

PROSPERITY, UNITY, AND NATIONAL HONOR *

I SPEAK to you to-night not merely as a Republican, for I appeal in this contest to every man who has in him the right spirit of good American citizenship. I am proud that on the platform with me sits ex-Secretary Fairchild, and I and every good Republican can stand together shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Fairchild and those like him, because all of us alike believe with all our hearts in the fundamental principles that underlie alike Republicans and Democrats.

Wherever I have been in this campaign, man after man, though a lifelong Democrat, declined to follow his party when that party fell under leadership that was false to all the early traditions of the party; when that party fell under leadership that sought to lead it into the path of national dishonor at home and abroad. Old soldiers like General Bragg, of Wisconsin, gallant Dan Sickles, Franz Sigel here in New York, and their no less gallant opponents who were in gray, like General Buckner, General Basil Duke, General Russell, in Virginia and Kentucky, stand with us now, because the Spanish War stamped out the last lingering vestige of division in this country and left us in fact, as well as in name, a reunited nation. And the valiant men who wore the blue and the no less valiant men who wore the gray naturally come with us when we stand for the honesty of our people at home and against the degradation of the nation abroad.

* Address at Madison Square Garden, New York City, October 26, 1900. *New York Times*, October 27, 1900.

The Bryanized Democracy has no right to claim one particle of heirship to the party founded by Jefferson and perpetuated by Jackson.

Mr. Bryan comes to this city, Mr. Bryan comes to this State, pleading loyalty to the principles of Jefferson and Jackson, and he comes as the guest of Mr. Croker; Croker, the man who said that he was in politics "for his own pocket all the time." I am not slandering Mr. Croker; I am merely quoting him.

In Andrew Jackson's day Democracy spelled hard money, expansion, and the honor of the flag. And does Democracy represent Andrew Jackson now? No; it represents the debasement of the currency, the dishonor of the flag, and the contraction of national limits. The Republican party stands for the honest dollar; the party stands for keeping the flag hoisted in the Philippines, and it shall be kept there.

There are certain virtues which parties must possess or their policies will be of no avail. We have to have sincerity, honesty, or the most brilliant statesmanship would avail nothing. And then think, if without sincerity, without honesty, we should also lack not merely brilliant statesmanship, but ordinary common sense in statesmanship!

Now there are two or three issues in this campaign, and one issue is the question of free silver. Our opponents say that it is not now the paramount issue. They state that it is the immediate issue, but not the paramount issue. The difference is microscopic. They have no business to raise an issue which directly and vitally affects the welfare of every man in the country unless they are willing to make it a paramount issue. That is the only excuse for raising it at all. More than that, Mr. Bryan has been asked again and again what

his policy would be if elected in regard to paying the obligations of the nation, the obligation of the nation to the holders of the national debt, the obligation of the nation to the veterans of the Civil War, and Mr. Bryan will not answer.

Now come to the thing in question. He knows that the law is on the statute-books or he does not. He said the other day down in Washington that he was not going to construe the statute now, not until he was elected. He should have said "unless." He should have said that for six years he has been preaching his theories about the currency, and if he is ignorant of one of the most important statutes in all the laws of the United States, then he is not fit to be President. If, on the other hand, he knows and dare not tell for fear it would hurt his chances of election, then again he is not fit to be President, and he can take either horn of the dilemma he chooses.

Now we have issues, and we are fortunate enough to have such issues that do not wear thin in any part of the country. I am for the gold standard here in New York, and I am for the gold standard in Denver, Colorado. When Mr. Bryan is willing on his side to show the same frankness that we on our side show, then, and not till then, will it be worth while even to meet his arguments seriously.

I ask you to compare Mr. Bryan's prophecies of four years ago with what has happened since, and I wish no better campaign book in this election than the book of Mr. Bryan's speeches in 1896. Wait—wait—I must make an exception—except Mr. Bryan's speeches in 1900.

Mr. Bryan prophesied four years ago that unless we had free silver we should have four years of harder

times; that the wage-earners would stand idle; that business men would have failure staring them in the face, and the farmer would have no market for his products.

Each and every prediction he made has been signally falsified by the event, and when Mr. Bryan was confronted with the fact that prosperity had come, he answered it in two ways. At first he said that we were not so very prosperous after all, and since then he has told each group of our people in turn that that group did not have its proper share of the prosperity.

The other day in central New York he addressed a meeting of the farmers, and he said to them that they had not had their proportionate share of the prosperity that has come to this country. It happens that we have the figures which show how much prosperity has come to the farmers. Farm values during the past four years have increased thirty-five per cent, and if Mr. Bryan is right in saying that they have not had their proper share—that is, that they are below the average, the average must be high indeed, and in that case what becomes of the statement by Mr. Bryan that the prosperity had not been very much after all?

No, my fellow countrymen, we have had good times, and our citizens have been helped each and all by raising the standard of prosperity for all of us throughout the country.

Mr. Bryan has been preaching that most dangerous doctrine, the doctrine of some men down, and our doctrine is "all men up." Mr. Bryan speaks of prosperity to our people, that some can rise at the expense of others. He tells the wage-worker to be discontented because, though prosperous, he is not as prosperous, says Mr. Bryan, as some one else.

Gentlemen, come back in your minds to 1893. Do you remember, hard times came in 1893? Whom did they spare? No one. When hard times came, they came to us all. When in 1897 we began to feel the lift upward, all of us felt the lift. The only way in which it is possible permanently to benefit any part of our people is by benefiting all. Shame to the man, whether in public or private life, who preaches the doctrine of envy, the doctrine of greed, who appeals to the worst, the basest passions in mankind.

Mr. Bryan seeks to sow seeds of malice and envy among Americans. Jefferson and Jackson he quotes. His political school has nothing in common with theirs. He is a pupil in that most dangerous political school, the school in which Marat and Robespierre were the teachers.

No greater evil, oh, my fellow countrymen, can be done this nation of ours than to teach any group of Americans that their attitude should be one of sullen hatred and distrust of their fellows. That teaching means to nullify the works of a century and a quarter of statesmen who have built up our government here. Before our time there have been so-called republics, in which the rich oppressed the poor, there have been so-called republics in which the poor plundered the rich. It has been our boast that in this great Republic each man stands on his rights, as a man, demanding no more than his rights, and being refused any chance to wrong his fellows.

Woe to our people, woe to the nation, if ever we forsake the doctrines of Washington and Lincoln, if ever we wander apart from the path that they trod into the dark and devious way that leads to bitter class hatreds, that leads ultimately to class strife, that leads ultimately

to the loss of liberty—liberty, remember, the orderly liberty under the law which we have inherited from our forefathers has as its most dangerous enemy anarchy, license, mob violence in any form.

Our opponents talk of the dangers of imperialism. There is but one danger to free institutions in this country, and that would be by the general prevalence of the doctrines, the seeds of which Mr. Bryan has been sowing. Only in that way will there ever be a chance of losing the liberty that we have inherited from those who went before us.

And now Mr. Bryan asks us to give up prosperity, he asks us to dishonor the flag, he asks us to give up our orderly liberty under the law. For what? For the sake of the most shadowy ghost that ever was raised to frighten people—the ghost of militarism.

Militarism! Here in this building a week ago Mr. Bryan repeated what he either knows, or ought to know, to be an absolute slander, when he said that our little army had been created with the purpose of putting it in forts to overawe the working men of our great cities. Gentlemen, there are sixty-five thousand regular soldiers in the United States. The Greater New York would be entitled, according to population, to two thousand five hundred regular soldiers, less than a third of the police in the city.

Gentlemen, five years ago, when I was police commissioner—I understand that several of my fellow citizens remember the fact—when I was police commissioner, I asked for and obtained an increase of two thousand members of the force for the present Borough of Manhattan alone. I asked for and obtained without a word of protest or a thought from any one that his liberties were to be endangered a much larger body of

men than would have been obtained now by giving the Borough of Manhattan its proportionate share of the regular army, and no human being has any right to feel afraid of those soldiers unless he is also afraid of the police.

Gentlemen, Mr. Bryan may not know that ever since we became a nation we have had several forts around New York. We have had soldiers in those forts. Mr. Bryan said that the soldiers in the forts are to be used to coerce working men. Those soldiers have been in the forts here, they and their predecessors, for one hundred and eighteen years. Ever since the city was evacuated we have had troops in the forts near New York, and never once from that time have we seen a single soldier of the regular army appear in the streets of New York in connection with any labor trouble whatsoever.

Sixty-five thousand regular soldiers and seventy-five million of us! Each one of you here is entitled to as much terror as he can have out of one ounce and a half of a regular soldier.

Gentlemen, Mr. Bryan's appeal would be comic if it were not tragic that any man whom one of the great parties deems fit for the highest office in the gift of the people should be capable of making it. Mr. Bryan has spoken of the regular army as dangerous to our people and a threat to our people. He has spoken of our soldiers, volunteers and regulars alike, as walking about in idleness, a danger to the American people.

Look back three years! During the three years who have had cause to fear the men who upheld the honor of the flag that floats over all of us? The Spaniards, the Spanish troops, have had such cause, as they looked from the battlements of Manila and listened to the thunder of Dewey's cannon, that waked the world, that

bid the older nations know that the young giant of the West had come to his glorious prime.

The Spanish sentinels on Morro Castle had cause to dread the flag, as they saw the great battleships ploughing to and fro through the sapphire seas of the Gulf. The Malay bandits have had cause to fear the flag, as they lurked in ambush to shoot our men, upheld by the fact that Aguinaldo and his followers have been aided and abetted and their arms strengthened by Bryan and his political associates.

The Chinese Boxer, his hands red with the blood of innocent women and children, flinched as he heard the guns that told that Chaffee was leading his little army across the flooded rice-fields until the boy Titus swung from the ranks and planted on the walls of imperial despotism the flag that told of rescue and liberty to hunted women and children.

Walking about in idleness? There are in this audience men who fought in the great war, and they know the kind of idleness in which soldiers walk. In the Philippines, toiling all day long knee-deep in the fetid mud of the tropic swamps, facing death at every turn, facing death by torture if captured, facing death, oh, my fellow countrymen, that you and I who live at home in ease might hold our heads higher because the honor of the flag is secure in the hands of our gallant little regular army.

Walking in idleness? Some no longer walk in idleness; the mould is yet green on the graves of those who have died in the Philippines, died for the honor of the flag the nation intrusted to them. Lawton no longer walks in idleness. Liscum and Riley no longer walk in idleness. They have crowned patient, uncomplaining, unflinching lives by glorious deaths. Deaths that one

would think should at least secure immunity from slight and slander alike to the valiant dead and the no less valiant living.

No, my fellow countrymen, I appeal to you in the name of your material well-being to keep the conditions under which we have grown so prosperous; not to return into the slough of despond out of which we so painfully worked our way. But I appeal to you in more than the name of your material well-being.

I appeal to you in the name of the honor of a mighty nation, honor at home, that in the nation we shall not have our debts halved by halving our honor; in the State that we shall keep the State up to the level of civic honesty and shall refuse to allow it to get into the hands of those who to their shame forever be it spoken, have made the government of this great city, of this city of which we are proud, of this city which we are determined in the end shall be governed as it ought to be, who have made the government of this great city a byword and a reproach.

And finally, I appeal to you, I appeal to the young men, in the name of the mighty deeds done by their fathers in the Civil War. To each generation comes its allotted task, and accordingly as the generation does or does not do it well shall its children feel exalted, or cast down because their fathers have allowed the black stain of shame to be put upon the honor-roll of American history.

We are in the Philippines as the result of the Spanish War. We cannot get out either with honor to ourselves or with honor to the people who have trusted to us. We shall stay there. Liberty? Yes, they shall have liberty. They shall have such liberty as could never come to them under the rule of an unspeakably corrupt and unspeakably cruel syndicate of Malay bandits and Chinese half-breeds. They shall have liberty, and they shall have it under the American flag.

And now, fellow Republicans, I appeal to you once and for all to declare now on the threshold of the new century the old doctrine, the old American doctrine, that where the flag has been hoisted in honor it shall never be hauled down in dishonor.