Cudure Prenticul Campaign 1896. Brugor me no 27 Voe 8. Dulger Politics

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Fellow Citizens: Many times have I been in this state since the close of our gigantic war; but this coming reminds me strongly of a corresponding campaign, thirty-four years ago, in 1862. I came home after my first wounding and while I was convalescing the Governor requested me to canvass the state, as he called it, for the necessary volunteers to fill our quota. Though still weak from my loss of blood I was so ardent in the cause of the Union that I accepted the invitation. My good wife went to take care of me. And we visited town after town, and I made speeches in the day time and in the evening to multitudes. We broke down the wall of partition between parties, and men stood around me while I plead with them to go back with me, laying their lives upon the altar of their country, in order to preserve CHOTLOUS our Union in its entirety. It was on that tour that I first met the poet Barket, who honored me with his touching and descriptive poem, entitled "The Empty Sleeve". I need hardly tell you that our quota was soon more than filled, even in what had been called, though quite improperly, "Secesh towns". My wife has come with

me again, and her coming, though always in the shade, I can but regard as the Mascot --, the talisman of abundant success!! Of course, my influence now is but a drop to what it was then; but there are hundreds of gigantic workers in the field, and the influence is like the sunshine and the helpful breeze; it reaches, it purifies and it blesses. Permit me a few words more of a personal nature. A prominent christian friend the other day advised me, with much emphasis and evident sincerity; you can condense his advice into one expression: "Gen'l Howard, keep out of pol itics, it will soil your escutcheon." Here is my defence. years, while I was endeavoring faithfully to serve as an army officer, one administration after another, of different political complexions, I said to myself "Wait young man, till you are forced by law to retire from the army, then exercise freely your rights, and your privileges, as a free man and a voter." Remember that I have seven grown children, and nearly twice as many grand-children not yet fully grown; and I have nephews and nieces, and they have chil-

dren; and I have, also, a few friends in the United States, who are blessed with many healthful children. Now, what can a man do better than to set a good example before them all? A scholarly gentleman met me at Bar Harbor; fine looking and middle-aged, a graduate of one of our best colleges, who told me with something that sounded like an oath, that he would have nothing whatever to do with the political parties, or with elections, they are so corrupt. I told him quietly how radically I disagreed with him. there was corruption, but it was corruption in spots; and the duty of every good man, in fact of every man, was plain enough; not to be a grumbler, a pessimist, or worse still, a Mugwump, but to be a patriot; to go to the primaries, and help other right-thinking men to nominate right sort; to go to the xxx register's office regestry U. and help keep it honest and true; and then go to the balloting booths and learn how to put in the right vote in the right place. The son of a patriotic democrat of the old school, not the late Chicago kind, saw his son Thomas the day he was twenty-one, dressed Rough up in canvas, with a tarpaulin on his head and a fish rod in his

hand; it was election day; so the father said "Tom, where are you "Why, I am going fishing, it's an off day, and I've no ingoing?" terest in the election". The old man looked at him sternly and said "Tom, you can go fishing, but if you don't vote today and do your duty as a citizen, you need never return to this house." Thomas, who loved his father, and greatly esteemed him for his sterling qualities, speedily put off his fishing attire and went to the polls and cast his first vote. He is a republican now, and an energetic, faithful leader. Surely I ought to do as well as a good old line democrat. And I believe I cannot do a better thing in this campaign, than use all the influence I have to induce young men, who are just coming of age, to cast their ballots after careful investigation of the platforms, and cast them for what a clear conscience says is the right side.

THE TWO PARTIES.

It is a favorite thought of mine, and I have often seen the idea emphasized, that two great parties are always wholesome for our form of government. Both have had and will have policies and practices beneficial to the republic; and both have had and will have deficiencies. Critical men will complain, and doubtless will have some reason to complain, because parties are only human organizations. Reformation is at most times essential; at some times much more than at others, because parties, at their best often deviate from a clear-cut statesmanship into the deep ruts of expediency, condensed in the phrase "do anything to beat the enemy". The primaries must be overhauled; the ballot box must be lifted up and defended against stuffing or any other illegal contrivance for robbery and theft. The civil service needs watching, and bribery is like a serpent, whose head must be broken; monopoly and greed will hurt and finally destroy any party; and for one I covet with all my soul such a temperance legislation as will benefit the whole people .

The republican party has chosen its candidate, and the democratic party, that is, a wing of it, the one that met at Chicago, has selected its candidates. We behold them in every town, underwriting the stars and stripes; in the principal streets the flag swings, and you read McKinley & Hobart, for the republican party; Bryan & Sewall, for the other. We can offer no very strong objection to either of those four men as individuals. I am personally acquainted with but one, and that is Major William McKinley. McKinley is a strong, resolute, fearless, intelligent, manly man. He is warm-hearted, pure-minded and high-toned. He has proved himself a statesman, and also in Ohio as Governor, a capital executive; eyen his enemies find no flaw in him, except in the size of his tariff, or rather, the height of it; some people never look up; it is hard to get them to look straight ahead; the dust and the mud atract their eyes and dim their vision. Of course, today the two great parties claim our suffrage. In two ways we can properly judge them. First, by the promises and pledges which they make in their platform; promises and pledges, to be rightly interpreted and

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rightly understood; and also by their well known history of upwards of thirty-five years.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The republican platform has twenty-two distinctive paragraphs that we for purposes of clearness call planks. The first, after a few historic statements, takes up the tariff (General Howard reads the tariff plank.)

This paragraph names and defends a protective system. foes call it in derision a paternal system. There's only one thing better than paternal, and that is maternal. Suppose, to please them, we modify the phraseology and take in both father and mother, and call it a prental system. Good parents provide for all their children. In our particular political system protection should with discrimination and justice, provide for and benefit all the citizens. Some college professors and some presidents of universities, have worked out books on political economy in advocacy of free trade, direct taxation, or ad valorem duties. But in spite of all their theories, the history of tariff results in our country, carefully tabulated for over a century, abujdantly sustain the republican plank; you must enjoy its closing period: "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."

McKinley's tariff is not high. It has been misrepresented. It is lower than any other protective tariff, lower as an average, than any we have had. This tariff or one formulated to meet emergencies that have arisen, will enable us to do two important things: First, to pay all honestdebts and, Second, to fully meet the growing necessities of our great republic.

RECIPROCITY.

I like the word reciprocity. If one loves a friend there is little good in it, unless that love be returned. Reciprocity was in McKinley's law. The Honorable James G. Blaine, I always mention his name with affection and esteem, urged reciprocity with his usual ability and ardor: 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.

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"Reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our sur plus." For the life of me I am unable to tell why the democrats repealed that reciprocity paragraph.

Possibly it was according to a lesson that I once learned in the House of Representatives. I visited a republican friend; a dem democrat, Mr. Smith, sat next to him; they were on good terms socially; one day at a big roll call my friend hearing his name quickly asked Mr? Smith, "How did you vote"? "I voted aye", he replied; my friend instantly cried out aloud "No"; and thus his vote was recorded. If a republican could gauge his vote in that way how much more an old-time democrat. He would ask "Is that reciprocity business a republican measure?" "Yes". "Then I must vote to repeal the law." We are greatly hoping that those whom the Chicago platform has set afloat will re-consider and think better of reciprocity, which is the best sort of free trade, and associates kindly with a proper and reasonable protection.

CURRENCY.

One is put to his trumps to produce anything new on the curren-

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cy issue. Our plank is plain enough, and for that matter so is that of the Bryan democracy. Put one over against the other:

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our country. We are therefore: or consent of any other nation. be obtained the existing gold ; money by private contract.

We are unalterably op- : We demand the free and unlimposed to every measure cal- : ited coinage of both gold and silculated to debase our curren- : ver at the present legal ratio of cy, or impair the credit of : 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid

DEMOCRATIC.

opposed to the free coinage of: We demand that the standard silsilver except by internation- : ver dollar shall be a full legal al agreement with the leading : tender equally with gold, for all commercial nations of of the : debts public and private, and we world, -which agreement we : favor such legislation as will prepledge ourselves to promote, : vent for the future the demonetizand unless and agreement can ; ation of any kind of legal tender

standard must be presevred. ; We are opposed to the policy and All our silver and paper : practice of surrendering to the

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ity 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
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holders of the obligations of
the United States the option
reserved by the law to the
government of redeeming such
obligations in either silver
coin or gold coin.

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lican party is unreservedly:
for sound money. It caused:
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viding for the resumption of:
specie payments in 1879.
Since then every dollarshas:
been as good as gold."

that the act of 1873 demonetized ing silver without the knowleds edge or approval of the American people has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people."

In this currency matter the party difference is clear enough. Both favor gold and silver; but the republican party will promote international agreement; until that agreement shall come the republican party adheres to the gold standard. One the contrary, the Bryan party demands the immediate re-monetizing of silver at the ratio of 16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold independent of all other nations. There is still confusion touching this plain subject. Two weeks ago I asked a business man what a newspaper quotation, namely "silver 69 cents" meant; he could not tell I purposely consulted three other merchants, and they shook their heads; one man said "Gen. Howard, I do not know; I have been trying to find out." The Journal ought to have said "69 cents per ounce" of silver, as you would say 60 cents a bushel of wheat.

Now the standard silver dollar is a little less than one ounce; one ounce is 480 grains; the silver dollar is but 371 1/4 grains; if 480 grains are worth 69 cents, one grain is worth 14/10/000 of a cent; this makes 371 1/4 grains worth 53 cents. Since I formulated this easy problem the Journal quotes 65 cents per ounce for

silver, which gives by the simple calculation, but 51 cents for the dollar silver in the market. 16

equal in value to 1 ounce of gold. The ratio in the market of today is nearer 32 to 1. The price of the silver in our dollar, with the traders, varies from 50 to 53 cents. A fiat law forcing the ratio of 16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold must then depreciate our currency one-half, or nearly one-half in the markets of the world. Nobody finds any escape from this evident result, except through a partisan imagination.

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Misrepresentation.

In Bangor I heard an able address, which began by showing that there was a body of men in this country, organized like a great army, who were thouroughly intrenched, having arms of every calibre and plenty of ammunition. This powerful body was utterly heartless and thoroughly unscrupulous.

While the gentleman was speaking my heart began to hate that arganized anarchy, as he called it, and I wanted to lay my plans so as to root it out. I'felt willing to give the villains a fair fight, though not quite ready to join the Populists or the populist wing of the new Democratic party to effect their discomfiture. After a few nights sleep I can not even now help detesting that power of darkness.

I noticed in a campaign pamphlet, advocating the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, that the author begins with this startling statement; " on one part side(the republican)

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is arrayed the owners of money and securities, - the men who deal almost exclusively in money and securities; on the other parties side (the Bryan) will be found the merchant, manufacturer, farmer, miner, real-estate owner, artisan, mechanic and laborer.

Give these gentlemen their premises, and they can prove anything; that George Washington was a traitor, and Benedict Arnold a patriot; that Andrew Jackson was a populist, and Henry Clay an enemy of the people. They can put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter. They can make right appear wrong and wrong appear right. Such a proposed party division, as they attempt, to make, does not in fact exist: The allegation is an insult to our millions of freemen. Public teachers with pleasant manners and facile speech, by thus romancing have deceived some men who have little time to read, or who are not accustomed to think beyond their partiymlines. thus

The largest capitalists, which are herded together, are comparatively few; -they are distributed throughout the ranks of all the

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of the strongest free coinage men; they are millionares.

Some of them are in office; some in congress, and several more are seeking to go there.

On the contrary, all the various classes of men which the man silver-pamphlet enumerates as on his side(Bryans) are not there.

They are for the most part small capitalists themselves.

They put their deposits in banks, National and other banks, for convenience. The Bank officers themselves, generally honest, capable and honorable men, are their trusted agents, to guard the deposits. These agents loan out the money. It is not their own.

A Nebraska farmer e.g. who borrows \$10.000 and securs the same by a mortgage on his land, as a rule, owes that money to men and women of comparatively small means; to merchants, manufacturers, farmers, miners, real-estate owners, artisans, mechanics and laborers, to every one who has made the deposit.

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To repudiate, or shirk such obligations by the Nebraska farmer is criminal; to pay but \$.50 on the dollar is a crime or a confessed failure. No honest farmer, unless compelled by circumstances beyond his control, witholds proper payment. Remember if the law of 16 to 1 shall materialize, that it will take from every insured man almost 1/2 his insurance; from every pensioner about 1/2 his pension; from every man who has saved anything against a dark day or the disabilities of age, and has put it on deposit in a savings bank, the law will takk one half his deposite. Those capitalists, whom our opponents would hate and have us immolate; those owners of money and securities, men who deal almost exclusively in money and securities, will of course suffer heavy losses. They doubtless to lose money. The loss of money will hurt them as it did Juvenal's rich man in P It hurt him to see burned up his numerous store houses. Rome. He shed tears and wrung his hands. The capitalist who is rich

Accident

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hale and

in the scripture sense of the word, may wring his hands and grow red and pale by turns; but after disaster he will soon recuperate. He can speculate even in silver; buy it cheaply somewhere in the worlds market, or draw it from the mines and put what Silver he gets into current coin. The Rothchilds say they can do better with silver at the proposed free coinage standard than with gold. Surely financial history proves that the Rothchilds can make money. We can not stop them; and we can not stop Englands business shrewdness, either by our free trade, or by the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

No; no my friends; it is a man of moderate means like most of us, the wage earner, the pensioner, the man of limited insurance, of limited resources who will soonest suffer and suffer most by having foisted upon him a debased currency.

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How escape portending troubles.

But sore evils do exist; there is poverty; wool men, multitudes of them, between the Atlantic and the Pacific, are discouraged, almost heartbroken, over the loss of their flocks.

Hosts of farmers have annoying debts, and can not get their pruducts to market. Many men, good and bad, are without employment. Holders of capital, more cautious than usual, do not employ their capital. Factories are empty and silent; new failures in business are every day reported, and confidence and co-operation, are wanting. Yes, all this is true, but it is darkest just before the break of day. Already we have caught sight of the morning star over the edges of the Green mountains. Citizens, friends; here is the remedy .- Reverse the wheels of government. Give to our best men the reins, and you will see the chariots of progress rolling over and beyond the hills of difficulty. The sun will rise.

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Good tariff, generous receprocity, honest money, in able and unselfish hands will make a marvelous change, yes a prosperous country and happier people.

Right Laws-

McKinley, grand as he is, is not everything. When president he will need laws to execute. We must have a congress full of energy and perseverance, fearless, unselfish and patriotic. It may take time to do this. The right sort of congress will give us revenue enough, currency enough, factories, enough, ships enough, and, in every way, start us again up the hill of progress and developement. Other nations have been looking on, and have rejoiced greatly in the conservatism of the Democratic party.

This conservatism has delighted them more than us. But Bryan and his followers are going ahead now. Yes. but Such a going!! The democratic party with two wings is like a team I once knew. A boy riding in a cart drove two steers, yoked to the cart, down a lane between two stone walls.

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The steers were named Buck and Bright. Buck was conservative; everlastingly holding back. He made Bright pull the cart every time they came to a hard place. The boy had an old fashioned goad-Jick with a long sharp brad. He became vexed at Buck. Just as they abadturn in the Lane, The boy were approaching pricked him hard near the haunches. Quicker than flash that set into a run, and though Bright ran to, Buck got ahead, man around Bright at turn in the lane, threw the cart against some corner rocks, smashed the cart, broke off the tongue, and made off dragging poor Bright after him. Substitute Bryans party for Buck, and the democratic gold wing for Bright, and you understand the race. In fact 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 which they attempt to manage, though the boy Grator should hold the goad.

The Real Crisis.

It appears to veterans but a few years ago, when a bona-fide crisis confronted our people. A hostile army from the South was marching against the capital of the nation.

Men were every where rushing to arms. General Butler was feeling his way slowly via Annapolis into Maryland. Washington was in danger. The Hon. James G. Blaine telegraphed me, then a lieutenant of ordinance on duty at West Point: "Howard, will you take the colonelcy of the Third Maine Regiment, if elected?"

I heeded Blaine's call, went quickly to Maine, resigned from the army, and shortly began to organize and drill the regiment of 1000 men. We needed time, delay, preparation; but the crisis was already upon us. The capital was in danger " Go on at once with your regiment," cried Israel Washburn. What was the good of only 1000 men. Ah, the same Lincoln-call had extended to the North and West, and our glorious capital city was soon filled to overflowing with loyal men, drilling, camping, parading, day

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in and day out, like veteran soldiers. Strong in force, every man was doing his own humble part. So immediately the Capital became safe.

Are we near such a crisis as that when in 1861 the Union was in peril? We hope not.

Nell
But we remember that the crisis of '61, when the possession of

Washington was hanging in the balance, approached very gradually in the action of the causes which had produced it.

Slavery was then the canker worm which had been gnawing for more than a 100 years at the hearts of men. State supremacy was slavery's defence against the nation's will.

Freedom had the eloquently. Freedom ever postponed action; freedom compromised. But the fullness of time at last came, when slavery and freedom struck in dire conflict. Thanks be to God enough brave men, freedom won; and freedom's flag floats to-day from ocean to ocean and from gulf to northern lakes.

Have we another crisis like that? Not yet. But there are

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principles advocated by parties altogether more numerous than the ald slave party ten years before the rebellion, when Zachary Taylor declared with stormy emphasis, that he would put down a secession attempt with volunteers, yes with southern volunteers,-principles which will, son or late, bring on a crisis in the life of this great republic. To do with our national banking system, to change our National courts, to take from our President the right to put down riots and insurrection, to debase our currency- these are but ugly items. They are however straws which show the way the wind is blowing. Some think them simply partisan vagaries- merely planks to oppose the republican party. Still, they indicate danger ahead.

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The Banks.

Now let us make a reasonable proposition, - this for example:
the National Banks, under present U.S. tax on circulation
make but small profit on their currency circulation.
The present banking system is, however, to depositers and users
of the currency, an unqualified blessing.

A strange rough man rises up to dispute us. This man who has nothing to deposit and no security on which to borrow, cries out vigorously" I hate the National's Banks; I will always vote against the bloated bond holder and the stingy money lender."

This man reminds me of some blear-eyed, dissipated frontier tramp; who always enjoy Indian wars. They had nothing to lose and probably something to gain by horrible calamities.

The U.S. Judge.

Here is a second proposition: a U.S.Judge issued a legal and proper order against a disturber of the Public Peace.

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The offender obeyed the order, but in the spirit of a marty, had numerous sympathizing friends. They cried out bitterly against by the Bryan democracy the Judge. So it is now proposed to strip all Judges of this power to make and execute such orders of court.

Our opponents naturally can not trust U.S Judges. Such tyrants must be voted down.

The President.

Another proposition: the president of the U,S. had the power.

And it was his plain duty to faithfully execute all the laws of the U.S.; particularly those which insured free communications for troops, mails, and commerce between the states themselves and abroad. President Cleveland, during the bloody, Chicago riots, did just this. A fearful opposition immediately rose against him and his action, and you will find him it handsomely condensed but clearly spoken in the phenominal Chicago platform.

and other faithful followers of Bryan are trying to resurrect that old serpent- State supremacy, - which I thought we

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They point their scornful fingers of hate at Grover Cleveland; and, with shriller yells than those of the war, denounce the best things that the Cleveland has done in all the years of his Administration.

Standard of Money.

Try this wholesome proposition. We will keep to our present money-standard till we can get other nations to unite with us in a bona-fide bi-metallism, where we may use both gold and silver without the fear of debasing our currency.

Nay, Nay, the three parties newly organized wildly cry and here follows their answer so hard to controvert namely: "You are "Gold-bugs", "Bloated-bond holders", "Infamous money-lenders." They stoutly declare "We are big enough to act by ourselves; we will not wait for France, Italy, Germany, Russia, or England. The acting by themselves is the essence of their folly.

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When they try to force men to take \$.50 for \$1.00, or make our dollars worth but \$.50 in the market, they exploit their folly. Silver owners surely are bold. Uncle Sam please give us a fifty cent rise on each ounce of silver. Wheat men, corn men and cotton men could enjoy that sort of Government deal.

Raise our products 50 per-cent ... The word Revolution, where disorder and confusion will prevail, will describe 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.

Gripple U.S Judges and hamper their just decisions. We have done that, now and then, and have recovered from the measly experiment.

Load down your President with disabilities, till rioters and disturbers of the public peace destroy public and private property at will.

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Tie up U.S. troops and marines, army and navy, and hinder the grain from lassing shipsand freight cars and mails and men through congested and obstructed centres. We shall be painfully distressed and greatly bothered; but we have at times endured this suffering The experience is very distressing; like typhoid, before now. 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 with reference to the causes which produced the calamity. Finally my beloved Silverites, committe a collossal folly; deliberately debase your own currency till it becomes like that of Mexico or Cuba. Cheat all the millions of small capitalists; all money lenders, including widows, orphans, and pensioners, and the insured millions of your people far and near. Take from them 1/2 of their little all to give to those who borrow their money for farming or other business use. That dread-

ful procedure will depress the country.

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It will make hard times harder still, in time. It will be real robbery under the name of law. It will be a calamity, -a shame, -But still after that storm there will again come a a sin. All men will not be infamous and dishonest because they calm. can be. Many small depositers will doubtless get from honest bankers their money; and perhaps the new so called democracy, in very shame, will double the poor pensioners mite, -and perhaps oblige insurance companies, by some fiat law to import goldm and pay us all in that wicked coin! In time we shall get over the debilitating disease of deliberate currency debasement. Our people more than once have recovered from the fretting ills of depreciated currency, and can again. It is the strong tendencies of wrong party planks which I dread and deprecate. Behind those rich silver men of the St.Louis silver convention, and the young Chicago democracy, come on the wilder Populists! They mean a destructive revolution and nothing less.

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They strike at the United States senate. They despise a conservative tribunal. Their centralizing purpose is evident, though they strike down the National Banks, and set up the State banks again; for, they declare that the rail-ways must be owned and managed by Government officials; that the telegraphs must be held and pperated by U.S agents; that the land, yes, all the land with in our borders, must be taken, little by little by the Government, possesed and bonded at low rates of interest for the convenience of the masses; and that all the poor should be supported on United States public works. The Government office holders will thus be multiplied by millions. The executive and judicial departments are to be so changed, as to fit the new conditions. Such evident bureaucracy and centralizing operations make us rapidly approach Monarchial and Russian systems of Government.

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We have hitherto laughed at these attempts and theories as chimeras and finatical schemes. The two great parties essential to safety and good government, have hitherto never dreamed of the wild Bopulists getting into power and control. But behold a marvel! The best democrate are fleeing like sailors from a burning ship from their revolutionary chicago platform; and the Populists have come up to join hands firmly with the leaders. True, Bryan does not say, out and out, that he endorses the Populist doctrine, but he does so in fact. All the 18 to 1 hunder crowd are coming on together, except watson and Sewall.

Populist ideas, from year to year, have been gaining in power; and the multitude, from one cause and another, has been in ferment, and among them have been scattered the seeds of a destructive revolution. What then? What can Maine do? I will tell you what to do. Outstrip Vermont which sends us such cheering news. Let Maine excel herself this year at every reasonable sacrifice,

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victory in her own election. That will be a strong voice for McKinley and Hobart; a loud call for ample revenue; a pronounced preference for good money, with no debasement of the currency; and unmistakable pleading for our ships again to float the flag we love in every sea; a joyful extension of the hand to grasp others in recriprocity; yes, it will be a bright promise for a prosperous future, that our grand Republic so much needs and so much deserves.

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