supply an army to destroy the rights of the people at the polls. Hayes would not be coerced and vetoed the bills, whereupon Congress yielded, losing the battle and weakening the party among the people of the North, who were still suspicious of Southern Democrats. A little bill doing away with United States troops at polling places, but not interfering with their use in states in case of domestic violence, was finally passed and approved.

Grover Cleveland esteemed Hayes highly as an individual and as a Chief Executive, and Woodrow Wilson pronounced him an upright, public-spirited man, inclined to serve his country unselfishly and in the interest of sound policy. He seems to have been much the same sort of man and President as Polk and Coolidge, quiet, unspectacular, determined but not imperious, well endowed with the saving grace of common sense, thoroughly and instinctively partisan but dispassionately so and on principle, knowing what he wished to do and what he could do, and doing it efficiently and conscientiously.

In 1880 the Democratic Party seemed in hopeful condition. The wrong done the party in 1876 operated in its favor: many of the best men in the country who had joined the Republicans in Lincoln's time, returned to the Democratic faith; the electoral vote of the South was assured its candidate. The opposition among Republican leaders to Hayes' reforms offered the hope that much Democratic support might come from the reform element in the Republican Party.

Against these encouraging conditions was the distrust in the North of Democratic handling of the negro question, the fear that the result of the war would be undone under Democratic rule, which fear the Democratic course in Congress had done little to allay, and the business prosperity existing throughout the country which was credited to Republican administration. Although both parties were divided on the money question, the Republicans were thought by the business element of the country to be the sounder, or at least more susceptible of control. The odium of disloyalty still attached to the Democratic Party in many minds, and conservatives generally tended toward its opponent.

However, the Democrats were united while dissensions existed in the Republican ranks, in which there were three fairly well-defined factions—the Blaine faction, the anti-Blaine or Grant-Conkling faction and the reform element.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TARIFF OF 1884. GARFIELD-ARTHUR ADMINISTRATION


In 1880 tariff reform became the fundamental Democratic policy. It has been, or should have been, Democracy's leading issue ever since. Always arrayed against high tariffs, the party's action was consistent with its own record. The history of the tariff is therefore a vital part of Democratic history. It began with the first debate in the first session of Congress. Smearing under the trade restrictions England had imposed upon us, the tendency in 1788 was strongly for free trade. But revenue was necessary, the need of establishing industries here, which England's policy had forbidden, was urgent and the wisdom of encouragement to them recognized, and, moreover, the trade restrictions of other nations had to be counteracted. The Democrats (Republicans) favored as low duties as possible; the Federalists were high tariff men.

Hamilton's famous Report on Manufactures was submitted in January, 1790, and dealt scientifically and ably with every aspect of the subject. Skillfully he led from incidental protection for industries necessary in war, and thence to infant industries, and he stressed the home market for agricultural products a manufacturing population would afford: The first tariff law was a revenue measure, recognizing incidental protection and quelling at protection for protection's sake. Comparatively few articles were taxed and the average rate was only thirteen and a half per cent.

Our first real protective law was the 1816 tariff law, and it was a mild measure. Dumping of goods from Europe fraudulently invoiced, together with the depressed condition of manufacturing, induced the tariff of 1824, an earnest fight for protection having
Honesty in Politics and Government Under Democratic Leadership

Chapter XXY

THE STORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY