

THE REPUBLICAN VICTORY *

WE have a good cause to rejoice over our success. I am personally glad, not only as a Republican, but also as a student of American history. I do not believe Mr. Cleveland is a bad man; but he is still further from being a great man; and he has no claim whatever to a place beside our two-term Presidents. The Democratic hosts, with their Mugwump and Prohibitionist guerilla allies, have been utterly routed. It has been an immense triumph for the cause of decent government. The Mugwumps and Prohibitionists, while they remained in the Republican party, had a great influence for good; since they have left us what little power they have had has been purely for evil. They say they are non-partisan and independent; but they are in reality bitter and unscrupulous partisans and they follow blindly the lead of a host of vindictive and discredited hypocrites.

The Republicans have won their victory, and now it is the business of just such men as you members of the Federal Club to see that good use is made of our success. Our aim must be to serve the Republican party by making that party serve the nation. We of this club have no personal ends to gain; I doubt if one of us has any favor whatever to ask of the incoming administration, and so we have all the more right to be heard as Republicans and as American citizens.

Since election our opponents have indulged in an

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unusually large quantity and variety of what is in homely phrase called "fool-talk." One specimen is the assertion that the liquor-dealers elected Harrison. As a matter of fact every one knows that the enormous bulk of the saloon vote went for Cleveland; that is, he got the votes of nine out of ten liquor-sellers; but all ten voted for Hill. The tenth man, when it came to national issues, simply followed the natural bent of his mind, unchecked by his own business interests.

Again, the more foolish among our foes now whine that the election was "bought." The gentlemen who assert this are deficient either in intellect or in sense of humor. Their canvass was conducted by Messrs. Gorman and Barnum, and these two honored leaders of the Democratic army have the reputation of being able fully to hold their own in contests where the venal vote is a factor. Understand me, all honest efforts to put down bribery at elections have my fullest sympathy, and are sure of my cordial support, whether Republicans or Democrats have to suffer; but the outcry against bribery recently raised by the supporters of the defeated party is mainly and simply an effort to swindle Republicans. During the last canvass but one practical step was taken to secure an honest election in this city; that was the offer and partial payment of twenty-five thousand dollars by the Republican committee in rewards for the arrest and conviction of all men committing crimes against the ballot, whether Democrats or Republicans. Had the ballot-reform law been passed bribery would have been far more difficult; and the Republican party tried to pass it, while the Democrats are solely responsible for its defeat. For the undoubted, though grossly exaggerated, bribery that did obtain at the last election the Democrats are beyond comparison

more to blame than the Republicans. I hope at the next election that the Republicans will devote a portion of their campaign fund to effect and secure the arrest and conviction of all bribe-takers and bribe-givers of whatever party. I believe that we have a good majority of the honest vote in almost every Northern State. I will gladly support any movement made by any party to stop and prevent the corrupt use of money at elections.

Again, we in this city have had treachery in our own ranks and have punished it promptly and effectively; and now our foes pretend to believe the accusation made against us by the exposed and self-convicted traitors. But in their hearts they know well that there is not a word of truth in the charges of these men. I would like here, on my own account, to question the statements that there have ever been very large sums of money spent, as has been asserted, in the effort to purchase blocks of votes, or "movements" as they have been called in New York. If such efforts have been made, I am heartily glad they have miscarried; if an organization in any part of this city can only be held together by corrupt means, then I for one wish to have nothing to do with it, and think that the sooner it is cut off from us the better. It is an outrage to use funds for any such purpose. For three years I have been an active member of our county organization. During this time it has been under the control of Cornelius Bliss, Elihu Root, Van Rensselaer Cruger, and other men of the same stamp; and I am glad to state publicly my sincere belief that there has never been an organization in this city conducted so purely with an idea of doing good to the city, and with so determined an effort to raise and make healthy the party tone. There

has never been another party organization that deserved so well of decent citizens, and it is difficult to speak too severely of the spiteful folly and mendacity shown by certain of the so-called Independents in their treatment thereof. The fact is that for the past few years a certain section of these misnamed Independents in this city have been the active and efficient friends of bad government, both national and local. They stand exactly in the attitude of the Prohibitionists. Exactly as the political Prohibitionist has of recent years shown himself to be the prized ally of the saloon-keeper, so a certain variety of Mugwump has shown himself to be the best friend of all that is evil in politics. He helps the corrupt and vicious elements by incessantly and virulently assailing all those men who are really doing practical work for good in the political field. At the last election every Republican who voted for Hewitt simply weakened by so much Tammany Hall's strongest opponent, Mr. Erhardt, and moreover gave a fair excuse for other Republicans to vote for Grant. The timid-good who, in the twenty-first district, and others, left their party, are more than any other men responsible for the selling out of the ticket in districts like the eighth. The folly of those who went for Hewitt put a premium on the treachery of those who supported Grant.

I regret to see that Mr. Cleveland himself, sore with chagrin at his defeat, has lost both his head and his temper, and has joined the large list of his party friends who talk arrant nonsense about the result. His last message is in part an effort to rival the tirades of a certain class of cheap demagogues. It is luckily saved from being dangerous because it is ridiculous. When next Mr. Cleveland consults an encyclopædia he will do well

to look up the article on communism; and then if he ever has occasion to use the word again he will spare himself the mortification of employing it with a ludicrous inappropriateness that forcibly reminds us of the famous old lady who said that she was always benefited by the "blessed word Mesopotamia."

Perhaps the funniest cry of all, however, is that Cleveland received a majority of the popular vote; in other words, the fictitious majority in States where only Democratic votes are counted, are considered to offset the genuine majorities in States where both Republicans and Democrats are granted equal rights. In the States where there is a fair and honest ballot Harrison has an overwhelming majority; Cleveland's sole hope lay in the fraudulent suppression of Southern Republican votes, both white and black. It is nonsense to speak of the popular majority where in some sections only the minorities are allowed to do any voting.

The Republican Congress should at once admit as States both Dakotas as well as Washington and Montana. The Democratic attempt to admit only one Dakota, with New Mexico and Utah, should be voted down without paying it the compliment of argument. In due season New Mexico will come in; but I trust Utah will never be admitted until our government has been roused to treat the Mormons with the drastic severity their case calls for.

Personally, I wish the Congress would revise our laws about immigration. Paupers and assisted immigrants of all kinds should be kept out; so should every variety of Anarchists. And if Anarchists do come, they should be caught as speedily as possible, that the first effort to put their principles into practice will result in their being shot down. Moreover, I think our legislators

will confer real and very great benefit on the American working man—especially the American working man who has been born abroad—by adopting some such plan as that outlined by Mr. Powderly in an article in *The North American Review* last summer. We must soon try to prevent too many laborers coming here and underselling our own workmen in the labor market; a good round head tax on each immigrant, together with a rigid examination into his character, would work well.

We are to be greatly congratulated that vacancies on the Supreme bench will now be filled with jurists trained in the principles of Marshall and Story, and professing the national, not the separatist or disunion, beliefs. We need no more disciples of Taney, whether Northern or Southern. I heartily wish that some Southern lawyer or judge of profound national convictions could be appointed, however.

In our State affairs we must keep up without faltering the fight for ballot reform and high license; and this district has done high honor to itself in keeping Mr. Crosby as its member. He has made for himself and for us a reputation that is more than honorable. In the end we will win throughout the State. In the long run the churches will conquer the saloons in a country like ours, though for a brief season the latter may be uppermost. The men who believe in the church and the schoolhouse must strive more earnestly than ever to overthrow the oligarchy of liquor-sellers and illiterate and vicious politicians who now control our State politics. At any rate we have both branches of the legislature.

As to our local affairs, I am sorry that Tammany Hall has come into power, but Mr. Grant has in the past shown himself to be an honest public servant, and

I hope that he will rise above the level of his organization. But I wish to make an earnest protest against the attempt to oppose him because of his religion. Had any such cry been raised against him in the campaign, I should have felt strongly tempted to support him myself. If he gives us cause to oppose him—if, for instance, he pursues any improper course, sectarian or otherwise, toward the public schools—I will attack him as heartily as anybody.

We have not only elected a Republican President—we have also elected a Republican Congress. This imposes on us several duties. The first duty is to keep the House. Some of the Southern governors and electoral boards, with, of course, the connivance or assistance of the Northern doughface press—both Democratic, and that which once humorously called itself independent—have shown a tendency to steal the organization of the House. By the Constitution, the House (and not the governors of the different States, nor the clerk of a former House) is the judge of its own returns. If Democrats appear with fraudulently granted certificates of election, in sufficient numbers to upset the Republican majority, then the Republicans should resolutely decline to allow the House to be organized by their help. They should refuse to allow any such contestants to vote on the organization; they will be amply justified in proceeding to any extreme in resisting an attempt so outrageous. And, be it remembered, in such an event it will not be the Republicans who begin revolutionary proceedings; they will have already been begun by the Democrats when the fraudulent certificates are issued. The conduct of some of the Southern States in this matter cannot be too gravely deplored; it looks as if some of them were bent on forcing

us to put the presidential and congressional elections everywhere under national control.

Our Congress will have to choose a Speaker. I have the very highest regard for Major McKinley. I look upon him as possibly some day a presidential candidate; but I hope Tom Reed, of Maine, will be Speaker. He has been our nominee while we were in the minority; he is an excellent parliamentarian and presiding officer, a clean, strong man of very unusual ability, with courage, tact, and decision peculiarly suited to control a House as narrowly divided as the next is likely to be. He is entitled to the place by every law of justice; and moreover he has precisely the qualities vitally necessary to grapple with the conditions the next Speaker will have to face. By our national platform, I am happy to say, we are definitely committed to the principles of civil-service reform. We believe in the merit system, not the spoils system of making minor governmental appointments. We know General Harrison is in sympathy with us; we do not expect anything impracticable, but we do expect to see a substantial advance. It may, perhaps, be made through extending by law the limits of the classified civil service, on the lines of the excellent bill introduced in Congress by my friend Cabot Lodge. At any rate, as regards the civil service, I wish to repudiate very strongly the theories of that brilliant debater and most unsafe leader and adviser, Mr. Ingalls, and I speak on behalf of very many tens of thousands of Republicans who belong to the party because they believe in it, not for what they can make out of it, and who wish to see the civil service administered for the benefit of the people, not the politicians. Great pressure will be brought to bear on the President by office-seekers and spoilsmen, and it should be the special duty of clubs like this to help him in every way to withstand it. But be it understood there is an immediate necessity to remove a great number of Mr. Cleveland's more vicious and incompetent appointees.