products of our farms, factories and forests. "Reciprocity builds up foreign trade, and finds an outlet for our surplus." I cannot for the life of me see why the Democrats could not have let that reciprocity ~~paragraph~~ remain in the law books without repealing it as they did.

However, I did learn one lesson when stationed in Washington. I was in the Lower House of Congress visiting a Republican friend. A Democrat (we will call him Mr. Smith) sat next to him. They were socially on good terms. My Republican friend, hearing his own name called, asked Mr. Smith: "How did you vote?" "I voted, aye!" he replied. My friend instantly cried aloud, "No!" and so his vote was recorded. If a Republican would gauge his vote in that way, how much more would an old time Democrat.



*And all lines would ask:*

6

**Republican**

Is Reciprocity a Republican measure? Yes. Then ~~their~~ opponents must vote to repeal the law. But I do hope that those whom the Chicago platform has set afloat will now think better of reciprocity. It is the best sort of free trade, and joins hands kindly with a proper and reasonable protection.

*So much so the people get ahead of Shakers there!*

### THE CURRENCY.

It is not easy to produce anything novel on the currency issue. The Republican plank is very explicit; and for that matter, so is the Democratic. Put one over against the other

#### REPUBLICAN.

#### DEMOCRATIC.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency, or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of Silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, - which agreement we pledge our	...	We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender equally with gold, for all debts public and private, and we favor such legislation as
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selves to promote, and unless  
an agreement can be obtained  
the existing gold standard must  
be preserved.

All our silver and paper  
currency must be maintained at a  
parity with gold, and we favor  
all measures designed to maintain  
inviolable the obligations of the  
United States and all our money  
whether coin or paper, at the  
present standard, the standard of

the most enlightened nations of  
the earth."

The preliminary statement is  
"The Republican party is unre-  
servedly for sound money. It  
caused the enactment of the law  
providing for the resumption of

7  
will prevent for the future the  
demonitization of any kind of  
legal-tender money by private  
contract.

We are opposed to the policy  
and practice of surrendering to  
the holders of the obligations  
of the United States the option  
reserved by the law to the gov-  
ernment of redeeming such obli-  
gations in either silver coin  
or gold coin.

In the preliminary argument  
for this plank it is stated :

"We declare that the Act of  
1873 demonetizing silver with-  
out the knowledge or approval  
of the American people has  
resulted in the appreciation of



specie payments in 1879. Since : gold and a corresponding fall  
 then every dollar has been as : in the prices of commodities  
good as gold." : produced by the people."

The difference between the parties is here made perfectly plain. Both are in favor of gold and silver; but the Republican promises to promote an international agreement; until that agreement is had the Republican will maintain the present gold standard. The democrat, on the contrary calls for the remonetizing of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, independent of other nations.

No explanation of this currency business would seem to be needed by any reading man; yet within a week I saw in a New York paper that silver was quoted at "69 cents", and the same journal said that price makes the silver in our dollar worth 53 cents. I asked a business man what the 69 cents meant. He could not tell me. I tried three other men - merchants - and they shook their heads. One said : "I don't know; I've been trying to find out ." The explanation, to be sure, ought to have been in the quotation itself from the journal, viz: "69 cents for silver" means "69 cents per ounce." The standard silver dollar



is a little less than one ounce.

One ounce is 480 grains. The silver dollar is 371  $\frac{1}{4}$  grains. If 480 grains are worth 69 cents, one grain is worth  $\frac{14}{10000}$  cents, and 371  $\frac{1}{4}$  grains are then worth 53 cents. It is a simple problem in fractions.

16 to 1 means that 16 ounces of silver are to be made by law equal in value to one ounce of gold. The ratio in the markets of to-day is nearer 32 to 1. The price of the silver in our dollar now varies from time to time from 50 to 53 cents. A law of 16 to 1 must then depreciate our currency nearly one-half in the markets of the world. Nobody finds any escape from the result except in a <sup>can</sup> ~~part~~ imagination.

*There is gross* MISREPRESENTATION!

I noticed in a campaign pamphlet, issued in the interest of silver, that the author commences with a strange statement, to wit: "On one party side is arrayed the owners of money and securities, - the <sup>[part side]</sup> men who deal almost exclusively in money and securities; on the other will be found the merchant, manufacturer, farmer, miner, real estate owner, artisan, mechanic and laborer." Give *this*



man his premises and he can prove anything - that George Washington was a traitor, and Benedict Arnold a patriot. He can put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter. He can make right appear wrong and wrong appear right. Such a proposed party division is an insult to our millions of freemen. *as he makes*

It is by such absurdly false utterances that multitudes are deceived. The large capitalists in our land, which he would *thens* herd together, are comparatively few. On the contrary, all the various classes that the author of the silver pamphlet names are mostly *small* capitalists; they put their deposits in national banks, savings banks, or other banks for convenience. The bank officers themselves are only trusted agents. They *the agents* guard the deposits. They loan the money. It is not their own. A Kansas farmer *e.g.* who borrows \$5,000. and secures it by a mortgage on his land, as a rule, owes that money to men and women of comparatively small means, to these merchants, manufacturers, farmers, miners, real estate owners, artisans, mechanics and laborers, to each and all who have made the deposits. To repudiate such obligations is criminal; to pay but fifty cents



on the dollar is either a crime or a failure. Honest men, unless compelled by circumstances beyond their control, do not do such things. Remember ~~that~~ if the law of 16 to 1 could materialize, that it will take from every insured man, almost one-half his insurance; from every pensioner about one-half his pension; from every man who has saved anything for old age or a dark day, and has put it on deposit in a savings bank, almost one-half his deposit. Rich men are safe enough. The rich men, the owners of money and securities, the men who deal almost exclusively in money and securities will lose, of course. They doubtless hate to lose money. It will hurt them as it did Juvenal's rich man in Rome. It hurt him to see burned up his numerous store houses and residences. He shed tears and wrung his hands. The rich man may wring his hands and grow red and pale by turns; but after disaster he soon recuperates. He can speculate even in silver; **bu**y it cheaply somewhere in the world's markets, and put the silver which he buys into current coin. The Rothschilds claim that they can do better with silver at the free coinage standard, than with gold! Surely history shows



that the Rothschilds can make money. We cannot stop them, nor England by free trade or the free coinage of silver in the ratio of 16 to 1. No, no. It is the man of moderate means like most of those who hear me, the wage earner, the pensioner, and the man of limited insurance who will soonest suffer and suffer most.

### EVILS AND HOW TO AVOID THEM.

But evil exists; poverty exists; wool men, multitudes of them between the Atlantic and the Pacific, are heart broken over the loss of their flocks; farmers have debts and cannot get their products to market; many good men are out of employment; and holders of capital, always cautious, do not use it; manufactories are empty and silent. Yes, this is all true. But, citizens, *Set us* reverse the wheels. Give our best men the reins of government and you will soon see a change in the tide. Good tariff, generous reciprocity, honest money in able and unselfish hands, will make a marvelous change.



## CONGRESS AND LAWS.

Of course McKinley, superb as he is, is not enough. He needs laws to execute. The people want a Congress full of energy and perseverance, fearless, unselfish and patriotic. The right sort of Congress will give us enough revenue, and start us again up the hill of progress and development. *hitherto / been. flash*

Other nations looking <sup>have</sup> on called our ~~democracy~~ conservative. But Bryan and his followers are going ahead now!! But such a going. His party reminds me of a boy who rode in a cart and drove the steers yoked to the cart down a lane between two stone walls. Their names were Bright and Buck. Buck was conservative and everlastingly holding back, and made Bright pull the cart every time they came to a hard place. <sup>boy</sup> ~~The~~ had an old fashioned goad with a sharp brad. He became vexed at Buck, and as they were approaching a turn in the lane, he pricked him near the haunches. Quicker than a flash that steer started to run, but Bright ran too. Buck got ahead, ran around Bright and at the turn in the lane threw the cart against the corner rocks, smashed the cart, broke



the cart tongue, and made off, dragging poor Bright after him.

Substitute Bryan's party for Buck, and the Democratic gold wing for Bright, and you comprehend the race. Free trade and free silver 16 to 1 yoked together may run fast, but they will run against the rocks and cripple all their conservative friends. They will ruin the vehicle of State that they attempt to manage, though the boy orator may hold the goad.

#### AN OLD CRISIS. HOW IT CAME.

To men of my age it does not seem a great while ago when a bona fide crisis suddenly confronted our people. A hostile army from the South was marching against the Capital of the Nation. Men were everywhere rushing to arms. General Ben Butler was feeling his way via Annapolis into Maryland; Washington was in danger. I remember well how the late Hon. James G. Blaine telegraphed me, then a thirty year old Lieutenant of Ordnance on duty at West Point : "Howard, will you take the colonelcy of the Third Maine Regiment, if elected ?" I heeded Blaine's call.



I went quickly to Maine, resigned from the Ordnance Corps and began to organize and drill the Regiment of 1000 men. We greatly needed time, -delay, - for preparation; but the crisis was already upon us. The Capital was in ~~dager~~! "Go on at once with your regiment", cried Governor Israel Washburn. What was the good of only 1,000 men !! Ah, the same Lincoln-call had been made to all parts of the North and West of our country, and our glorious capital city was soon filled to the overflowing with loyal men, ~~the~~ drilling, camping, parading, day in and day out, like veteran soldiers.

They were there in strong force and every man was doing his humble part, and so immediately the capital was rendered safe. Shall we ever behold such a crisis again? May be not! We hope not. But can we not remember that that crisis, when the possession of the Capital hung in the balance, approached very gradually in the action of the causes which <sup>had</sup> produced it? Slavery was <sup>then</sup> the canker worm gnawing away for more than a hundred years at the hearts



of men. State supremacy was slavery's defense against a Nation's will. Freedom talked eloquently; freedom postponed action; freedom compromised. But the fullness of time came at last when slavery and freedom had to come into dire conflict. Thanks be to God and enough brave men, freedom won and freedom's flag floats *Today* from ocean to ocean, and from the Gulf to the Northern Lakes.

#### ANOTHER CRISIS LOOMING UP.

Is there another crisis like that upon us now? No. *perhaps not*  
But there are principles advocated by parties altogether more numerous than the old slave party as it was ten years before the Rebellion broke out,- principles which will, soon or late, produce a crisis in the life of this Great Republic.

To do away with our national banking system, to change our national courts, to take from our President the right to put down riot and insurrection, to debase our currency,- these are ~~but~~ *ugly* but ~~small~~ items. They are straws to show the way the wind is blowing. They might be considered simply as partisan vagaries.

They are planks by which to oppose the Republican Party. Still *they* *indicate* there is danger ahead !!



## BANKS ARE TAXED.

this

Make any reasonable proposition, for example : The national banks, now under the present U. S. tax on circulation have hard work to make any profit on their currency circulation. The present system is, however, to depositors <sup>and</sup> users of the currency, an unqualified blessing. *at once rises* A strange, rough man ~~will~~

*To* dispute you. This man, who has nothing to deposit and no security on which to borrow the depositor's money, cries out vigorously against the National Banks, and says : I will always vote against the bloated bondholder and the stingy money lender. He is like our old dissipated, frontier tramp, who enjoyed Indian wars. He had nothing to lose and everything to gain by the horrible calamity.

## A JUDICIAL ORDER.

Try a second proposition! A United States Judge has issued a legal and proper order which a disturber of the public peace was bound to obey. He obeyed the order, but he did so in the spirit of a martyr. His numerous sympathizing friends cried out



against the Judge and proposed to strip the Judge of his power  
 to make and execute any such order of court. <sup>all</sup> ~~They~~ <sup>Our opponents</sup> cannot trust  
 United States Judges; <sup>so they</sup> and call loudly for votes against all such  
 tyrants. No man is so opposed to law as he who feels the halter  
 draw.

### THE PRESIDENT'S FUNCTIONS. HOW HINDERED.

Here is still another proposition: The President of the  
 United States had the power, and it was his plain duty to execute  
 all the laws of the United States, which demanded free communica-  
 tions for troops, mails and commerce between the States and abroad.  
 He did just this! <sup>during the G. Riots</sup> A fearful opposition immediately arose against  
 him and his action; <sup>it</sup> and <sup>now</sup> has continued till <sup>followers of Bryan</sup> People even rush  
 back upon the old rotten platform of State supremacy while they  
 point their scornful fingers at <sup>Cleveland</sup> him. His own friends, terrified  
 by the hateful yells of his opponents become afraid to stand by him.  
<sup>I fear</sup> Nobody will ever vote for him again.



## STAND BY ONE STANDARD TILL YOU GET ANOTHER.

Suppose we try one more reasonable proposition like this:  
 "We will keep to our present money standard till we can get another  
 nations to unite with us in <sup>both</sup> remonetizing silver, that we may use  
 gold and silver without debasing our currency. Nay! nay! Three  
 great parties newly organized wildly cry: You are "Gold bugs!  
 "Bloated Bondholders!" "Infamous money lenders!!" - and what not?  
 We are big enough, they say, to act by ourselves. We will not wait  
 for France, Italy, Germany, Russia or England. The acting by them-  
 selves is the essence of their folly. When they try to force men  
 to take 53 cents for one dollar, or make our dollars worth but  
 fifty cents in the world's market, they exploit their folly. The  
 large silver owners are bold: "Give us a fifty cent rise on each  
 ounce of silver!" Wheat men and corn men and cotton men might  
 enjoy that sort of government deal. Raise our product also fifty  
 per cent please!! <sup>instead U.S.</sup> THE REAL CRISIS IS REVOLUTION.

But, after all, this quadrupled folly has not approached  
 a crisis like that of 1861, when the life of the Republic was  
 immediately at stake. No, the word Revolution describes the

*new crisis, the* \_\_\_\_\_



crisis that looms up in the distance.

Do away with our excellent banking system, and try wild-cat banks again. We have had the wild-cat banks before and can live through their curse, however much we abhor the experience.

Cripple the United States' Judges and hamper their just decisions. We have done that, now and then, in past times and have recovered from the measly, varioloid experiment.

Load down your executive with disabilities till rioters and disturbers of the public peace have destroyed public and private property at will. Tie up the U. S . troops and marines, army and navy; and hinder the grain ships and freight cars from carrying food and mails and men through <sup>con</sup>gested and obstructed centers. We shall be painfully distressed and greatly bothered; but we have often so suffered. The experience is very distressing; like typhoid it loosens the teeth and shakes the system; but under good doctors we can get well again; many men have; and have had a few more grains of wisdom after health had returned, especially as to the causes which produced the calamity.



And worst of all, deliberately debase your own currency, till it becomes like that of Mexico, or of Cuba. Cheat all the millions of small capitalists, money lenders, widows, orphans, and pensioners, and the insured millions of them, far and near. Take from them one-half of their little all to give to those who have mortgaged their property to get this money for business use. It will depress the country; it will make in time, hard times harder still; it will be real robbery under the name of law; it will be a calamity, a shame, a sin! But still, after the storm there will come a calm. All men will not be infamous and dishonest because they can be. Many of the small depositors will get their money; and perhaps the new Democracy in sheer shame will double the pensioner's mite; or oblige insurance companies by fiat-law to import gold and pay us all in that wicked coin. At any rate we shall, in time, get over the degraded disease of deliberate currency debasement. We have as a nation more than once recovered from a depreciated currency; and can again. But it is the tendency which I fear, or rather the strong tendencies of these wrong planks that I dread



and deprecate. Behind those rich silver men of the St. Louis silver Convention and the new democracy come on the wilder populists! They have been increasing. They mean <sup>a destructive</sup> revolution and nothing short of it, that the United States Senate as it now is elected must be destroyed. They imply that the end must be one and only one House. No more conservative tribunals. The centralization will be complete when the banks are gone and the old state banks set up. The railways must be owned and managed by government clerks. The telegraphs held and operated by U. S. officials. The land taken, possessed and bonded at low rates for the convenience of all the people, and all the poor supported on public works <sup>U.S.</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>GR</sup> at the public charge. The government office holders will be multiplied by millions. The executive and judicial will be so changed as to fit the new conditions. Such evident bureaucracy and centralizing operations which make us rapidly to approach the monarchial and Russian systems have been hitherto laughed at by our wise men as chimeras <sup>and</sup> fanatical schemes. The two great parties <sup>heretofore</sup> regarded as essential for safety and good government have hitherto never dreamed of the populists getting



into power and control. But now, how is it? The best Democrats  
 are fleeing <sup>like sailors from a burning ship</sup> from their new Chicago platform; and the populists have  
 come up to join hands firmly with the Chicago leaders. Bryan does  
 not say that he endorses the populist platform; but he does so in  
 fact. <sup>out & out,</sup> All have been coming on together. They have <sup>the 16 to 1 crowd</sup> been gaining  
 in power. They have crazed a multitude and they bear and scatter  
 among them the seeds of <sup>destructive</sup> revolution! What then? Check them while  
 you can. Let Maine give us a glorious send off first for your  
 good candidate for Governor and his associates on the Republican  
 ticket. It will be a strong voice for McKinley & Hobart; for  
 sufficient revenue, good money, no debasement of currency, for  
 our ships again floating the old flag in every sea, for reciprocity  
 with other nations, and for a prosperous future that our grand re-  
 public needs and deserves.



