THEN AND NOW.
Small Ads for Two Months Compared.
September, 1891....3,911
Same Month 1890...3,967
Increase, 1,944.

The Pittsburg Dispatch.

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FORTY-SIXTH YEAR. PITTSBURG, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1891—TWELVE PAGES. THREE CENTS.

WAR OF WORDS

Thousands Hear Protection's Great Champion Meet Campbell's

FREE TRADE FALLACY.

Vigorous Logic Upon the Money Question Thrown in for Good Measure.

DETAILS OF THE DEBATE.

The Governor Talked Tariff, Ignoring Silver, but the Major Wouldn't Have It That Way.

CHEERS FOR BOTH CANDIDATES,

But the Veritable Ovation Tendered to McKinley Was One That He Can Long Remember With Pride.

CAMPBELL MAKES USE OF CHARTS,

And Gives Lessons in Bookkeeping, Which Receive Good-Natured Ridicule From the Republican Representative.

THE BEST OF FEELING PREVAILS THROUGHOUT

[FROM A STAFF CORRESPONDENT.]

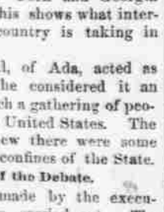
DA, O., Oct. 8.—The great debate between Major McKinley and Governor Campbell is over. The assaults of the free trade crusader have been met and answered by the protection champion. It was a decent, enjoyable contest. This was the unanimous verdict of the enormous crowd that heard it.

With the break of day the people commenced to swarm into the town, and in a short time the streets were thronged with Democrats and Republicans. It was a matter of tossing up a cent as to which candidate had the most followers or the ones with the strongest lungs. There were frequent cheers for Campbell and McKinley, and they were lusty and vigorous. Clubs with bands from both parties came from all over the State. The Brice Club, of Lima, and the Kenton Democrats were out in force. The latter wore plug hats and long linen dusters.

The Cincinnati people did not arrive until after the debate started. The lunch stands and church women who served meals did a rushing business, and the latter made considerable money that will assist them in furthering the cause of religion.

McKinley First on the Ground.

The candidates did not reach here until noon. McKinley was the first to come, and he was received, as was also the Governor, a few minutes later, with a military salute. Several cannon in the Normal school yard belched forth noise and smoke. This was the signal for terrific cheers from the partisians. The Governor and the Major were escorted in carriages to President Lehr's house by the students in the military department of the school. The young fellows are well trained, and looked nicely in their blue suits. After luncheon they were taken to the fair ground, where the debate was held.



Prof. Lehr, Who Arranged the Debate.

On the Democratic side I noticed in the crowd Speaker Heisel, ex-Congressman Yoder, General Sherwood, of Canton, and Dr. J. N. Norton, Chairman of the State Central Committee. Among the prominent Republicans were Congressman-elect Story, of Cincinnati, J. N. Taylor, the East Liverpool potter and faithful friend of McKinley, State Auditor Poe and others. The truth is that not many of the recognized leaders in either party were present. The majority of them are too busy on the stump to attend joint debates, but the rank and file made up for their absence.

The Non-Partisan Decorations.

A large arch had been erected in front of the Normal University building by the students. The pictures of Campbell and McKinley hung over the street side by side. On the arch were these non-partisan quotations: "Education, the hope of the nation," "Discussion, the safety valve of the Republic," and "To be chosen by one's compeers is a greater honor than being born a king." Great care was exercised all around to hurt nobody's feelings.

Most of the great journals in the country from Chicago to New York and Georgia were represented. This shows what interest the people of the country is taking in the Ohio contest.

Rev. Z. B. Campbell, of Ada, acted as Chairman. He said he considered it an honor to preside at such a gathering of people from Ohio and the United States. The preacher evidently knew there were some here from beyond the confines of the State.

Programme of the Debate.

The arrangements made by the executive committees were carried out. The county chairmen of Hardin of both parties, respectively, introduced their candidates. J. M. Vanfleet performed this task for Governor Campbell, and Colonel J. C. Howe for McKinley. The large platform was crowded with Democrats and Republicans. When order had been restored Campbell sat to the right of the table and McKinley occupied a chair on the left.

Previous to that both were kept busy for a time acknowledging the applause of the crowd. Large pictures of the debaters rested on easels in prominent places. Campbell's was framed with twisted hickory, out of honor to old Jackson, I suppose.

Without much ado Mr. Vanfleet related the agreement entered into by the parties. The Governor was to speak for the first hour and five minutes, McKinley was to follow for one hour and 30 minutes and the Governor was to have 25 minutes to close. The programme was adhered to, and time was called as soon as it had expired for each one.

He Called Him Governor McKinley.

In introducing Campbell Vanfleet got a little mixed and spoke of the Major as Governor McKinley. The Republicans in the crowd were quick to take advantage of this slip of the tongue and pandemonium reigned for a moment. They broke loose and howled like men in battle. Vanfleet, however, recovered himself, and corrected the blunder.

"That prediction is being realized in this country."

When Campbell arose to speak he was enthusiastically cheered. The Governor struck his familiar attitude on the stump. He has a habit of leaning slightly forward in a confidential way, and with a smile on his face and his hands in his pockets he commenced his speech. He confined himself exclusively to a discussion of the tariff from a free trade standpoint.

During Campbell's speech McKinley listened closely. Occasionally he would laugh quietly to himself at some of the Governor's wit.

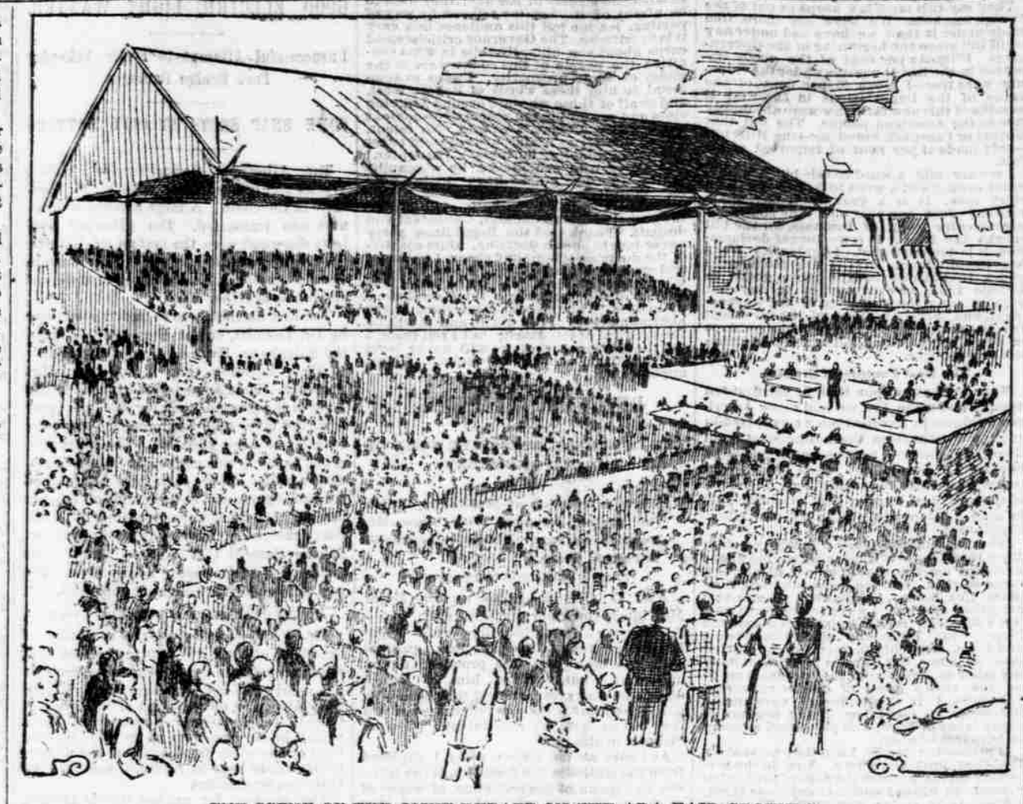
The Major's Great Reception.

When the Major's turn came the crowd was pretty well warmed up. Judging by the prolonged applause that greeted him, a stranger would have been led to believe they were all Republicans. Hats were thrown into the air, canes were waved and cheer after cheer startled the atmosphere. The Major discussed the silver and tariff issues.

Neither candidate paid much attention to the questions asked by the other, but followed their prepared speeches closely. When it was all over both sides claimed a victory. The people must decide that for themselves, after they read the debate. I don't believe a convert was made. Both men were at their best, and the short rest had helped their voices.

When Campbell arose to reply to the Major, the Democrats broke loose for a final effort. They were joined by the Republicans, who yelled for McKinley. The Governor was delayed for fully three minutes. Finally McKinley stood up and asked the crowd to keep quiet, and give the Governor a square deal. Campbell smiled good naturedly, and then made one of his characteristic, witty stump speeches. He made everybody laugh, and the meeting broke up with the best of feeling prevailing.

ISRAEL.



THE SCENE OF THE JOINT DEBATE ON THE ADA FAIR GROUNDS.

CAMPBELL'S FIRST SPEECH.

THE GOVERNOR LEADS OFF IN THE GREAT JOINT DEBATE.

His Whole Argument Devoted to an Assault Upon the Protective System—A Liberal Use of Charts—Some Lessons in Bookkeeping.

[FROM A STAFF CORRESPONDENT.]

ADA, Oct. 8.—THE DISPATCH'S stenographic and telegraphic facilities were complete, and it is therefore able to present full reports of the speeches. Here is Campbell's first effort:

The time allotted to open this debate is so short that it precludes any introductory remarks. The moments at my disposal are much too few to properly present the indictment against that overgrown monster who, masquerading in the garb of protection, subsists upon the worker and the agriculturist. [Applause.] In the gloomiest days of the French revolution Madame Roland protested against the crimes that were committed in the name of liberty.

We are here to-day to protest against the crimes that are committed in the name of protection. With the enormous increase in living necessities; with the daily reductions in the wages of the working men and women; with the early depreciation in agricultural lands and the growing unprofitableness of farming—I hear the distant music of a Democratic club from Cincinnati and another from Lima, but I think I can stand that sufficiently to proceed—with our glorious commerce swept from the seas and that great industry abandoned; with the splendid palaces of protected manufacturers crowning the hills, while in the valleys imported Huns, Italians and Bohemians, usurping the places of American freemen, crouch in their hovels and cower before Pinkerton rifles [applause]; with the pallid wives and children of starving miners reduced to destitution that production may be limited and greater profits flow into the coffers of the coal barons already wallowing in wealth; with American women in our great cities striving to maintain life and honor upon the miserable stipend of 13 cents a day, and that, too, in protected industries—with all these things, and 25,000 citizens of the United States possessing as much wealth as the remaining 65,000,000 of their fellow countrymen: with those who are sometimes well termed "rotten rich" defying the people and seeking to destroy the country's reputation and honor, who may wage war too vigorously in this cause? [Applause.]

A Quotation From Abraham Lincoln.

We are rapidly reaching a condition which was predicted by Abraham Lincoln in his last days. With that wonderful foresight that characterized him through life he uttered these prophetic words: "As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned, an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power will endeavor to prolong its reign until all wealth is aggregated in the hands of the few, and the Republic is lost." That this is not overstating the case, and that that prediction is being realized in this country, I cite you to the utterances of a Republican Congressman from Ohio, who upon the floor of the House in the debate upon the McKinley bill (and it was Ben Butterworth, whose successor I see upon this platform), said that he "could upon the ten fingers of his two hands name or count the men who had added more to their wealth in the last ten years than had been added to the wealth of all the agriculturists in any State in the Union." [Applause.]

I have the authority of the *American Economist* that in 1889 the number of people in the United States who owned their own homes had in 25 years fallen from five-eighths to three-eighths. How many years will it take for them to fall to one-eighth or one-thousandth? History is not without lessons in this regard. I quote from the *Progress*, a publication printed in Boston: "When Egypt went down, 2 per cent of her people owned 97 per cent of her wealth; the people were starving to death. When Babylon went down, 2 per cent of her population owned all the wealth; the people were starved to death. When Persia went down, 1 per cent of the population owned the land; and when Rome went down, 1,800 men owned all the known world."

The Change of Forty Years.

In 1850 in this country the capitalists owned 37½ per cent of her wealth; to-day they own more than twice that amount of her wealth. Have they been more honest, more industrious, more enterprising; have they deserved better at the hands of Providence or of their fellow-countrymen than the farmers, and the wage workers, or even the lawyers or doctors and the preachers? [Applause.] Yet to him who goes before the people and without comment, without temper, points to these facts that are statistical and undisputed the only answer that can be made is to sneer at him as a "calamity croaker." [Applause.] And when they want to emphasize it, for want of better argument, they spell "calamity" and "croaker" each with a K. [Applause.]

I will read you as apropos to that an extract from another "calamity croaker." This particular "calamity croaker" is *Bradstreet's*, which is accepted in this country by every business man as a perfectly fair journal of trade, finance and public economy. This is what Bradstreet says. He croaks a little, too. The article is headed, "Largely Increased Failures and Liabilities." The total number of mercantile failures in the United States for nine months of 1891 (that is the present year, and the first nine months under our present exorbitant tariff), were 8,856 as compared with 7,538 under a like portion of 1890; a gain of 1,328, or 17 per cent. Now, Major McKinley said, if he is reported correctly, when he accepted the nomination for Congress in 1890 that if his bill passed the Senate (it had already passed the House), this country would witness a boom more marvelous than it had ever known. I pause to ask where is that boom? [Applause.]

Both the Candidates Farmers.

With crops the most abundant that we have had in ten years (Noise on the outside—The boys out there have just heard of this. Applause.), with drought, and blight and famine abroad, to give us a market for these crops because there is no home market for the surplus, if we farmers are pulled out of the drag a little, and the Major and I are both farmers (applause), laugh, but our competition will not ruin the industry; you need not be afraid of that (laughter), if we are pulled out of the "Slough of Despond" this year it is not from prosperity in the United States of America. It is from the act of Providence that gives us for once a great market abroad. Were it not for that the unprecedented failures in business in 1891 under this beneficent tariff would be a great deal worse than they are.

Now, my friends, one of the causes, at least, and the greatest, of the depression and failures of the present season is because we are paying too much taxes. Now the tariff is a tax. In order that I may not make a mistake upon that proposition, I will read you an extract from a speech made on May 5, 1888, in the city of Philadelphia by Major McKinley, in which he said: "Now, what is a duty? what is a tariff? Why, I am not afraid of the word; it is a tax [applause], and it is a tax put upon foreign goods that are brought into the United States" [applause], but subsequently, and I quote from his speech now at Millersburg last year, and it is substantially the same as the speeches he makes this year in this respect [laughter], he gives his view as to who pays this tax, and I think I can demonstrate he is mistaken. I shall try. He says: "It is said the Republican protective tariff puts burdens upon the people." Well, we have said it, that is true: we are going to keep on saying it. The Major also said then: "There is not a man in this audience knows anything about it, for he does not feel the weight of Federal taxation. This tax is not paid by the consumer."

Quoting Authorities on Taxation.

The Major says the tax is not paid by the consumer. I will quote an authority or two against the Major, and then I will open a school of book-keeping, and see if I cannot show who pays the tax by the double entry system. In the first place, the Supreme Court of the United States has said who pays the tax. That is the highest law authority in the land, and in the case of Brown vs. the State of Maryland they unanimously announced that a duty on imports is a tax that is paid by the consumer. Now, in order to settle this question, our friend and Senator John Sherman held a little correspondence, which is interesting, and which I will read. On the 19th of December, 1881, he wrote this letter to the Hon. William A. Richardson: "Sir: My experience in the Treasury convinced me of the great importance, both to the United States and to private litigates of the organization of a tribunal to try customs cases, or of transferring jurisdiction of such cases to the court of claims."

It may be remarked here that Judge Richardson was then a judge of that court. And he adds: "Your experience as Secretary of the Treasury, and Assistant Secretary, together with your experience as a Judge of the Court of Claims, will enable you to give to Congress important information, both as to the necessity of such a tribunal and the best mode of securing it." So they were seeking to establish some tribunal where numerous customs cases of the United States could be tried. Bad Mr. Richardson, who is appealed to by John Sherman as the greatest authority in the land, says in his reply: "Moreover, the general public (that is you) who are purchasers and consumers of imported goods, are not only interested in the rates of duty charged, but are among the actual sufferers by the present uncertainty and delay. If the Collector exacts the highest possible duty upon any class of goods, the importer adds it to the cost of the goods, and the consumer pays it." (Applause.)

A Little Lesson in Bookkeeping.

Now, if you are not double-entry bookkeepers, any of you, I will say to you that double-entry bookkeeping is the simplest thing in the world. You credit what comes into your store and you debit what goes out. Now, here is the American importer, who goes to England and buys $5,000 worth of goods. The average rate of duty on dutiable goods under the present tariff is about 60 per cent. And we will assume, instead of buying very high-priced goods, which are 150 per cent, he buys those that are about an average. He gets his merchandise and he pays cash. Now, the first entry to the right he credits cash by the $5,000 that he pays out, and to balance his books he charges merchandise with the $5,000 or cash, here upon the left, that he pays out. That balances his books to that point.

"The Republican party stands, therefore, for a dollar worth 103 cents."

But when he gets his goods in the New York Custom House the collector says: "Your goods are here."

"Yes."

"Who are you?"

"Well, I am a merchant out in Ohio."

"A Republican, are you?"

"Yes."

"Well, I am glad to see you," and they shake hands over their Republicanism. [Laughter.] And the merchant says: "I have bought $5,000 worth of goods and they are here, and Major McKinley tells me that the foreigner pays this tax. You give me the goods and go and collect your tax off a foreigner." [Laughter.] I want you to understand you are wasting valuable time when you cheer me; I only have an hour and five minutes and I have lots of things to tell.)

"No, no," says the collector, "you give me $3,000 and you can take your goods."

He pays out his $3,000 for merchandise, and he knows what he paid it for. He credits his cash to the $3,000 he pays out and he charges merchandise with the $3,000 cash. He has paid out $8,000, and his books balance. If there is any error in those entries I would ask the Major to correct them. Now, put up No. 2 (referring to chart No. 2, which was hoisted before the people), now, you see there, he has credited his cash with $5,000 worth of goods and $3,000 for duties, but if he only charges merchandise with the $5,000 that he paid in England he has got another account to open of "profit and loss," and he has just lost $3,000 for the privilege of bringing these goods over here.

A Liberal Use of Charts.

There is no flaw in that account. If he does not charge it to merchandise, he has got to charge it to profit and loss, and the merchant in Hardin county who would bring over a lot of goods here for the avowed purpose of losing $3,000 would be clapped in a lunatic asylum by his friends, and he ought to be. [Laughter.] Now, put up No. 3 (and No. 3 chart was hoisted). Now, there is the condition of the importer's ledger, if the foreigner pays the tax. If the foreigner pays the tax and the importer pays $5,000 for his goods in England, and brings them in free because the tax has been paid by somebody else, well, if that be true—don't you hide my diagram with Brice's picture (referring to banner with picture, which covered the chart). Brice is all right, but he doesn't want to interfere with me when I am keeping school. If that entry be true, and that is the entry that would be made if the foreigner pays the tax, then the goods come in free, and we have free trade. I ask any bookkeeper in the audience if that is not the proper entry, if the foreigner pays the tax, and if the goods come into this country at the English price without cost to the importer. Then we don't have, little one-horse reciprocity with some colored republics down in the South, but we have free trade with England and with the world. [Applause.]

I simply want to demonstrate it in a way that cannot be met, because these are the entries that must go upon the importers' books, if he charges the tax, and he must add it to the cost of the goods before they go into the hands of the wholesaler, and so on through to the retailer and to the people.

Taking Up the Glass Feature.

An instance of this I cite you. It is about duty on plate glass. Now my friend, the Major, will take a tumbler like that, (holding a tumbler in his hand), and he will tell you how much more the duty is than the selling price in England. That is an American tumbler, and the duty is made prohibitive upon some classes of goods, but when it comes to plate glass, although we have made the duty somewhere in the neighborhood of 100 per cent, yet we do import it, and last year we imported $160,000 worth of plate glass. That's the value of glass in England, and as it appeared on the books of the importer, but upon that glass there was paid into the Treasury of the United States $223,000, or $63,000 more than the cost of the glass in England. Now, who paid that tax? Did the importer give you the glass, or did the English manufacturer get $63,000 for the glass and pay $63,000 besides?

I cite the case of sugar, and [illegible] that the tariff on sugar is a reve[illegible] and that other duties made for pr[illegible] are not paid by the consumer, although [illegible] admit that the sugar tax was. Now, the[illegible] a duty laid to protect plate glass manufa[illegible]turers of this country. The duties are 140 per cent upon the 100 per cent of cost in England, and I read this item from a newspaper: "Last week a Chicago firm received $1,400 worth of pearl buttons from Austria, and that was the first importation of pearl buttons since the McKinley bill went into effect. The duty on those buttons was just $3,000—a trifle over 200 per cent."

Now, who paid that duty? Did the foreign manufacturer pay the United States $3,000 for the privilege of sending $1,400 worth of buttons to us? There is a clause in the McKinley bill that provides that 99 per cent of the duties paid on some articles shall be refunded, provided those articles are exported.

Have Heard of Tin Before.

Under that provision the Standard Oil Company imported last year into the United States the article of tin—you have heard of tin before. [Laughter.] They paid more than $1,250,000 tax duty upon that tin. If they did not, if the foreigner paid that duty, then the United States has put its hand into our pockets and presented the Standard Oil Company with $1,250,000 of our money, because they filed their drawbacks in the United States Treasury and showed that the tin was used in packages to export their products abroad, and the money that was paid by somebody at the Custom House in New York was repaid from the Federal Treasury at Washington into the coffers of the Standard Oil Company. Now, if a foreigner paid the tax, how does it come that the Standard Oil Company got the money? [Laughter.]

This book-keeping here (referring to charts,) demonstrated that the consumer paid the tax, and that the foreigner does not pay the tax. Now, when the Major comes to speak, I want him to show if the consumer does not pay it, how there came to go into the Federal Treasury last year more than $200,000,000 collected at Custom Houses, and that is not all the tax you pay. The $100,000,000, more or less, that you pay at the Custom House is a small per cent of the taxes that you pay under a high protective tariff. There were manufactured in this country last year $5,500,000,000 of manufactured goods, but if the tariff upon dutiable goods at 60 per cent, it is fair to presume, that taking protected and unprotected industries together that at least one-third of that sum was paid in duties, or rather paid to the manufacturer at home, in lieu of duties upon the American product. Twenty per cent of that $5,500,000,000 would be $1,100,000,000.

Mills, of Texas, as an Authority.

The estimate of Mr. Mills, who is an expert on those things and has made it a long study, is $1,200,000,000, but taking the lower of the two, you have not alone to pay $220,000,000 of revenue to the Government, but you have paid that much, amounting to $1,100,000,000 of revenue to the protected manufacturers. Now, why is this done? It is said to be done, first, for the upbuilding and maintenance of manufacturers. How long, oh, Lord, how long shall this maintenance and upbuilding go on. [A voice, for all time.] Why, it won't stop with eternity.

"The only answer that can be made is to sneer at him as a 'calamity croaker.'"

I will tell you when it ought to have stopped on some of the articles that are most highly protected under the McKinley bill, and, as there are a good many Republicans present, I will not tell you on my own account, but I will read you an extract from a letter written by James G. Blaine. [Republican applause.] On the 10th of June, 1888, he wrote: "Nevertheless facts are stubborn things, and the hard figures of arithmetic cannot be satisfactorily answered by the airy figures of speech." I want you to remember that when the Major attempts to explain this bookkeeping, the truth remains that the coarser descriptions of cottons and cotton prints, boots and shoes, ordinary household furniture, harness for draft animals, agricultural implements of all kinds (I hope the farmers have both ears open), doors, sashes and blinds, locks, bolts and hinges, silverware (the farmer need not bother about that), plated ware, ordinary paper and paper hangings, common vehicles, ordinary window glass and glassware, rubber goods, coal oils, lard oils, kerosene, white lead (they have a trust on that), lead pipe and articles in which lead is a chief component, can be and are produced as cheaply in the United States as in any part of the world.

Trying to Use Blaine's Thunder.

Well, if so, I will call your attention to the length of time and the amount of protection that these infant industries have had and are getting now—an active and tender infant of 103 years—don't be troubled, he will be a good deal older than that if the theory of protection in vogue this day is not changed. Flint and pressed glassware, which includes common tumblers and glass dishes like this, have been taxed since 1789—one of your infants here. The duty under the tariff of 1883 was 40 per cent, but Major McKinley raised to 60, although Mr. Blaine said seven years ago that it could be produced as cheaply in this country as anywhere in the world, and as a matter of fact, has not any competition worth speaking of upon that kind of ware. It is made cheaper here than anywhere, and it is shipped from here all over the world, and yet 50 per cent was added to protect it against competion which does not exist.

Glass lamp chimneys have been taxed ever since they have been made. I thank God they did not have glass chimneys 100 years ago or they would have begun on

"In God's name, what is England making such a fuss about?"

them then. They paid from 40 to 45 per cent in 1883; the Major raised it to 60; he wanted a dead level on glass. Pen knives and pocket knives—why, since the Major passed the bill the pocket cutlery men have met once to three times a month to organize the prices, and why? because, that modest industry has been [illegible] since 1792—it is only 99 years old, that [illegible]low—by act of 1883 was taxed to 50, but [illegible] the McKinley bill from 71 to 115 per cent, and table knives and forks and larger cutlery in proportion.

Sticking to the Maine Man.

Cotton cloth, that Mr. Blaine says can be made as cheap as anywhere in the world—why we raise cotton here, we ought to make it as cheap as they can carry it across to England and weave it and bring it back—has been taxed since 1790, 101 years. Under the tariff of 1883 the duty was raised from 40 to 55, and under the McKinley bill from 45 to 62, and so with all cloth made with cotton, and a cotton suit that costs $10 50 pays $3 67 tax under the McKinley bill. That $3 67 is to protect American labor. The only trouble is that the tariff is $3 67 and the whole labor cost is only $1 65.

And oil cloth, taxed since 1824, was raised from 40 to 90, and all these nice little things that women like, etchings, embroideries, ruffings, ruchings, (I hope the ladies are listening to this, because you know John Sherman says "the women got up that commotion in Kansas," they may get up one here,) those which used to be taxed from 30 to 35 and 40 are now put up 50 60, and the woolen manufacturers, which have been taxed since 1816 by schedule, woolen clothing of various kinds, shawls and blankets, have been raised; the duty on the lowest grade of blankets was 72 in 1883, but is increased to 91 by the McKinley bill, and the duty on the highest grade of blankets was 69 and it is raised to 71 only. The cheap blanket has been raised from 72 to 91 per cent, a raise of 19 per cent, and the dear blanket has been raised only 2 per cent. That is also on account of labor that is to be protected, because on a pair of five-pound blankets costing $3.50 the labor cost is 35 cents, and is protected under the McKinley tariff to the amount of $2.28. That is to equalize the cost of labor between this country and England. And so with flannels.

Going Through the Schedules.

Perhaps, however, the duty on carpets and the increase is as onerous and as iniquitous as any. Expensive carpets, axminster carpets, are put up from 49 to 65, while cheaper carpets and druggets are put up from 40 to 80 and 84, and yet carpets have been taxed since 1790, save and except 15 years of Democratic low tariff between 1846 and 1861, when they were not taxed at all. Now, what has been the result? Something has happened in this country as a result of the increase of taxation. At the close of the War when we had taxed everything that could be seen or felt or thought of, when we were willing to be taxed, when no questions were asked, when a member could rise in his seat and make a proposition that would increase the revenues of the Government and nobody cared what it was on, because the Union was in danger, and the first thing was to keep our armies in the field and maintain the Federal Government; and when it was all over we had only gotten up to 30 per cent taxation upon dutiable imports.

In the 25 years that have passed since the War we have raised that 30 per cent; we raised it from 30 to 47 and under Major McKinley's bill from 47 to 60, so that in those years we have doubled the taxation through the tariff upon goods brought into this country. Now who has been benefited by it? What have the farmers of Ohio, to start with, got out of this taxation? I have here the certificate from the Secretary of the Board of Equalization, and he shows that in ten years the appraised value of farm lands in Ohio has depreciated $88,000,000. Ninety-eight millions upon an appraisement of perhaps one-half the actual value, or double that amount. Two hundred millions in round figures have gone from the farmers of the State of Ohio in ten years, and where has it gone? Have other classes suffered alike? [A voice—Carnegie has it.] [Governor Campbell—Carnegie has $30,000,000 of it; he has got his share.]

Making Use of Census Reports.

I also hold a report from Robert P. Porter, the Republican Superintendent of the Census, in which he shows that in those ten years the State of Ohio, not the farmers, but somebody else in Ohio, has increased in wealth $243,000,000. The share of the farmers of Ohio in that $243,000,000 should have certainly been two-thirds, or $160,000,000. Have you got it? Is there a farmer within the sound of my voice who is better off to-day than he was in 1880? (A voice—Yes, Governor Campbell.) Where is he? I would like to see him. (Cries of "Here!" "Here!") [Applause.] Yes, that is right. A farmer in front of me says: "Yes, the farmer is better off in that he has more mortgages and has seen more Sheriff's sales." [Applause.]

I state it as a fact that not one farmer in a thousand in Ohio is as well off to-day as he was in 1880. [Cries of "right."] The appraisement shows it. [A voice—"That's a fact."] You have $60,000,000 in the value of your lands and buildings. Where has it gone? And where is the $60,000,000 that belongs to you as your ratable share of the increase? Three hundred and sixty millions have gone from the farmers of Ohio. It is true, the Major says: "They don't feel the tariff taxation; they don't know when they pay it.'

A Comparison of Ten Years.

That is the truth. But they feel it now when they compare their condition now with their condition ten years ago. They may not know it. You go and buy a bill of goods. Half the bill is tariff, and the other is goods. And it is that insidious form of taxation that is sapping the strength out of the farmer and the wage worker in this country. Put the taxes at him. Let him walk into the store and lay down a dollar for goods and a dollar for taxes, and then he will have the tariff revised in the interest of the men who labor, and not in the interest of the men who have become overgrown and rich by act of legislation.

What the farmer has lost is small compared with what the wage-worker has lost, gentlemen. Some of you farmers think you have been getting rich in the last ten years. Now let the workingmen stand up. Last October the tariff in this country was raised from 47 to 60 per cent for the avowed purpose of benefiting labor and increasing its compensation. Now get up here, all of you, every laboring man, who has had his wages increased since the McKinley bill passed. Stand up and let me count them. [Applause and cries of "Good."] And when the Major comes to reply I want him to tell this audience where these workingmen are who have got better wages under his tariff. He can't do it. [Applause.] I have been all over the State nearly and I have not found one.

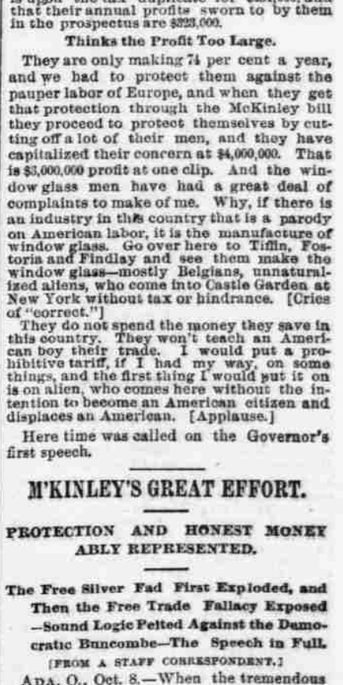
Alleged Reduction of Wages.

I will tell you a few who have not. In this country there have been more than 300 great establishments working thousands of men and women, who have reduced their wages since the passage of the McKinley bill, and I don't know one that has increased them. [Applause.] Take, if you please, the iron and steel industries. There have been more strikes, which were unsuccessful, and where wage workers had to go back and succumb, or starve, since the passage of the McKinley bill, than in three years before. I hold in my hand a list of 30 great establishments in this country, including the gentleman who was named a while ago, Mr. Carnegie's place, working 36,300 men, in which organized labor is banished, in which even the great association, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, that they seduced into trying to get a tariff on tin to raise their wages, and in these establishments organization is not permitted. And I ask the Major now, and ask him to answer here, whether he upholds the banishment of organized labor from the great factories of the country. [Applause.]

And take the glass industry. Why, I got into a great deal of trouble with the glass makers at Piqua about my Sidney speech. I told a little more truth about them than was judicious, in their judgment. I said that the United States Glass Company, which had been organized since the passage of the McKinley bill had thrown out of employment already more than 500 men and will ultimately throw out of employment more than 1,000 men. I said they were a trust. I say now they are a trust. They are a trust by their own confession. They say they are not a trust. Well, what did you consolidate for? Why to reduce expenses, to control the product. Oh, no, they are not a trust.

Trusts Are Unpopular.

They do not call themselves a trust, because trust is an unpopular word in this country, and it is a word that was not in the dictionary when we had the low tariff era in Democratic days, before the war. [Applause.] And the trouble with me was because I said 1,000 mold-makers would be thrown out of employment. They were greatly exercised about that. Now I will make that clear. There will not be 1,000 mold-makers thrown out of employment, but suppose you were to say: "There is a strike among the bricklayers in the city of Cincinnati and 1,000 of them will be thrown out of employment, and when you came to figure up there were 1,000 men thrown out of employment, and some were bricklayers and some were mortar-mixers, or helpers, and



"It is undoubtedly a wise policy to give as much employment as possible to our own people."

some were hod-carriers. That would make a great deal of difference to the fellow whose family was starving to death, whether they called him a bricklayer or hod-carrier. [Applause.]

And those poor devils in that glass factory, in this trust whose product has been increased in protection by this bill, it is a great deal of comfort to them to know that I called them all moldmakers instead of specifying particularly what each man did. The wages of poverty will be enjoyed by him much better for knowing that I had to correct that statement.

The prospectus of that company I have here on this table. It shows their property is upon the tax duplicate for $431,000, and that their annual profits sworn to by them in the prospectus are $223,000.

Thinks the Profit Too Large.

They are only making 74 per cent a year, and we had to protect them against the pauper labor of Europe, and when they get that protection through the McKinley bill they proceed to protect themselves by cutting off a lot of their men, and they have capitalized their concern at $4,000,000. That is $3,000,000 profit at one clip. And the window glass men have had a great deal of complaints to make of me. Why, if there is an industry in this country that is a parody on American labor, it is the manufacture of window glass. Go over here to Tiffin, Fostoria and Findlay and see them make the window glass—mostly Belgians, unnaturalized aliens, who come into Castle Garden at New York without tax or hindrance. [Cries of "correct."]

They do not spend the money they save in this country. They won't teach an American boy their trade. I would put a prohibitive tariff, if I had my way, on some things, and the first thing I would put it on is on alien, who comes here without the intention to become an American citizen and displaces an American. [Applause.]

Here time was called on the Governor's first speech.

M'KINLEY'S GREAT EFFORT.

PROTECTION AND HONEST MONEY ABLY REPRESENTED.

The Free Silver Fad First Exploded, and Then the Free Trade Fallacy Exposed—Sound Logic Pelted Against the Democratic Buncombe—The Speech in Full.

[FROM A STAFF CORRESPONDENT.]

ADA, O., Oct. 8.—When the tremendous ovation that greeted Major McKinley had partially subsided he spoke as follows:

Mr. President and My Fellow Citizens:

It gives me very great pleasure to meet my fellow citizens of Ohio, and it gives me special pleasure that Governor Campbell and myself, who for the moment represent the great parties in Ohio, can meet upon the same platform to present before the same audience the causes which we respectively represent. The issues between us and between the parties for which for the moment we stand are fixed not by ourselves, but by the platforms of our respective parties. There are two of them which I propose on the time I shall occupy to present to this assembled multitude.

One of them is the question of silver and the other is the question of taxation. The one relates to the standard with which we shall measure our exchanges and our labor with each other and with the rest of the world, and the other relates to the subject and the method of taxation, by which we shall raise the needed revenues for public purposes.

The Silver Fad Exploded.

It is on the question of silver the Democratic platform of Ohio has declared without qualification for the free and unlimited coinage of the silver of the world, as freely as gold is now coined, and upon the ratios fixed by public law. The Republican party stands opposed to free and unlimited coinage of silver under existing conditions, and insists that they cannot be safely done until the great commercial nations