CHAPTER XXV

BETWEEN TWO DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS

1889-1893


The Fifteenth Democratic National Convention met at St. Louis, June 5, 1888, present 820 delegates. The call again had been to “All Democratic conservative citizens regardless of past political associations.” Called to order by Chairman Barnum, Stephen M. White of California was made temporary chairman, General Patrick Collins of Massachusetts, permanent president.

It being a foregone conclusion that Cleveland was to be renominated, a great many of the war-horses of Democracy stayed at home since there was to be no battle, but many familiar names were on the list of delegates.

Thomas M. Patterson presented to the president a gavel of solid silver from the mines of Colorado made by Colorado artisans as the “modest offering of the youngest member of the Federal Union to that party which restored silver to the monetary plane from which it was degraded by the Republicans” in the crime of 73.

This convention, says A. K. McClure, who was present, was devoid of enthusiasm yet fixed in the determination to renominate Cleveland, who appealed to the convictions and judgment of the party rather than to its affections and enthusiasm. Both the temporary and permanent presiding officers spoke of Cleveland’s nomination as certain. General Collins quoted from Jefferson’s first inaugural address and allowed how the Democratic Party under Cleveland had lived up to it.

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The rules of the preceding convention were adopted with an “anti-stampede” rule that no state could change its vote during roll call, but must wait until every state had cast its vote.

Cleveland was placed in nomination by Dougherty of New York, amid great enthusiasm, McKee of Kentucky, Twigg of Georgia, Stout of Michigan, Lightfoot of Texas seconding, and on motion of McKee was nominated by a unanimous vote, as Van Buren had been in 1840.

It seems that no objection was raised against the violation of the custom that nominations should not be balloted on until the platform was adopted. The rule was invoked as to the vote on the Vice-Presidential nominations, though Thome of Vermont indignantly asserted that if Grover Cleveland could be nominated without a platform so could Allen G. Thurman.

The platform was reported by Henry Watterson. It was unanimously agreed to by the committee on resolutions, except that Cooper of New York dissented from some part of it. It was unanimously adopted without discussion by the convention.

Thurman was easily named for second place on the first ballot, and when his nomination was made unanimous there was a great wavering of red-bandana, the oriflame of the “Noblest Roman of them all,” as his admirers were wont to call Thurman, a title not undeserved.

Among the new members of the National Committee were Henry D. Clayton, Alabama, Arthur Sewall, Maine, Herman Oslirich, New York, and Calvin S. Brice, Ohio. The thanks of the party in convention were given Frederick O. Prince of Massachusetts who for twenty-eight years had served as secretary of the National Committee. Barnum of Connecticut was reelected chairman, and Brice, chairman of the campaign committee.

The Republican convention met at Chicago, June 19. Blaine, his friends thought, could have had the nomination, but he eliminated himself months before. John Sherman, whose managers were Mark Hanna and McKinley, was the leading candidate, but he had the opposition of New York. He had 136 of the Southern delegates and deserved them all for his many battles in their behalf in Congress, but Alger had “commercialized” the others, much to Hanna’s disgust. Sherman always attributed his defeat to purchased delegates. Judge Walter Q. Gresham, who had supported Cleveland in 1884, or at least had leaned that way, received 111 votes.

In sharp contrast to the rabid enthusiasm for Blaine four years,
previously was the cool search for a winning candidate now.
"Sherman is too cold," said a Harrison partisan. "Cold!" retorted the Shermanite, "he is a red-hot stove compared to your man.
Harrison sweet as ice water."
Harrison was nominated on the eighth ballot; Levi P. Morton of New York was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot.
The Union Labor convention nominated Alton J. Strong of Illinois and Samuel Evans of Texas.
The United Labor Party nominated Robert H. Cawdrey of Illinois and W. H. T. Wakefield of Kansas on a sort of Henry George platform. These two labor conventions were held at Indianapolis, May 16th.
The Prohibition convention of 1888, held at Indianapolis, May 20th, was notable, four thousand partisans being present besides the delegates. There was much enthusiasm and earnestness, and great debate over the tariff and woman suffrage planks in the platform. Clinton B. Fisk of New Jersey and John A. Brooks of Missouri were the nominees, by acclamation.
A new American Party convened at Washington August 14th, of whose 126 delegates 66 were from New York and 15 from California. The other delegates bolted the second day and the New Yorkers and Californians nominated James Langdon Curtis of New York and James R. Grover of Tennessee on a platform declaring that only citizens should vote, and that the only vital issue was the restriction of immigration. It demanded that immigration be made costly and difficult, that no alien be allowed to own land, that church and state be kept separate, no appropriation made to any institution administered by a church, and church property taxed. This was a precursor of the A. P. A. (American Protective Association) movement.
The tariff being practically the sole issue, only the tariff declarations need be studied. But it should be carefully noted that, to obviate a surplus, the Republicans offered the people untaxed whisky, wine and beer, and tobacco, rather than lower the duties on the outrageously protected manufactured articles. They sought to palliate this by intimating that internal revenue taxes on liquors were desired by their manufacturers. Blaine in the previous campaign, had frankly advocated repeal of these taxes to reduce the surplus. This plank in the Republican platform is the lowest stage in morals ever reached in any American party's declaration of principles and policies.

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**BETWEEN CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATIONS**

**Democratic Platform, 1888**

"Tariff.—The Democratic policy is to secure frugality in public expense and abolish unnecessary taxation. Our established industries should be protected and need not be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American labor and foreign labor, to promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises, by giving them assurance of extended markets and steady and continuous operations in the interests of American labor, which is no event should be neglected. The revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic Party should promote the advantage of such labor, by cheapening the cost of the necessities of life in the home of every workman, and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment. This platform and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives."

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**Republican Platform, 1888**

"Tariff.—We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection. We protest against its destruction, as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by disaster to all interests except those of the woolen and the silk. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive. . . . We condemn the proposition to put wool on the free list, and insist . . . on full and adequate protection to that industry. Needed reduction will be effected in revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, and spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by tariff laws checking imports on such articles as are produced by our people, and releasing from import duties those articles of foreign production, except luxuries, which can satisfy our domestic consumption. We favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the behest of the whiskey trust and the agents of foreign manufacturers."

A reading of the two platforms in full would show that the Democrats based their campaign on the tariff issue with only necessary mention of other matters, while the Republicans sat out several little pets to catch flies. Incidentally they condemn "Democratic efforts to demonetize silver," along with "combinations of capital." Cleveland himself is said to have written the Democratic tariff plank, but the endorsement of the Mills bill was inserted by the convention after the report of the platform committee had been adopted.
The campaign of 1888 had none of the vituperation and little of the bitterness of the preceding election. It was a "campaign of education," said Cleveland, and personalities figured but little. Both candidates had the respect of their parties and the country.
and both were supported loyally, but without wild enthusiasm. Cleveland worked at his desk, and Harrison conducted a most effective front-porch campaign from his home, making speeches almost daily to visiting delegations and demonstrating statesmanship and political ability fully justifying the judgment of his friends.

The great-grandson of Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia and signer of the Declaration of Independence, and grandson of President William Henry Harrison, a splendid man in himself with an excellent war record and a not undistinguished civil one, Harrison was an ideal candidate for the Republican Party at this juncture.

A great feature of the campaign was the organization of political clubs, the Republicans having 6,500 clubs joined in the Republican League, while the Democrats had about half as many combined in the National Association of Democratic Clubs. These clubs did most effective work not only in arousing enthusiasm but in educating themselves and the people on the tariff issue.

Many Republicans who had revolted at Blaine's nomination returned to the fold; many civil service reformers turned away from Cleveland, though there was no reason in the world to expect better of his opponent. The proposed return of the captured Confederate battle flags; Cleveland's going fishing on Memorial day; the prominence of Southerners in the government giving emphasis to the strictures against the Solid South, were urged against the Democrats. The Republican leaders solemnly decided, after discussion, that the "Bloody Shirt was good for one more campaign" and it was waved conspiroously.

The Murchison letter was a sensation. A wily California Republican wrote a most ingenious letter, under the fictitious name of Murchison, to Sir Sackville-West, the British Minister at Washington, seeking advice as to what candidate an American citizen of English birth and sympathies should vote for. The English Minister answered diplomatically, but favored Cleveland. His letter was published and the Republicans twisted the British lion's tail and proclaimed Cleveland pro-British. Cleveland acted promptly and issued Sir Sackville-West his passport, but much damage was done.

Despite the careful and explicit language of the platform and Cleveland's clear declaration in his letter of acceptance that in the adjustment of the tariff American labor and capital would be carefully guarded—"We have entered into no crusade for free trade," wrote Cleveland; "The reform we seek to inaugurate is predicated upon the utmost care for established industries and enterprises and a jealous regard for American labor."—the Republicans persuaded many that the contest was between free trade and protection. Cleveland was never a free trader, nor in 1888 committed to the doctrine of tariff for revenue only, yet the Democrats were branded as free traders and anti-American.

The endorsement of the faulty Mills bill was a tactical error for in every item was thus made an object of direct attack while the Republicans were under cover of general principles. Cleveland attributed his defeat to the tariff, comforting himself with the belief that his party and he were right.

While the campaign was pitched on a high plane it must be admitted that it was one of the most corrupt in our history and an enormous amount of money was illegitimately spent. The big beneficiaries of the tariff were put over the fire and the fat fried out of them, to use the language of a Republican manager; Dudley, Treasurer of the Republican committee, wrote the Indiana manager: "Divide the floaters into blocks of five and put a trusted man with the necessary funds in charge of these five and make him responsible that none get away and all vote our ticket." These floaters were collected the night before the election and guarded until they had voted; the average price of votes in Indiana rose from $2 to $15; all this came out later in court proceedings involving Dudley.

David Bennett Hill, Democratic candidate for Governor, carried New York by 19,000 while Cleveland lost the state by 13,000, and Hill and Tammany were accused of trading votes against Cleveland and betraying the party. That there were many anti-Cleveland pro-Hill men, and vice versa, cannot be doubted, but there is no evidence of bad faith on Hill's part, and Cleveland's friends afterward exonerated him; Cleveland himself never doubted Hill's or Tammany's good faith.

As to the accusations against Tammany, the election figures absolutely disprove them. Tammany had fought the nominations of Tilden and Cleveland bitterly, but openly and above-board; there had been no stabbing in the back nor knifeing under the fifth rib. The Samoa trouble with Germany turned thousands of German-Americans from Cleveland and there was no Rum, Romanism and Rebellion incident to aid him in 1888, yet he polled in New York City 162,735 votes against 123,222 in 1884, a gain of over 20,500, while Harrison's vote of 106,022 was a gain of less than 17,000 over Blaine's vote in the city in 1884.
Moreover, Cleveland received in 1888 48,600 more votes than
Hugh J. Grant, the Tammany candidate for Mayor. Practically
every up-state county in New York showed increased Republi-
can votes.

Turning to such German centers as St. Louis and Milwaukee
one finds that St. Louis gave Cleveland a majority of 577 in 1884
and Harrison a majority of 6,255 in 1888; Milwaukee gave the
Republicans a majority of 355 in 1884 and one of 4,092 in 1888.
In the face of all these figures Tammany and Hill's friends must
be honorably and fully acquitted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Vote</th>
<th>Electoral Vote</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>5,540,239</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harrison</td>
<td>5,459,833</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puck</td>
<td>268,306</td>
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<td>Streater</td>
<td>140,983</td>
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Cleveland received 100,476 more votes than his successful
opponent; New York would have given him the Presidency. He
carried Connecticut, Delaware and New Jersey besides the normal
Democratic states. The vote in most states was fairly close,
except that Harrison carried Pennsylvania and Kansas by 8,000
in each, while Cleveland's majority in Texas was 146,000.

A Republican House came in with Harrison, the Fifty-first
Congress having 173 Republicans against 156 Democrats in the
lower House and a majority of ten in the Senate. The ruthless
unseatting of Democrats and the seating of Republican contestants
gave them this majority. Yet the Republicans boasted that they
were safe in control for twenty years, "if they behaved them-
selves," which, it seems, the public did not think they did.

The story, from a Democratic standpoint, of the period covered
by this Congress is short and soon told. For the first time since
before the Democratic tidal wave of 1874 the Executive and both
houses of Congress were under control of one party, with Reed
master of the House, he having defeated Carlisle for Speaker,
166 to 154. Flower, Mills, Crisp and other Democrats could do
little against a Republican majority with Reed, Speaker, and
McKinley, Burrows, Sereno Payne, Dingley and La Follette on the
floor.

Harrison made Theodore Roosevelt Civil Service Commis-
sioner, one of the strongest champions of that reform of his
party, who wrote and spoke boldly and ably for the right. But
J. S. Clarkson of Iowa was made First Assistant Postmaster
General, a more thorough and efficient ex-Republican than Adlai.

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Stephenson had been. While Roosevelt eulogized civil service,
Clarkson did deeds of darkness to its principles. Clarkson
resigned in Sept., 1890, but in his sixteen months' service
he had made 32,325 changes among the 55,000 fourth-class post-
masters. Yet after getting the occupancy of offices arranged to
suit him, Harrison became a fairly good civil service reformer.

Corpsal Tanner was made Pension Commissioner and
remarked: "God help the surplus." Truly said a Republican
leader: "A surplus is much easier handled than a deficit." Blaine
was Secretary of State held the first Pan-American Con-
gress, and hints of free trade or a zollverein with South America
were heard. John Sherman said, "I don't know but that I would
be for free trade for all America." But such talk did not last
long.

McKinley, chairman of Ways and Means in the House, was an
ardent, earnest, conscientious high-tariff advocate. He argued
that a cheap coat made a cheap man. His famous tariff bill
increased too-high rates four per cent. Its chief merit is said
to have been its symmetry; it was perfect of its kind. It pro-
tected tin plates and also farm products. The Republicans in their platform had condemned the "Demo-
cratic efforts to demonetize silver, one of our precious metals,
one of our great products." The Senate of the Fifty-first Con-
gress passed a free coinage of silver bill, 42 to 25, but the House,
owing to the stubborn opposition of Reed, defeated it. The Silver
Purchase Act, providing for the purchase of 400,000 ounces
a month at its market price or commodity value, was a compromise,
trade, it was said, between the far West and the East, a tariff
and silver combine. No Democrat in the House or Senate voted
for it, no Republican against it. Some Republicans voted for it
lest otherwise a free coinage bill would be forced on them.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act was a non-Southern bill, passing
the Senate 52 to 1, the House almost unanimously.

The Federal Election Act, generally called the Lodge Force
bill, was put through the House by a majority of 1. The negro
population of the South was credited with increasing Southern
strength in Congress by 38 Representatives and the same number
of electoral votes, and the Republicans wanted some or all of
them, and proposed to obtain them by federal supervision of
federal elections. Quay, Cameron and other Republican Senators
refused to vote for it, some to avoid the defeat of the tariff bill
by a threatened filibuster, and some because on principle they
thought the bill wrong. The Springfield Republican called it
A Bill to Promote Sectional Strife;" a Republican Senator described it as "a most infamous bill," and the fairminded North and West did not approve of it. Democratic meetings throughout the North denounced it, especially a tremendous Tammany meeting attended by Governor David B. Hill and prominent Democrats from all sections of New York. It was displaced on the calendar and finally postponed with the aid of Republican Senators.

McKinley said the people had declared for tariff revision on protective lines. The way to get rid of the dangerous surplus was to spend it. The Dependent Pension bill was passed and pensions rose from $87,500,000 to $107,000,000 in 1890 and to $159,000,000 in 1892. There were many frauds; a chief justice of the supreme court of one of the states drew a salary of $7,200 a year and a "total disability" pension of $100 a month—a "total depravity" pension, the Democrats said. The Republicans would reduce revenue by putting on prohibitive duties so there would be no importation and therefore no duties paid, and the consumer absolutely at the mercy of the manufacturer.

The Tin Plate association had been working for years for a high duty. In 1890 tin plates became the test of Simon-pure Republicanism in Congress. If a member rebelled because we had no tin mines, because a high tariff on tin plates would be a blow to a greater industry, canning, and because the burden would fall almost altogether on the poor who used tin buckets and other tin utensils and canned food, he was no true Republican. The tin tariff was raised from 1 cent to 2.2 cents per pound. Tin plate then held the favored place, close to the Republican heart, that aluminum is said to hold in this day and time.

Although Evarts and Edmunds voted against it, Blaine's reciprocity clause was added to the bill, a useless threat. Ida M. Tarbell says that in 1890 that combination of all the tariff beneficiaries was completed, long striven for by the Industrial League, the Iron and Steel Association, the Wool Association and others. And Nelson W. Aldrich was the deus ex machina. Now was consummated the partnership between business and bosses, and Platt of New York, Quay of Pennsylvania and Aldrich displaced Hoar, Edmunds and Evarts and their kind as leaders of the Republican Party. These latter gentlemen were still made much of, still proudly exhibited to the public, but the real power and direction were in the hands of the former.

This was the Billion-Dollar Congress. The Republicans had been victorious all along the line, but the splendid fight put up by the Democrats preceded a coming victory.

McKinley, when his tariff bill was passed, was jubilant. "It is protective in every paragraph," he said, "and American in every line and word." It became a law October 1, 1890, and in November following the voters elected 235 Democrats and 9 Farmers' Alliance men to the House and only 88 Republicans. McKinley himself was defeated, although his defeat was due to his district having been gerrymandered. The Senate remained Republican by 8, but that was due to the new states lately admitted, Idaho, Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota and Washington. A short time before Harrison had complained of the "free coinage of Senators" when the newcomers sought appointments from him; now they saved his party the upper House.

The Fifty-second Congress showed indeed a bitter reaction against the McKinley tariff and the Billion-Dollar Congress. The Republican majority of 17 was displaced by a Democratic majority in the House of 141, with 9 Farmers' Alliance men or Populists. This gave ample latitude for a fight among Democrats, which was availed of. Carlisle, who had been an ideal Speaker, had been elevated to the Senate. His floor leader, Roger Q. Mills, was opposed for Speaker by William M. Springer of Illinois, William S. Holman of Indiana, both able men and veterans, and Charles E. Cotter of Georgia. Holman had first appeared in Congress in 1859. He became famous as the "watch-dog of the Treasury." It was at him that Reed quoted Goldsmith when Holman was advocating an appropriation for a public building in his own district:

"Tis sweet to hear the watch-dog's honest bark Bay deep-mouthed welcome as we draw near home."

Crisp had shown fine parliamentary ability in opposing Reed's rulings, and in General T. C. Catchings of Mississippi his campaign had a capable manager. He was chosen Speaker, Springer becoming chairman of Ways and Means, Holman of Appropriations where he could stand guard over the Treasury. Cleveland's influence had been for Mills.

In the 235 Democrats of this Congress there were men of widely variant views and six years later they were to part political company, for a time at least, and be as bitterly opposed as ever Democrats and Republicans were. However, that was in the future, for six years is an epoch sometimes.
The Story of the Democratic Party

William Jennings Bryan won his spurs in this body, making a reputation in his first speech, his time being extended indefinitely. His very first encounter was with John Lind, Republican from Minnesota; Lind in 1896 became and remained an ardent Bryan man, and Bryan, when Secretary of State, chose him for a special mission to Mexico.

Of course, no partisan legislation was affected by this divided Congress. The Baring failure brought great distress here. The Homestead strike occurred in the summer of 1892, the Pinkerton detectives were repulsed by the strikers and the Pennsylvania troops called out. The strike was broken, but the whole affair contributed to Harrison's defeat in 1892, although he carried Pennsylvania.

Harrison made an excellent Chief Executive, but aroused little enthusiasm among the rank and file of his party and none among the politicians. Quay had managed his Presidential campaign. A ludicrous story was told of his meeting with the newly elected President and his consternation at hearing ascribed to Providence the happy result Quay knew to be due elsewhere.

It is time now to note an evolution in the Republican Party coincident with its frank adoption of the protective system as its cardinal principle. More properly it belongs to the history of the Republican Party, but not likely to be found in any such. Beginning about 1880 Alexander Hamilton, displacing all others, was put forward as the founder, fountainhead and father of the Republican Party, making the party a posthumous child by fifty years, and ignoring the fact that it had been really founded by such Jeffersonians and Jacksonians as Lincoln, Blair and others. The Republicans needed a prophet and traditions to give prestige to protection. Their reversal of Lincoln's policies, the manifest contradiction between his ideals and their rending it impossible for them to take Lincoln as their great teacher. Besides, they wished traditions extending further back than the Civil War.

John Adams would not do, nor Webster, because Webster had made one of the ablest and most antiflat arguments and later advocated a tariff franked on section grounds. Henry Clay would have served excellently well except that he expressly had regarded a protective tariff only as a temporary policy for infant industries. So Alexander Hamilton was chosen—a wise choice since his tariff record was brief and exhibited no contradictions, and he was the first and foremost protectionist of his day. Moreover, his political principles exactly accorded with the tariff's

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Republican Party now fully adopted. Stated by Henry Cabot Lodge, Hamilton's biographer and a Republican of the inner-guard:

"Hamilton's scheme went further, seeking to create a strong and, so far as was possible and judicious, a permanent class all over the country, without regard to existing political affiliations, but bound to the government, as a government, by the strongest of all ties, immediate and personal pecuniary interest."

There began about 1882, if not an organized, at least a combined drive to exalt Hamilton. Before that time Hamilton had ranked as one of the most brilliant and talented of that coterie of statesmen who helped frame, adopt and put in execution our system of government, and who as the first Secretary of the Treasury had rendered great services in organizing and establishing our fiscal department and financial policies. He had, too, a distinguished record as a soldier and as an influential member of the Constitutional convention.

Hamilton's attractive personality, which clung to his memory, his close association with Washington, his rivalry with Jefferson, his tragic end, all lent charm and interest to his history. But it was known that his theories had been discarded by the Constitutional convention and that he had been one of those popularly called "an enemy of the people," frankly advocating giving them as little power in the government as possible, frankly saying the people were not to be trusted, as a rule, when Liberty and Self-Government were the shibboleths of nine-tenths of the American people.

Thus after his death, Hamilton, in public appeals of all sorts; in speeches, in newspapers, books and letters, did not figure more than once-tenth so much as did Franklin, Adams, Madison, Henry, Monroe, Jay and some others, nor one-hundredth so much as Washington, Jefferson and Madison. Lincoln was but following a universal custom in constantly appealing to Washington, Jefferson and Madison. Paul Leicester Ford, in 1886, published a "Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana, a list of books by or relating to Alexander Hamilton." One is astonished to find that, with the exceptions of his "Life and Works," by his son, the writings relating to Hamilton not a half dozen could be called books, until Lodge's "Life" appeared in 1882. The rest are controversial pamphlets, eulogies, orations and sermons, the latter more on the sin of duelling than on Hamilton's career, and magazine articles. When this meager list is compared with the bibliography dealing
Jay and others were great factors in that New York contest. Subsequent events showed that the Livingsons had much more power and influence in New York than did Hamilton. It is not fair to award them or their influence no part in the New York victory, and none to Jay, or Gouverneur Morris, Hamilton's dearest friend.

Washington suffers much at the hands of Hamilton's pamphlets. According to them it was not Washington, but Hamilton through Washington, who established the government on a firm foundation; Hamilton was the guiding genius, Washington but his instrument. This is not directly stated, but implied, insinuated, argued under cover, favored with praise of Washington. Any American, who thinks the first Washington administration was anything but a Washington administration, knows little of the Father of our Country. No man was ever so wholly and completely President, or administered the government so independently of any one man or any individual or of any party.

Again, all the good of John Adams' administration is claimed for Hamilton, all the evil sought to be saddled on Adams. The verdict of history will not sanction this. The contrary is truer.

Hamilton's unquestioned claim to greatness and to the gratitude of his country, aside from that due to every brave and capable officer and soldier, rests on his administration of the Treasury Department under, not over, George Washington during the first five and a half years of our government's existence. He had a great opportunity and he greatly used it. He was the greatest of our Treasury heads, one of the greatest of our financiers, a great political economist and a great constructive statesman.

He was the first American disciple of what was called the Mercantile School of political economy, really as old as trade and commerce, but refounded in England about 1650 by Sir Joshua Child, chairman of the East India Company and author of Discourses on Trade, and one of the earliest of tariff publicists. The Physiocratic or Agricultural school, to which Jefferson belonged, was organized about the same time.

Able as Hamilton was in many ways, he was a poor politician and unsuccessful in handling men. Thad Stevens, who of all his disciples most resembled him in temper and method, was far his superior in this respect, as were his successors Aldrich and Boies Penrose.

This writing up of Alexander Hamilton and his comitant writing, down of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison is an
interesting and curious phase in our political and literary life. It is significant that it was coincident with Ignatius Donnelly's proving that Bacon wrote Shakespeare.

The Lodge Force bill put the South on guard and stimulated it to adjust the franchise there on a constitutional and legal basis so that if federal supervision should come, the elections would not be at the mercy of partisan enemies. Mississippi solved the problem, a tremendous service to the country and incidentally to the Democratic Party. The credit for the solution belongs almost entirely to General James Z. George. against discouragement and prophecies of failure from other leaders, he preserved and evolved the "Mississippi Plan."

Briefly stated, the franchise clause of the Mississippi constitution of 1890 required of every voter that he be registered as a voter in due time, that he had paid when due all taxes, including the poll tax which every man was assessed with, and that he have been a resident of his voting precinct for the two years preceding the election at which he sought to vote. These provisions eliminated the shifting, non-tax-paying classes of both races, the vagrant white and the roving negro, and the requirements of previous registration and that the taxes had been paid when due precluded the herding of tax delinquents and the paying of their taxes just before election and the presenting of them at their tax receipts at the poll booth and voting them like sheep.

This left the suffrage in the hands of the bona fide resident, tax-paying citizens. Then there was added an educational qualification to cut out the ignorant vote. It was required that a voter be able to read any section of the Constitution or understand it when read to him, and give a reasonable interpretation thereof. This eliminated the ignorant, and yet left it possible, under the "understanding" clause, for citizens of intelligence yet uneducated, technically illiterate, to qualify. The Mississippi Plan had no "grandfather" clause or other attempted subterfuge in it.

George, who came to the Senate when Lamar entered the cabinet, ably defended his work before the Senate and successfully before the Supreme Court of the United States. The Southern States adopted the Mississippi Plan and thereafter a force bill had few terrors for them and few charms for the Republicans. George's solution of suffrage in the South was an outstanding achievement in statesmanship.

The Democratic landslide of 1890 made the nomination two years later seem most desirable and during the last years of Harrison's administration many sought it. David Bennett Hill cited among them. The silver question loomed up commonly and Hill declared for free coinage. Cleveland in a public letter to Ellery Anderson in February, 1891, declared that the greatest peril would be invited by the adoption of free and independent coinage of silver. Hill's friends and the friends of other candidates made the most of this and famed the opposition to Cleveland in the South and West.

While Cleveland on January 8th was speaking at a Jackson Day dinner, the New York Democratic State Committee did the unprecedented thing of calling the state convention for February 22, four months before the national convention. This was the famous "snap" convention. The state master that he be registred in the hands of Hill, Croker, Murphy and Sheehan and they set out to beat Cleveland and nominate Hill. St. Clair McKelway, who knew the circumstances and bore no brief for Hill, says that the snap convention was not Hill's idea, but that he was induced to support the move by Gorman, Senator Palmer of Illinois and Voorhees, each of whom hoped to profit by Cleveland's elimination, each planning to secure the nomination.

Indignant protests were of no avail and Fairchild, Grace, Frederick Coudert, Ellery Anderson and others called a convention to meet in May. Cleveland had brought into activity in New York Democracy an element distinguished in intellect, business and civic circles and only by a machine maneuver could they be defeated.

The snap convention, however, was absolutely regular, valid and legal, called by the proper authorities on legal notice. A famous cartoon by Nast appeared; Croker, Murphy, Sheehan and their friends had built a great snow man in the likeness of Hill, unsmiling, with the "understanding" clause, for citizens of intelligence yet uneducated, technically illiterate, to qualify. The Mississippi Plan had no "grandfather" clause or other attempted subterfuge in it.

In March Cleveland wrote General Bragg that he would accept the nomination. A few days later came the encouraging news that the Nebraska state convention, in spite of the brilliant efforts of Bryan, had refused to indorse free coinage of silver.

Whitney took charge of the Cleveland campaign and demonstrated Cleveland's superior political ability and wide experience. In Chicago at the convention he found that Cleveland had a majority of the delegates; also that every one of the regular New York delegates had signed a pledge not to vote for Cleveland. Doubtless he could have had his delegation seated and the temptation was great for they were eager for the fray. But he was too