ne element regarded him favorably while with the Independents, he became quite a favorite. The close analogy between the men Fillmore and Arthur, their political characters, careers and fortunes, has been noted.

It seems evident that by 1884, due to the lasting political effects of the war, reinforced by the fairly satisfactory administrations of Hayes and Arthur, the United States had become normally Republican in politics. To win the Democrats had to draw heavily from the liberal and independent elements ordinarily Republican. The Democratic Party was distantly the minority party despite the Solid South. Yet it was the minority party—only because the negro vote of the whole country was practically as solidly Republican as was the South Democratic.

Still it was a powerful organization, strong in nearly every state, with many of the best and ablest men in the country, among its leaders, and fully capable of victory. Its opponent was vulnerable, very vulnerable, despite its overwhelming strength. Both in and out of Congress party lines were wavering, extensive changes of party association were possible; the years 1880-4 was a period of flux, and the times ripe for a great leader in the Democratic Party. Such a man appeared, one of the greatest of Democratic leaders.

CHAPTER XXIV

HONESTY IN POLITICS AND IN GOVERNMENT UNDER CLEVELAND

1885-1889


The Fourteenth Democratic National Convention met at Chicago July 3, 1884, about one month after the Republicans had nominated Blaine. The call had been addressed to "all Democratic conservative citizens regardless of past political associations." Called to order by Chairman W. H. Barnum, Governor Richard H. Hubbard of Texas was made temporary chairman, William F. Vilas of Wisconsin permanent president.

The New York opposition to Grover Cleveland was aggressive from the first. When the routine motion to adopt the rules of the preceding convention came up, Grady of the Tammany forces, he whose reflection to the New York Senate Governor Cleveland had opposed, moved an amendment annulling the unit rule, the New York delegation, roughly estimated at 50, pro, 22, anti-Cleveland, having been put under that rule by the state convention. Grady contended that the State convention could only instruct the delegates from the state at large, the district delegates being free to vote the sentiment of their districts. Bourke Cockran and Kelly supported his arguments while Fellows, supported by Bragg and Doolittle of Wisconsin, opposed. Their position was that by Democratic principles the state was the unit. The amendment was lost by a vote of 403 to 332. The vote seems to have been considerably influenced by the predilections of the delegates for or against Cleveland; Mississippi voted solidly aye, Louisiana nay, and several states tied.
The two-thirds rule came up just before the first ballot, on nominations, W. L. Terry of Arkansas moving that the next call for a convention state that the rule would not be observed unless made obligatory by the convention. After a discussion which showed that such a resolution could be only advisory, the roll call of states began, but the vote was overwhelmingly against the resolution that the call was soon discontinued and the motion indefinitely postponed. A proposal to give the vote to territorial delegates was adopted.

Among those on the committee on resolutions were William R. Morrison, Henry Watterson, J. Sterling Morton, and Henry G. Davis, and also Benjamin F. Butler, who by some device had found his way back into the Democratic Party, although recently nominated for President by the Anti-Monopoly and the National or Greenback Parties. He had been a Republican since the Charleston convention.

It was decided to hear nominating speeches, but not to take a ballot before the adoption of the platform. Grady challenged New York's vote on this question and the chair ruled that the instructions of the state convention New York voted as a unit.

Cleveland's great majority in his race for Governor and his acts as New York's chief executive had attracted nation-wide attention, and a demand for his nomination by the Democrats permeated the party and the believers in honest government all over the country. Tilden, declining to be considered, was backing Cleveland, and his intimate, Daniel Manning, was a Cleveland manager in New York. He and Kelly fought the issue out in the New York convention, and Manning, content with a majority of the delegation and the unit rule, forbore to press for instructions for Cleveland.

A Tammany delegation 600 strong went to the convention and many of their eldest men were there to defeat Cleveland, if possible. They were aided by the friends of Benjamin F. Butler, and of Blaine, for Blaine's friends hated the idea of his being opposed by a man of the Cleveland sort. Powerful influences made the New York delegation doubtful for a time, but other powerful influences steadied it, for the Independents and many Republicans were openly declaring that if Cleveland were nominated they would support him.

Cleveland was nominated by Daniel Lockwood of New York and Bragg of Wisconsin, the latter emphasizing the inclination of the German vote of the Northwest for Cleveland. Bayard was nominated by George Gray, Thurman by Breckinridge of California and Cockran and Grady of New York, the latter two devoting their remarks almost entirely to opposing Cleveland. Carlisle of Kentucky, Randall of Pennsylvania, Joseph McDonald of Illinois and George Hoodley of Ohio were also placed in nomination.

Before balloting the platform was adopted, Benjamin F. Butler's minority report being voted down 721 to 96. Grady challenged New York's vote, 40 delegates voting and 32 declining; the chair ruled that a majority of the delegation could cast the 72 votes of the state.

The speech of General Bragg, in seconding Cleveland's nomination is a Democratic classic. The attacks on Cleveland by Cockran and Grady had been bitter and his veto of the five-cent fare bill especially denounced as alienating the labor vote, and Cleveland declared a foe to labor.

"I voice the sentiments," said General Bragg, "of the young men of my State when I speak for Governor Cleveland. His name is on their lips; his name in their hearts. . . . They love him, gentlemen, and they respect him, not only for himself, for his character, for his integrity and judgment and iron will, but they love him most for the enemies that he has made." (Mr. Grady from the floor—"On behalf of his enemies I reprove that sentiment and we are proud of the compliment.")

"I do not assume here to speak for labor," continued the speaker—"Labor is not represented in political conventions by the soft hands of the political trickster. The men who follow conventions and talk about the rights of labor are the Swiss contingent. . . . Their labor has been upon the rank of the political machine." (Voice from the hall—"Give them a little more grape, Captain Bragg").

The number of delegates being 820, 547 was necessary to a choice. The first ballot was, Cleveland, 392; Bayard, 170, McDonald, 56; Thurman, 88; Randall, 78; Carlisle, 27; scattering, 9. Cleveland received votes from thirty-eight of the forty-seven states and territories dividing with Thurman and Pennsylvania with Randall. Bayard received votes from twenty-three states, 112 of his votes coming from the South, Arkansas, Georgia, Maryland and South Carolina voting solidly, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, giving him strong support. Thurman's votes came from sixteen states.

Then, a carefully arranged stampede to Hendricks having
failed, Cleveland was nominated. Thomas A. Hendricks' friends announced that he was not a candidate, but other names being withdrawn, he was unanimously chosen for second place. He had long been extremely popular with one wing of Democracy, and the injustice he had suffered along with Tilden in 1876 operated in his favor. Again, as he had eight years before, he now represented on the ticket the less conservative, the more partisan, and the Western and Southern soft money element of the party.

The convention provided that the chairman of the national committee need not be a member of the committee, but W. H. Barnum was reelected chairman. Among the new members were Arthur Pugh Gorbom, Maryland; Don M. Dickinson, New York, and William F. Vilas, Wisconsin.

The Anti-Monopoly Party had held a convention in May, largely attended; and nominated Benjamin F. Butler, leaving the second place on the ticket to be filled by the Greenback Party. The National or Greenback Party held its convention two weeks later, James B. Weaver presiding, and nominated Butler, with Alanson M. West of Mississippi for Vice-President. Both of these parties criticized the existing election without making it a prominent issue. The first named emphasized Labor, the second the money question.

The Republican convention was held at Chicago June 3, 1884, ex-Senator Lynch of Mississippi, a colored man, nominated for the place by Roosevelt and Lodge, being temporary chairman. Blaine, strong in New England only in his own state, had ardent friends in every state and section, and only a combination of all other elements could defeat him. No such combination was effected. The first ballot was, Blaine, 334; Arthur, 278; Edmonds, 93; Logan, 63, Sherman, 30, scattering, 19. Two more ballots were taken, the last, Blaine, 514; Arthur, 207, Edmonds, 41; the nomination was made unanimous. On the first ballot General Logan was named for Vice-President, receiving all but 13 votes, 6 of which were cast for Walter Q. Gresham.

It was a Republican editor who said that the most inspirational feature of a Republican convention in those days was the exceeding kindness dealt out to the colored delegates from the South:

"They arrive cold and hungry and are immediately warmed with wine and fed on the fat of the land. Unempt and even ragged, they are soon clad as Solomon in his glory. Their empty pockets jingle with coin or bulge with bills. They arrive by devious means of transportation; they depast the paid guests of Wagner or Pullman. Cynics may sneer, but verify the milk of human kindness is not dried up."

The American Prohibition Party nominated Samuel F. Pomeroy of Kansas and John A. Coit of Connecticut on a dry platform also demanding the use of the Bible in schools, Sunday observance and the forfeiture of charters of secret societies. It declared for reduction of the tariff. This party seems to have put no electoral ticket out in any state.

The Prohibition Home Protection Party unanimously nominated James P. St. John of Kansas, and William Daniel of Maryland on a very long platform declaring that both the other parties either in their platforms or candidates were competing for the liquor vote and were partners in the liquor crime.

The Woman's Rights convention met at San Francisco and nominated Belva A. Lockwood and Marietta L. Stow. Besides woman suffrage it advocated moderate tariff reform, but not free trade, encouragement of foreign trade, pensions to soldiers, education of the masses and civil service reform, and denounced the liquor traffic and monopolies.

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**Democratic Platform, 1884**

Declared perpetuation of one party in power dangerous; lengthily indicated the Republican Party. Surplus declared a danger.

Tariff revision, fair and not to injure but promote healthy growth of industries, regardless of labor and capital affected by changes.

Taxation limited to needs of economical government, but reduction when possible, to American labor.

Favored honest money, the gold and silver currency of the Constitution, and a convertible circulating medium.

Sumptuary laws interfering with individual liberty condemned.

Rights of labor to organize and be incorporated recognized.

Republicans blamed for disappearance of American ships from the seas. Restoration of forfeited public lands, rebuilding of the navy and improvement of the Mississippi River promised.

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**Republican Platform, 1884**

Declared allegiance to original principles of Republican Party, eulogized Garfield and Arthur's administration, liberal pension laws and school suffrage.

Tariff should not be for revenue only but to afford security to our diversified industries and labor. Correction of inequalities in present tariff, but not by virtual horizontal protection. Full and adequate protection to wool industry. No degradation of American labor to foreign standard.

Favored best money known to the world and union of commercial nations in international standard fixing relative value of gold and silver. Bureau of labor and eight-hour law advocated.

Restoration of navy to old-time efficiency and removal of burdens on American shipping advocated.

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[End of excerpt]
The contest between Cleveland and Blaine is much better described as a battle than as a race. The two men were antipodal in character, records, and means. Cleveland had no experience in national affairs; Blaine had been distinguished therein for years. blunt honesty was Cleveland's main characteristic; smartness, adroitness, Blaine's. Cleveland's brevity of speech repelled on first acquaintance and he had none of the arts of friendliness, while no American, except Henry Clay, rivaled Blaine in his wonderful personal magnetism, though both Washington and Jackson more than equalled any of the three in the devotion they inspired.

Cleveland began his public career as Assistant District Attorney; hard work and success won him the nomination for District Attorney. Horace Boies, a young Republican, was considered by his party as a candidate against Cleveland, but another was given the nomination and was elected. Years later Cleveland and Boies came in contact again as two of the leading Democrats of the nation and contenders for the Presidential nomination in 1882. In 1870 Cleveland served as a member of the House of Representatives, taking the office as giving him a much-desired opportunity for reading and study which active practice of law denied him.

The story of Cleveland's nomination and election as Mayor of Buffalo is typical of the man. Nominated by the politicians in response to an imperative demand for reform which his planned defeat would dishearten, he declined the nomination until the machine nominee for comptroller was replaced by an acceptable man, and when that was done, Cleveland astonished Buffalo by announcing that he knew that those consenting to his nomination were desirous of his defeat, but that he intended to be elected and if elected, bearing in mind Tilden's experience of 1876, he was not going to be counted out. He was elected, although the Republican state ticket carried Buffalo by a thousand majority.

As Mayor he successfully balked corruption and with extraordinary frankness vetoed ordinances he deemed unwise, unconstitutional or savering of graft, winning the title of the "Veto Mayor." His conduct so appealed to the voters of his state that he defeated for Governor, by 152,000 majority, Charles J. Folger, one of the best men the Republicans could produce, ex-Chief Justice and at the time Arthur's Secretary of the Treasury. This was said to be not a party victory, but New York's better self speaking for reform.

As Governor he had pursued the same steady course of hard work, common sense, perfect honesty, and courage. His veto of the five-cent fare bill as unconstitutional was used to make him appear a foe to Labor, but Roosevelt, who had worked to pass the bill, on reading the veto message promptly and frankly admitted Cleveland was right. His removal of a prominent Tammany man from office for malfeasance, and his request that Grady not return to the State Senate brought down upon him the wrath of that powerful organization. At a period when laxity and actual corruption in government was rife and riotous his character and record stood out like an oasis in a desert.

Blaine had been Speaker of the House, Senator, Secretary of State, and in 1876 and 1880 as well as 1884 a leading candidate for his party's nomination for President. His admirers likened him to Henry Clay, but there was one great difference: Clay could say, "I would rather be right than be President" and be applauded by friend and foe, while if Blaine had uttered such a sentiment his friends would have blushed and all others roared with laughter.

The accusations against Blaine were most carefully examined, notably by the Boston Committee of 100 under the direction of Moorfield Storey. It seems that he cannot be acquitted of falsehood, suppression of evidence and bad faith, and at least $54,000 remained unaccounted for which, if he were innocent, he could have accounted without any trouble. There were expressions too, in his letters which were utterly inconsistent with honor. Yet millions of his countrymen believed him innocent, and many of the most honorable men of his party supported him for President.

It became a malicious campaign. The Republicans could not distract attention from their candidate to the Solid South, the tariff or other issues, their dirty shirt more than counterbalanced the bloody shirt. Cleveland's public record being unassailable, they attacked his private life. Cleveland's friends were greatly perturbed and telegraphed him—"What shall we do to meet these charges?" The answer was immediate—"Tell the truth." That sentence became the shibboleth of the campaign. Scandalous stories about Blaine were circulated too.

The tariff conflicts were tremendous factors in the contest. It must be admitted they supported Cleveland rather than the Democratic Party and platform, basing their change of party on the assertion that the paramount issue of the campaign was moral rather than political, and that Blaine's defeat meant the
salvation of the Republican Party. At meetings they had called for Cleveland's nomination before it was made, and endorsed him after it was made. The Independents' view was that Cleveland was better than his party, Blaine worse than his.

The cartoonists, Nast in Harper's Weekly, Keppler, Gillam and Oppen in Puck, played a great part in the campaign. Blaine was the "Tattooed Man," Cleveland a lion beset by crows, jackals and a mangy tiger.

The campaign is generally called the "Mugwump" campaign, the term being applied to the Independents supporting Cleveland. Mugwump is an Algonquin word meaning "heap big chief," also meaning Indian for "high-brow." Butler worked hard to secure Tammany support, but Hendricks came to New York and assisted in getting Tammany in line. Burchard, however, probably helped Cleveland with the rank and file of Tammany as much as their own leaders did. At any rate Tammany loyally supported the ticket.

How narrowly Cleveland won New York and thereby the election is well known. One sentence of Dr. Burchard's speech was the sentence of doom to Blaine's candidacy—"We are Republicans and do not propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with the party whose antecedents have been Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." Its effect on the Catholic vote was incalculable.

Yet Blaine's candidacy might have survived this, but that night he attended a "Millionaires' Dinner" given in his honor at Delmonico's where Jay Gould, Russell Sage, John Roach and other men of great and unpopular wealth were hosts. This "Belles Lettres' Feast" was played up by the opposition papers and doubtless cost Blaine many more votes than were needed to give him New York.

History is constantly repeating itself in politics. Hughes' loss of California and thereby the Presidency in 1916 is attributed to his failure to meet Hiram Johnson when they were at the same hotel at Long Beach. That still unexplained episode did cost him many, many thousands of votes, not yet have still carried California but for a "Millionaires' Luncheon" he attended in San Francisco about the same time. There he was the guest of Big Business at a rich man's club. A waiters' strike was on and this club had non-union waiters. Labor leaders friendly to the Republican candidate sent him a protest urging him not to attend, but if this reached Hughes, he did not regard it. The Labor papers flamed with headlines—"Hughes Attends..."
that placed Tilden in the Governor's chair and "elected" him President. Long distinguished in New York politics, he was noted for his strength and soundness of view of affairs and men, and was called the "PooL Killer" because of his relentlessness in weeding out folly and radicalism from party counsels and political management. Whitney was a notable example of the gentleman in politics in the old English sense. He took office not from that extreme devotion to service which absorbed Madison, nor that ambition which obsessed Clay, nor just for the fame and power attendant, but from what Henry Adams denominated a high spirit for doing great things and an ambition for large service.

It was a far cry from Whitney's administration of the Navy to that of Robeson's, under whom the department had prospered in an unseemly degree of growth of his bank account, and from that of Thompson's who, tradition asserts, was bestowed to discover that ships were hollow. The nation did not have a war vessel capable of keeping at sea a week when Whitney came in; four years later there were four, with six more in course of construction. Even more valuable was that rules and methods were put in practice which saved millions of dollars and demonstrated that the United States Navy Department could be conducted honestly, frugally and efficiently upon business principles, with the result that both Congress and the people began to be willing to give the navy the support necessary to make it worthy of the country. Reestablishing the navy in the respect and confidence of the country, and realizing the results of his whole administration, Whitney can fairly be called the father of our modern navy. Whitney appointed Captain A. T. Mahan president of our Naval War College, an act of incalculable value in its consequences.

Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar of Mississippi, the Secretary of the Interior, was given an equal opportunity for reform. Like Robeson, he was a man without fear or reproach. Under him 86,420,720 acres of public land were recovered to the nation, forfeited by railroads, other large corporations and syndicates, as well as from individuals, for non-compliance with the terms of grants, and suits for the recovery of 65,000,000 more instituted, the whole constituting an area almost as large as that embracing the New England and Middle States combined.

The cattle barons who, contrary to law, had leased from the Indians great areas of their lands for a few cents an acre and were totally ignoring Indian rights, were forced to restore the land to its rightful owners. Other reforms demanded by justice were instituted in Indian affairs. The cost of the Indian
service was reduced and at the same time the amount expended for education was trebled and with it the number of pupils, the number enrolled at all schools increasing from about 5,000 to 15,000.

Cleveland during his first term had to deal not only with a Republican Senate, but also with a divided party. Gorman and a few others in the Senate, and some forty Democrats in the House, led by Randall, entertained very different ideas in regard to the tariff from those of their brethren and the party at large. On the money question, too, Democracy was divided, the East generally abhorring, the West and South generally favoring the as yet not fully developed idea of the free coinage of silver.

Moreover, there were a tremendous lot of old-fashioned Andrew Jackson Democrats, some of whom, though not wanting an office themselves, believed that the party in power should occupy the offices. They agreed with Henry Watterson that every officeholder was 'offensive' who did not vote with the party. Adair Stevenson, first Assistant Postmaster General, was the "axeman" and decapitated thousands of postmasters, and the postmasters of some large cities and towns made a clean sweep of Republicans in their offices.

The President was able to please neither the reformers nor the spoilsmen. He stuck by his promise to enforce the Pendleton law in regard to non-political offices provided the holders were not offensive partisans, but when vacancies did occur he put in Republicans. He wanted to go back to Jefferson's practice and establish an "equalization of offices" between the parties. His common sense convinced him that application of the merit system should be gradual and moderate. Equalization as a policy was approved by fair-minded Republicans such as Charles Francis Adams and James Russell Lowell; the former declaring that Cleveland was as much in advance of both parties on this point as it was wise for a leader of one party to be. Yet his administration of the Civil Service law estranged many Independents on one hand and alienated Democrats from Cleveland on the other.

The earliest clash between the President and Senate was over removal of officers, the Senate claiming participation in the removal as well as the appointing of officers. Cleveland was firm in withstanding the resurrection of the Tenure of Office Act after twenty years of "innocent desuetude" and the acts, or rather what was left of them, were repealed.

Cleveland in a special message emphatically reasserted the old Jacksonian principles, that in the exercise of his executive discretion and function the President was solely responsible to the people. The result was materially to strengthen for himself and his successors the independent authority of the President in the executive functions of our government.

The tariff plank in the Democratic platform had been moderate and the tariff had not been the main issue in the 1884 campaign. In his first message Cleveland advised a reduction of duties because the revenues were greater than expenditures, adding: "The question of free trade is not involved, nor is there now any occasion for the general discussion of the wisdom or expediency of a protective system." But he insisted on due regard being paid to labor and the industries and interests involved in any modifications made.

The Morrison Tariff bill of 1886 had as its main feature the placing of lumber, wool, salt and other articles on the free list, and was denominated a free trade measure, the House finally turning it down, 157 to 140, Randall and 35 other Democrats opposing it. Randall introduced a bill protective in its features which got no further than the ways and means committee of the House.

In his annual message of 1888 Cleveland dealt much more at length with the subject. but still indefinitely. Reduction to avoid a surplus of revenue and to make living cheaper to the farmer, the workingman and the citizen generally was advised, yet not so as to curtail opportunity for work, reduce the compensation or injury affect the condition of American labor. But the House by a vote of 154 to 149 declined to consider revenue bills, the question coming up on a tariff bill prepared by William R. Morrison. The division in the Democratic ranks, coupled with the fact that the Senate was Republican, influenced the Democratic House to this decision. Bryce in his American Commonwealth says about this time that neither party, as a party, had any definite, cut-and-dried principles on tariff reform, civil service reform or change in the currency. But this condition was altered by Cleveland's message of December, 1887.

This was one of the great Presidential messages in our history. Written without consultation with party leaders, although submitted to Carlisle after completion, and sent in against the advice of many of them, the message was devoted entirely to tariff reform. The evils of the existing tariff were recited—the Treasury congested with money needed by the trade of the country, the people unnecessarily taxed, the national energies crippled, financial disturbance threatened, and public plunder...
invited. The claim that the foreigner paid the duty was riddled; reduction should be so made as not to cause loss of employment or decrease of wages to the working man. The interests of the farmer and the manufacturer were also discussed. "Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. It is a condition that confronts us, not a theory."

The message was heralded by the Republicans as a free-trade document, and, in spite of Cleveland's protestations, some Independents and Democrats looked at it much in the same light. The party rallied to the support of the President and a tariff bill passed the House lowering duties on the average from forty-seven per cent to around forty, a slight reduction compared to the tone of the message. A graver fault was that local considerations forced inequalities and sectional partialities into the bill.

The huge excesses of revenue over expenditures were used by a reducing the public debt, and all the United States bonds salable were called in and paid. Then the government went into the market and purchased millions of bonds not yet due, paying a premium for them. The public debt was reduced several hundred millions, yet the surplus still remained large. Deposited in national banks, much of it was accessible to the money needs of the people, but the danger and the temptation remained.

The money question did not figure much in the 1884 campaign, but before he was inaugurated Cleveland, urged by Tilden, had written a public letter advocating the suspension of the purchase and coinage of silver. Two days later the outgoing House of the Forty-eighth Congress voted 152 to 118 against such suspension. In his first message Cleveland repeated the recommendation, but Congress took no action during the whole four years of the term. A bill for free coinage of silver was defeated in the House in 1886 by 57 majority, 86 Democrats and 30 Republicans voting aye, 70 Democrats and 90 Republicans nay, but it was currently reported that many silver Republicans voted nay to embarrass the Democrats.

Nothing showed Cleveland's political courage more than his vetoing of hundreds of private pension bills. These were bills granting pensions to persons not entitled to them under the extremely liberal general pension laws. The public applauded Cleveland's effort to keep the "Pension roll a roll of honor," but the political effect was great. His veto of the Dependent Pension bill, popularly called the "Pauper Pension,"

which had passed the House 180 to 76, the Senate practically unanimously, was an action only a man conscientious and fearless would have taken.

Antagonistic as were the President and Senate, the Interstate Commerce Act, a compromise of the views of Representative John H. Regan of Texas, Democrat, and Senator Shelby M. Cullom, Republican, a most important and far-reaching measure, was passed by the Forty-ninth Congress. The Direct Tax bill, referring to the states some $20,000,000 levied and paid at the beginning of the war between the States passed by the Fiftieth Congress was vetoed, as were many log-rolling bills for the erection of public buildings and a bill appropriating $10,000 to furnish seed to a drought-striken section of Texas. As much as Cleveland deplored the existence of the surplus he resisted every unwarranted assault on it, every attempt at public plunder of it. The Dawes act, called the Indian Emancipation Act, transformed the Indians from wards of the nation into citizens and was a notable piece of legislation enacted in 1887.

The Samoa crisis kept the nation on edge all the last year of the administration. Germany having broken the tri-partite agreement among the United States, England and Germany that no one of those nations would seek to appropriate the Samoan Islands, Germany now seized part of the islands, deposed one king and set up another of its own. The American Consul protested and formally extended American protection to the deposed ruler and his people.

Cleveland and Bayard insisted on the old tri-partite control, but Germany sent out a fleet of war vessels and in the name of its instrument, King Tamasoe, waged war on the deposed Malietoa. Our Commander, R. F. Leary of the Adam, present in Samoan waters, entered a protest to which the German commander returned an insistent reply. Cleveland sent an Admiral Kimbrell to Samoa, and laid the matter before Congress. A hurricane which wrecked both fleets gave time for a peaceful adjustment finally, but all through the campaign of 1888 the feeling between America and Germany was tensely antagonistic with the result that the great body of German-Americans, so many of whom had supported Cleveland in 1884, were unanimous in their support of Harrison. This was enough to give Harrison New York's vote and the Presidency. In June, 1888, Wilhelm II had become the German Emperor and it was he who aggressively urged on the seizure of Samoa, with the main result of the Democratic defeat. Thirty years almost to a day from that
defeat, in November, this same emperor, owing to an American army sent to Europe by a Democratic administration, lost his office at the head of a nation and the Democratic overthrow of 1888 was avenged.

The period of 1885-1889 witnessed great labor struggles, protests against factory and other labor conditions, including wages, strikes, boycotts, demands for an eight-hour day, the Chicago riot and factory, laws in some states. Cleveland in 1886 sent a special message to Congress suggesting a Labor Commission, the commissioners to be regular officers of the government, to consider, and settle when possible, all controversies between labor and capital, and in 1888 Congress constituted such a body, which has since grown into the Department of Labor.

The Electoral Count Act, providing for state determination of contests over election of electors, and the Presidential Succession Act which fixed the succession of the President in the cabinet in case of the death of both President and Vice-President, were good laws passed in 1887.

Although Cleveland possessed the good opinion of the Independents and good men of both parties, his enemies made him the subject of constant despicable attacks. This was in fact paying him honor. Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Roosevelt and Wilson have been our best-abused Presidents. The strong, the aggressive, the fighting or stubborn men are the ones who attract the fire of their enemies. Of our late Presidents, Cleveland, Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding and Coolidge, it cannot be gainsaid that Cleveland, Roosevelt and Wilson were each alone the object of more and severer attacks than were all the other lot combined. There was no thrill to be gotten by firing at the icy Harrison, the amiable economist McKinley, the placid Taft, the imperturbable Coolidge; but shooting at Cleveland, Roosevelt or Wilson had in it the excitement of big-game hunting, even though they were really out of range and impervious to small shot—and mud.

The effect on the Democratic Party of Cleveland's administration was complex. His success restored the party to the political respect of the nation and his courage and ability more than held it; he brought into the party many good and influential men who remained in its ranks so long as he was at its head and others who permanently remained in it; he consolidated the conservative element of it, holding the Southern and Western wings by his tariff views, the Eastern and Northern by his stand on the money question. His civil service record, however unpopular with some