



James A. Christy

GROVER CLEVELAND

ADDRESSES, STATE PAPERS AND LETTERS

EDITED BY

ALBERT ELLERY BERGH



NEW YORK
THE SUN DIAL CLASSICS CO.
PUBLISHERS
1909

**COPYRIGHT, 1909, BY
THE SUN DIAL CLASSICS Co.**

THE TROW PRESS, NEW YORK

GROVER CLEVELAND

**ADDRESSES, STATE PAPERS
AND LETTERS**

JAN 21 1958
STATE OF
W. MAM M. STAGGARD

~~E 83~~
~~C 68~~
~~X 15E~~

E
696
C 54
1909

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ADDRESSES, STATE PAPERS, AND LETTERS	7
LIFE OF CLEVELAND	456
THE STORY OF THE BOOK	462
NOTES ON THE TEXT	467
LIST OF AUTHORITIES	478
INDEX	485

ADDRESSES, STATE PAPERS AND
LETTERS OF GROVER
CLEVELAND.

*[Memorial Tribute to Oscar Folsom, before the
Erie County Bar Association Meeting, July
26, 1875.]*

It has been said, "Light sorrows speak, great grief is dumb," and the application of this would enforce my silence on this occasion. But I cannot go so far, nor let the hour pass without adding a tribute of respect and love for my departed friend. He was my friend in the most sacred and complete sense of the term. I have walked with him, talked with him, ate with him, and slept with him—was he not my friend?

I must not, dare not, recall the memories of our long and loving friendship. And let not my brethren think it amiss if I force back the thoughts which come crowding to my mind. I shall speak coldly of my friend; but the most sacred tribute of a sad heart, believe me, is unspoken.

In the course of a life not entirely devoid of startling incidents, I can truly say I never was so shocked and overwhelmed as when I heard, on Friday night, of the death of Oscar Folsom. I had an engagement with him that evening, and was momentarily expecting him when I received the intelligence of his injury; and before I reached the scene of the accident I was abruptly told of his death; I shall not attempt to describe my emotions. Death seemed so foreign to this man, and the exuberance of his life was so marked and prominent, that the idea of his dying, or his death, seemed

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

to me incongruous and out of place. And before I saw him dead I found myself reflecting, "How strange he would look, dying or dead."

I had seen him in every other part of the drama of life but this, and for this he seemed unfitted.

His remarkable social qualities won for him the admiration of all with whom he came in contact, while his great, kind heart caused all to love him who knew him well. He was remarkably true in his friendships, and having really made a friend he "grappled him with hooks of steel." Open and frank himself, he opposed deceit and indirection. His remarkable humor never had intentional sting; and though impulsive and quick, he was always just. In the practice of his profession and in the solution of legal questions he saw which was right and just, and then expected to find the law leading him directly there.

It is not strange to find joined to a jovial disposition a kind and generous heart; but he had, besides these, a broad and correct judgment and a wonderful knowledge of men and affairs; and the instances are numerous in my experience when his strong common sense has aided me easily through difficulties. Such was my friend.

The sadness of his taking off has no alleviation. I shall not dwell upon the harrowing circumstances. On Friday afternoon Oscar Folsom, in the midday of life, was cherishing bright anticipations for the future. Among them, he had planned a home in an adjoining town, where he calculated upon much retirement and quiet. He had already partially perfected his arrangements, which were soon to be fully consummated. Within forty-eight hours he reached the town of his anticipated residence. But God had intervened. The hands of loving friends bore him to a home, but not the home he had himself provided. He found peace in the home that God provides for the sons of men, and quiet—ah! such quiet—in the grave. I know how fleeting

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

and how soon forgotten are the lessons taught by such calamities. "The gay will laugh, the solemn brow of care plod on, and each one as before pursue his favorite phantom." But it seems to me that long, long years will intervene before pleasant memories of his life will be unmingled with the sad admonitions furnished by the death of Oscar Folsom.

Let us cherish him in loving remembrance, and heed well the lessons of his death; and let our tenderest sympathy extend to a childless father, a widowed wife, and fatherless child.

*[Address before City Convention, Buffalo, N. Y.,
October 25, 1881.]*

Gentlemen of the Convention: I am informed that you have bestowed upon me the nomination for the office of Mayor. It certainly is a great honor to be thought fit to be the chief officer of a great and prosperous city like ours, having such important and varied interests. I hoped that your choice might fall upon some other and more worthy member of the city Democracy, for personal and private considerations have made the question of acceptance on my part a difficult one. But because I am a Democrat, and because I think no one has a right, at this time of all others, to consult his own inclinations as against the call of his party and fellow-citizens, and hoping that I may be of use to you in your efforts to inaugurate a better rule in municipal affairs, I accept the nomination tendered me.

I believe that much can be done to relieve our citizens from their present load of taxation, and that a more rigid scrutiny of all public expenditures will result in a great saving to the community. I also believe that some extravagance in our city government may be corrected without injury to the public service.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

There is, or there should be, no reason why the affairs of our city should not be managed with the same care and the same economy as private interests. And when we consider that public officials are the trustees of the people, and hold their places and exercise their powers for the benefit of the people, there should be no higher inducement to a faithful and honest discharge of public duty.

These are very old truths; but I cannot forbear to speak in this strain to-day, because I believe the time has come when the people loudly demand that these principles shall be, sincerely and without mental reservation, adopted as a rule of conduct. And I am assured that the result of the campaign upon which we enter to-day will demonstrate that the citizens of Buffalo will not tolerate the man or the party that has been unfaithful to public trusts.

I say these things to a convention of Democrats, because I know that the grand old party is honest, and they cannot be unwelcome to you.

Let us, then, in all sincerity, promise the people an improvement in our municipal affairs; and if the opportunity is offered us, as it surely will be, let us faithfully keep that promise. By this means, and by this means alone, can our success rest upon a firm foundation and our party ascendancy be permanently assured. Our opponents will wage a bitter and determined warfare, but with united and hearty effort we shall achieve a victory for our entire ticket.

And at this day, and with my record before you, I trust it is unnecessary for me to pledge to you my most earnest endeavors to bring about this result; and, if elected to the position for which you have nominated me, I shall do my whole duty to the party, but none the less, I hope, to the citizens of Buffalo.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Address at St. Stephen's Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.,
December 5, 1881.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen: I desire to acknowledge the honor you have conferred upon me by this call to the chair. My greatest regret is that I know so little of the conditions that have given birth to the Land League. I know, in a general way, that it is designed to secure to Ireland those just and natural rights to which Irishmen are entitled. I understand, also, that these are to be obtained by peaceful measures and without doing violence to any just law of the land. This should meet with the support and countenance of every man who enjoys the privilege of American citizenship and lives under American laws. Our sympathy is drawn out by a bond of common manhood. We are here to-night to welcome an apostle of this cause, one who can, from personal experience, recount the scenes of that troubled isle; who can tell us the risks that are taken and the pains that are suffered by those who lead the van in this great movement. I congratulate you upon having Father Sheehy with you, and I will not delay the pleasure of his presentation to you.

[*Inaugural Message as Mayor of Buffalo, N. Y.,
January 2, 1882.*]

To the Honorable the Common Council: In presenting to you my first official communication, I am by no means unmindful of the fact that I address a body, many of the members of which have had large experience in municipal affairs; and which is directly charged, more than any other

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

instrumentality, with the management of the government of the city and the protection of the interests of all the people within its limits. This condition of things creates grave responsibilities, which, I have no doubt, you fully appreciate. It may not be amiss, however, to remind you that our fellow-citizens, just at this time, are particularly watchful of those in whose hands they have placed the administration of the city government, and demand of them the most watchful care and conscientious economy.

We hold the money of the people in our hands to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality; and it is quite apparent that when any part of the funds which the taxpayers have thus intrusted to us is diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have, to that extent, violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations, whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or many. And yet it sometimes appears as though the officeholder assumes that a different rule of fidelity prevails between him and the taxpayers than that which should regulate his conduct when, as an individual, he holds the money of his neighbor.

It seems to me that a successful and faithful administration of the government of our city may be accomplished, by bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust, to be expended for their benefit; that we should at all times be prepared to render an honest account to them touching the manner of its expenditure, and that the affairs of the city should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns.

I am fully persuaded that in the performance of your duties these rules will be observed. And I, perhaps, should

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

not do less than to assure your honorable body that, so far as it is in my power, I shall be glad to co-operate with you in securing the faithful performance of official duty in every department of the city government.

.

It seems to me that the duties which should be performed by this officer [the City Auditor] have been entirely misapprehended. I understand that it has been supposed that he does all that is required of him when he tests the correctness of the extensions and footings of an account presented to him, copies the same in a book and audits the same as charged, if the extensions and footings are found correct. This work is certainly not difficult, and might well be done by a lad but slightly acquainted with figures. The charter requires that this officer "shall examine and report upon all unliquidated claims against the city, before the same shall be audited by the common council." Is it not very plain that the examination of a claim means something more than the footing of the account by which that claim is represented? And is it not equally plain that the report provided for includes more than the approval of all accounts which, *on their face*, appear correct? There is no question but that he should inquire into the *merits* of the claims presented to him; and he should be fitted to do so by a familiarity with the value of the articles and services embodied in the accounts. In this way he may protect the interests of the city; otherwise his services are worse than useless, so far as his action is relied upon.

.

I am utterly unable to discover any valid reason why the city offices should be closed and the employees released from their duties at the early hour in the day which seems now to be regarded as the limit of a day's work. I am sure no man would think an active private business was well attended to

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

if he and all his employees ceased work at four o'clock in the afternoon. The salaries paid by the city to its officers and their employees entitle it to a fair day's work. Besides, these offices are for the transaction of public business; and the convenience of all our citizens should be consulted in respect to the time during which they should remain open.

I suggest the passage of an ordinance, prescribing such hours for the opening and closing of the city offices as shall subserve the public convenience.

It would be very desirable if some means could be devised to stop the practice, so prevalent among our city employees, of selling or assigning in advance their claims against the city for services to be rendered. The ruinous discounts charged and allowed greatly diminish the reward of their labors; in many cases habits of improvidence and carelessness are engendered, and in all cases this hawking and trafficking in claims against the city presents a humiliating spectacle.

In conclusion, I desire to disclaim any dictation as to the performance of your duties. I recognize fully the fact that with you rests the responsibility of all legislation which touches the prosperity of the city and the correction of abuses. I do not arrogate to myself any great familiarity with municipal affairs, nor any superior knowledge of the city's needs. I speak to you not only as the chief executive officer of the city, but as a citizen proud of its progress and commanding position. In this spirit the suggestions herein contained are made. If you deem them worthy of consideration, I shall still be anxious to aid the adoption and enforcement of any measures which you may inaugurate looking to the advancement of the interests of the city and the welfare of its inhabitants.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Address at St. James' Hall, Buffalo, at a Mass Meeting to Protest against the Treatment of American Citizens Imprisoned Abroad, April 9, 1882.*]

Fellow-Citizens: This is the formal mode of address on occasions of this kind, but I think we seldom realize fully its meaning, or how valuable a thing it is to be a citizen.

From the earliest civilization, to be a citizen has been to be a free man, endowed with certain privileges and advantages, and entitled to the full protection of the state. The defense and protection of the personal rights of its citizens have always been the paramount and most important duties of a free, enlightened government.

And perhaps no government has this sacred trust more in its keeping than this—the best and freest of them all; for here the people who are to be protected are the source of those powers which they delegate upon the express compact that the citizen shall be protected. For this purpose we choose those who, for the time being, shall manage the machinery which we have set up for our defense and safety.

And this protection adheres to us in all lands and places as an incident of citizenship. Let but the weight of a sacrilegious hand be put upon this sacred thing, and a great, strong government springs to its feet to avenge the wrong. Thus it is that a native-born American citizen enjoys his birthright. But when, in the westward march of empire, this nation was founded and took root, we beckoned to the Old World, and invited hither its immigration, and provided a mode by which those who sought a home among us

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

might become our fellow-citizens. They came by thousands and hundreds of thousands; they came and

Hewed the dark old woods away,
And gave the virgin fields to day;

they came with strong sinews and brawny arms to aid in the growth and progress of a new country; they came and upon our altars laid their fealty and submission; they came to our temples of justice, and under the solemnity of an oath renounced all allegiance to every other state, potentate, and sovereignty, and surrendered to us all the duty pertaining to such allegiance. We have accepted their fealty and invited them to surrender the protection of their native land.

And what should be given them in return? Manifestly, good faith and every dictate of honor demand that we give them the same liberty and protection here and elsewhere which we vouchsafe to our native-born citizens. And that this has been accorded to them is the crowning glory of American institutions.

It needed not the statute, which is now the law of the land, declaring that, "all naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this government the same protection of persons and property which is accorded to native-born citizens," to voice the policy of our nation.

In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved, the right of a person arrested to a speedy accusation and trial is, or ought to be a fundamental law, as it is a rule of civilization.

At any rate, we hold it to be so, and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the Czar of Russia or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

We do not claim to make laws for other countries, but we do insist that, whatever those laws may be, they shall, in the interests of human freedom and the rights of mankind, so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say, and do say, that mere suspicion, without examination or trial, is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned. Ours will not. And this, in effect, has been solemnly declared by statute.

We have met here to-night to consider this subject, and to inquire into the cause and the reasons and the justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law declares that the government shall act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the government.

The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion, imprisoned and persecuted, appealing, centuries ago, to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship, boldly demanded: "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?"

[*Address at the Semi-Centennial of the City of Buffalo, July 3, 1882.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen: I ought, perhaps, to be quite content on this occasion to assume the part of quiet gratification. But I cannot forbear expressing my satisfaction at being allowed to participate in the exercises of the evening, and I feel that I must give token of the pleasure I experience in gazing with you upon the fair face of our Queen City at the age of fifty. I am proud, with you, in con-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

trusting what seem to us the small things of fifty years ago, with the beauty, and the greatness, and the importance of to-day. The achievements of the past are gained; the prosperity of the present we hold with a firm hand; and the promise of the future comes to us with no uncertain sound. It seems to me to-day that of all men the resident of Buffalo should be the proudest to name his home.

In the history of a city, fifty years but marks the period of youth, when all is fresh and joyous. The face is fair, the step is light, and the burden of life is carried with a song; the future, stretching far ahead, is full of bright anticipations, and the past, with whatever of struggle and disappointment there may have been, seems short, and is half forgotten. In this heyday of our city's life, we do well to exchange our congratulations, and to revel together in the assurances of the happy and prosperous future that awaits us.

And yet I do not deem it wrong to remind myself and you that our city, great in its youth, did not suddenly spring into existence clad in beauty and in strength. There were men fifty years ago, who laid its foundations broad and deep; and who, with the care of jealous parents, tended it and watched its growth. Those early times were not without their trials and discouragements; and we reap to-day the fruit of the labors and the perseverance of those pioneers. Those were the fathers of the city. Where are they? Fifty years added to manhood fill the cup of human life. Most have gone to swell the census of God's city, which lies beyond the stream of fate. A few there are who listlessly linger upon the bank, and wait to cross, in the shade of trees they have planted with their own hands. Let us tenderly remember the dead to-night, and let us renew our love and veneration for those who are spared to speak to us of the scenes attending our city's birth and infancy.

And in this, our day of pride and self-gratulation, there

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

is, I think, one lesson at least which we may learn from the men who have come down to us from a former generation.

In the day of the infancy of the city which they founded, and for many years afterward, the people loved their city so well that they would only trust the management of its affairs in the strongest and best of hands; and no man in those days was so engrossed in his own business but he could find some time to devote to public concerns. Read the names of the men who held places in this municipality fifty years ago, and food for reflection will be found. Is it true that the city of to-day, with its large population and with its vast and varied interests, needs less and different care than it did fifty years ago?

We boast of our citizenship to-night. But this citizenship brings with it duties not unlike those we owe our neighbor and our God. There is no better time than this for self-examination. He who deems himself too pure and holy to take part in the affairs of his city, will meet the fact that better men than he have thought it their duty to do so. He who cannot spare a moment, in his greed and selfishness, to devote to public concerns, will, perhaps, find a well-grounded fear that he may become the prey of public plunderers; and he who indolently cares not who administers the government of his city, will find that he is living falsely, and in the neglect of his highest duty.

When our centennial shall be celebrated, what will be said of us? I hope it may be said that we built and wrought well, and added much to the substantial prosperity of the city we had in charge. Brick and mortar may make a large city, but the encouragement of those things which elevate and purify, the exaction of the highest standard of integrity in official place, and a constant, active interest on the part of the good people in municipal government, are needed to make a great city.

Let it be said of us when only our names and memory

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

are left, in the centennial time, that we faithfully administered the trust which we received from our fathers, and religiously performed our parts, in our day and generation, toward making our city not only prosperous, but truly great.

[*Serenade Speech from Balcony of Buffalo Democratic Club upon his Nomination for Governor of New York, September 22, 1882.*]

My Friends: I am sure there will be nothing for me to do in the campaign upon which we have just entered that will so appeal to my feelings, and about which I will have to take so much care, as in addressing you this evening. I must be careful what I say, or the recollections of the past and the appreciation of your esteem will quite overcome me.

I can but remember to-night the time when I came among you, friendless, unknown, and poor. I can but remember how, step by step, by the encouragement of my good fellow-citizens, I have gone on to receive more of their appreciation than is my due, until I have been honored with more distinction, perhaps, than I deserve. The position of Mayor of this great and proud city ought to be enough to satisfy the most ambitious. The position of Mayor, backed and supported as it is by every good citizen, I am sure, should satisfy any man, and it would seem almost grasping to wish for a higher honor. The promise of the future that is before me is somewhat saddened and dimmed by the reflection that, if carried out, I should have to leave my good friends of Buffalo to enter upon another sphere of activity.

Bear in mind, gentlemen, that whatever may come in the future, the people of Buffalo and all their kindnesses to me will ever have the warmest place in a grateful heart.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

The event of to-day is an event which appeals to the local pride of us all, and I should be too vain to live with—too vain to be of any comfort to my friends—if I did not fully appreciate the fact that this splendid ovation is not altogether on account of personal preference. You are here to support a cause—a great cause, and while you may fully appreciate that a fellow-citizen is to bear aloft the banner of Democracy in this campaign, you are to remember that he is the standard-bearer in a cause that is dear to the people and in which all their interests are involved. You are to support it because you struggle for principles the ascendancy of which will bring happiness, peace, and prosperity to the people.

It is fitting that the campaign should begin here at these club rooms, where, perhaps, more than in any other place, my candidacy was started and has been fostered. I wish that those valiant old soldiers—call them old men and old boys, if you will—were here to-night to enjoy with us the fruit of our labors.

Here we begin! Let us not believe that because local pride and preference urge us on and the prospect looks bright—let us not think that the battle is to be won without a great struggle. On the one side we are to fight in the interest of the people against a power upheld by a National Administration, and it will take the strongest effort to shake off its vise-like grip.

Remember that all the means and money at the command of the Administration are to be put into play against us.

Remember that New York is the battle ground of 1884.

Do not be cajoled into the belief that because we are confident here—because my neighbors are enthusiastic in my support—that this is going to win the day. Remember that this is a large State and one which is regarded as the key to an important position.

Off then with our coats! We must labor as we never did

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

before, and not for personal preferences but for the great cause in which we are enlisted.

[*Letter Accepting Nomination for Governor, Addressed to Hon. Thomas C. E. Ecclesine, Chairman, Buffalo, N. Y., October 7, 1882.*]

Dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter informing me of my nomination for Governor by the Democratic State Convention, lately held at the city of Syracuse.

I accept the nomination thus tendered to me, and trust that, while I am gratefully sensible of the honor conferred, I am also properly impressed with the responsibilities which it invites.

The platform of principles adopted by the convention meets with my hearty approval. The doctrines therein enunciated are so distinctly and explicitly stated that their amplification seems scarcely necessary. If elected to the office for which I have been nominated, I shall endeavor to impress them upon my administration and make them the policy of the State.

Our citizens for the most part attach themselves to one or the other of the great political parties; and, under ordinary circumstances, they support the nominees of the party to which they profess fealty.

It is quite apparent that under such circumstances the primary election or caucus should be surrounded by such safeguards as will secure absolutely free and uncontrolled action. Here the people themselves are supposed to speak; here they put their hands to the machinery of government, and in this place should be found the manifestations of the popular will.

When by fraud, intimidation, or any other questionable

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

practice the voice of the people is here smothered, a direct blow is aimed at a most precious right, and one which the law should be swift to protect.

If the primary election is uncontaminated and fairly conducted, those there chosen to represent the people will go forth with the impress of the people's will upon them, and the benefits and purposes of a truly representative government will be attained.

Public officers are the servants and agents of the people to execute laws which the people have made, and within the limits of a constitution which they have established.

Hence the interference of officials of any degree, and whether State or Federal, for the purpose of thwarting or controlling the popular wish, should not be tolerated.

Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand, here, as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to, and tenure of, such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold these public places would be much diminished, and, it seems to me, the cause of civil service reform materially aided.

The system of levying assessments, for partisan purposes, on those holding office or place, cannot be too strongly condemned. Through the thin disguise of voluntary contributions, this is seen to be naked extortion, reducing the compensation which should be honestly earned and swelling a fund used to debauch the people and defeat the popular will.

I am unalterably opposed to the interference by the Leg-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

islature with the government of municipalities. I believe in the intelligence of the people when left to an honest freedom in their choice, and that when the citizens of any section of the State have determined upon the details of a local government, they should be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of the same. The doctrine of home rule, as I understand it, lies at the foundation of republican institutions, and cannot be too strongly insisted upon.

Corporations are created by the law for certain defined purposes, and are restricted in their operations by specific limitations. Acting within their legitimate sphere they should be protected; but when by combination, or by the exercise of unwarranted power, they oppress the people, the same authority which created should restrain them and protect the rights of the citizen. The law lately passed for the purpose of adjusting the relations between the people and corporations should be executed in good faith, with an honest design to effectuate its objects and with a due regard for the interests involved.

The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil, and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman.

We have so lately had a demonstration of the value of our citizen soldiery in time of peril, that it seems to me no argument is necessary to prove that it should be maintained in a state of efficiency, so that its usefulness shall not be impaired.

Certain amendments to the constitution of our State, involving the management of our canals, are to be passed upon at the coming election. This subject affects divers interests, and, of course, gives rise to opposite opinions. It is in the hands of the sovereign people for final settlement;

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

and as the question is thus removed from State legislation, any statement of my opinion in regard to it, at this time, would, I think, be out of place. I am confident that the people will intelligently examine the merits of the subject, and determine where the preponderance of interest lies.

The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls, or to secure legislation, is calculated to excite the gravest concern. When this pernicious agency is successfully employed, a representative form of government becomes a sham, and laws passed under its baleful influence cease to protect, but are made the means by which the rights of the people are sacrificed and the public treasury despoiled. It is useless and foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us, and the party which leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support. It is willful blindness not to see that the people care but little for party obligations when they are invoked to countenance and sustain fraudulent and corrupt practices. And it is well, for our country and for the purification of politics, that the people, at times fully roused to danger, remind their leaders that party methods should be something more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation.

The importance of wise statesmanship in the management of public affairs cannot, I think, be overestimated. I am convinced, however, that the perplexities and the mystery often surrounding the administration of State concerns grow, in a great measure, out of an attempt to serve partisan ends rather than the welfare of the citizen.

We may, I think, reduce to quite simple elements the duty which public servants owe, by constantly bearing in mind that they are put in place to protect the rights of the people, to answer their needs as they arise, and to expend, for their benefit, the money drawn from them by taxation.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

I am profoundly conscious that the management of the divers interests of a great State is not an easy matter, but I believe, if undertaken in the proper spirit, all its real difficulties will yield to watchfulness and care.

[*Letter to the New York Civil Service Reform Association, Buffalo, N. Y., October 28, 1882.*]

Gentlemen: In answer to your letter of inquiry, dated October 20, 1882, in relation to civil service reform, I beg to refer you to my recent letter accepting the nomination for Governor, in which many of the matters referred to in your letter are touched upon, and I assure you that the sentiments therein expressed are sincerely and honestly entertained, and are stated without any mental reservation.

I have no hesitation in saying that I fully approve of the principles embodied in the Pendleton bill relating to this subject, and that I should be glad to aid in any practical legislation which would give them a place in the management of the affairs of the State and of municipalities, so far as they can be made applicable thereto. I believe that the interests of the people demand that a reform in the national and State administrative service should speedily become an accomplished fact, and that the public should receive honest and faithful service at the hands of well-fitted and competent servants. When contests between parties are waged for the purpose of securing places for professional politicians, of high or low degree, whose only recommendation for appointment is their supposed ability to do partisan service, the people are apt to be defrauded by the displacement of tried and faithful servants, well

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

able to perform the duties for which they are paid with the people's money, and the substitution of those who are unfit and incompetent. In this way, the interests of the party may be subserved, but the interests of the people are neglected and betrayed.

This pernicious system gives rise to an office-holding class, who in their partisan zeal, based upon the hope of personal advantage, arrogate to themselves an undue and mischievous interference with the will of the people in political action; this breeds the use of dishonest and reprehensible methods, which frequently result in the servants of the people dictating to their masters. If places in the public service are worth seeking, they should be the reward of merit and well-doing, and the opportunity to secure them on that basis should be open to all. Those holding these places should be assured that their tenure depends upon efficiency and fidelity to their trusts, and they should not be allowed to use them for partisan purposes. The money they earn they should receive and be allowed to retain, and no part of it should be exacted from them by way of political assessments.

It seems to me that very much or all of what we desire in the direction of civil service reform is included in the doctrine that the concerns of the State and nation should be conducted on business principles, and as nearly as possible in the same manner that a prudent citizen conducts his private affairs. If this principle is kept constantly in mind I believe the details of a plan by which its adoption may be secured will, without much difficulty, be suggested. You refer especially to mismanagement in schools, asylums, and institutions of charity and correction, and to the difficulty of securing the construction of an additional aqueduct in the city of New York. Without being fully acquainted in detail with the evils and obstacles surrounding these subjects, I believe they may be remedied and removed by

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

a due regard to the dictates of humanity and decency and the application of the principles to which I have alluded.

[*Letter to his Brother, Rev. William N. Cleveland, Buffalo, N. Y., November 7, 1882.*]

My Dear Brother: I have just voted. I sit here in the mayor's office alone, with the exception of an artist from *Frank Leslie's Newspaper*, who is sketching the office. If mother was here I should be writing to her, and I feel as if it were time for me to write to someone who will believe what I write.

I have been for some time in the atmosphere of certain success, so that I have been sure that I should assume the duties of the high office for which I have been named. I have tried hard, in the light of this fact, to appreciate properly the responsibilities that will rest upon me, and they are much, too much underestimated. But the thought that has troubled me is, can I well perform my duties, and in such a manner as to do some good to the people of the State? I know there is room for it, and I know that I am honest and sincere in my desire to do well; but the question is whether I *know enough* to accomplish what I desire.

The social life which seems to await me has also been a subject of much anxious thought. I have a notion that I can regulate that very much as I desire; and, if I can, I shall spend very little time in the purely ornamental part of the office. In point of fact, I will tell you, first of all others, the policy I intend to adopt, and that is, to make the matter a business engagement between the people of the State and myself, in which the obligation on my side is to perform the duties assigned me with an eye single to the interest of my employers. I shall have no idea of re-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

election, or any higher political preferment in my head, but be very thankful and happy if I can well serve one term as the people's Governor. Do you know that if mother were alive, I should feel so much safer? I have always thought that her prayers had much to do with my success. I shall expect you all to help me in that way. Give my love to —— and to ——, if she is with you, and believe me, your affectionate brother.

[Address at the Manhattan Club, New York City, December 5, 1882.]

It is not without considerable embarrassment that I attempt to say a few words in response to those so well spoken, and to express my thanks for the kindness and good will of which this occasion is an evidence. This scene and these surroundings are new and strange to me, and, notwithstanding all that is calculated to reassure and comfort me in the kindness of your welcome, when I am reminded of the circumstances which give rise to this reunion, a sense of grave responsibility weighs upon me and tempers every other sentiment.

We stand to-night in the full glare of a grand and brilliant manifestation of popular will, and in the light of it how vain and small appear the tricks of politicians and the movements of party machinery. He must be blind who cannot see that the people will understand their power and are determined to use it when their rights and interests are threatened. There should be no skepticism to-night as to the strength and perpetuity of our popular government. Partisan leaders have learned, too, that the people will not unwittingly and blindly follow, and that something more than unmeaning devotion to party is necessary to secure their allegiance.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

I am quite certain, too, that the late demonstration did not spring from any pre-existing love for the party which was called to power, nor did the people place the affairs of state in our hands to be by them forgotten. They voted for themselves and in their own interests. If we retain their confidence we must deserve it, and we may be sure they will call on us to give an account of our stewardship. We shall utterly fail to read aright the signs of the times if we are not fully convinced that parties are but the instruments through which the people work their will, and that when they become less or more the people desert or destroy them. The vanquished have lately learned these things, and the victors will act wisely if they profit by the lesson.

I have read and heard much of late touching the great responsibility which has been cast upon me, and it is certainly predicated upon the fact that my majority was so large as to indicate that many, not members of the party to which I am proud to belong, supported me. God knows how fully I appreciate the responsibility of the high office to which I have been called, and how much I sometimes fear that I shall not bear the burden well. It has seemed to me, however, that the citizen who has been chosen by his fellows to discharge public duties owes no less nor more to them, whether he was elected by a small or a large majority. In either event, he owes to the people who have honored him his best endeavor to protect their rights and further their interests.

But if it is merely intended to remind me that, as a member of a party, attached to its principles, and anxious for its continued supremacy, my conduct should be such as to give hope and confidence to those who are surely with us, I have to say that this responsibility should be shared by all the members of the party. An administration is only successful, in a partisan sense, when it appears to be the

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

outgrowth and result of party principles and methods. You who lead and others who follow, should all strive to commend to the people in this, the time of our opportunity, not an administration alone, but a party which shall appear adequate to their wants and useful to their purposes.

The time-honored doctrines of the Democratic party are dear to me. If honestly applied in their purity I know the affairs of the government would be fittingly and honestly administered, and I believe that all the wants of the people would be met. They have survived all changes, and good and patriotic men have clung to them, through all disasters, as the hope of political salvation. Let us hold them as a sacred trust, and let us not forget that an intelligent, reading, and thinking people will look to the party which they put in power to supply all their various needs and wants. And the party which keeps pace with the development and progress of the time, which keeps in sight its landmarks and yet observes those things which are in advance, and which will continue true to the people as well as to its traditions, will be the dominant party of the future.

In conclusion, may I bespeak for myself your kind support and consideration? My only aspiration is to perform, faithfully, the duties of the office to which the people of my State have called me, and I hope and trust that proud endeavor will light the way to a successful administration.

*[Address as Governor, at Albany, N. Y.,
January 1, 1883.]*

Governor Cornell: I am profoundly grateful for your pleasant words and kind wishes for my success. You speak in full view of labors that are past and duty well performed,

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

and no doubt you generously suppose what you have safely encountered and overcome, and other may not fear to meet.

But I cannot be unmindful of the difficulties that beset the path upon which I enter, and I shall be quite content if, when the end is reached, I may, like you, look back upon an official career honorable to myself and useful to the people of the State.

I cannot forbear at this time also to express my appreciation of the hearty kindness and consideration with which you have, at other times, sought to make easier my performance of official duty.

Fellow-Citizens: You have assembled to-day to witness the retirement of an officer, tried and trusted, from the highest place in the State, and the assumption of its duties by one yet to be tried. This ceremony, simple and unostentatious, as becomes the spirit of our institutions, is yet of vast importance to you and all the people of this great Commonwealth. The interests now transferred to new hands are yours; and the duties here newly assumed should be performed for your benefit and your good. This you have the right to demand and enforce by the means placed in your hands, which you well know how to use; and if the public servant should always know that he is jealously watched by the people, he surely would be none the less faithful to his trust.

This vigilance on the part of the citizen, and an active interest and participation in political concerns, are the safeguards of his rights; but sluggish indifference to political privileges invites the machinations of those who wait to betray the people's trust. Thus, when the conduct of public affairs receives your attention, you not only perform your duty as citizens, but protect your own best interests. While this is true, and while those whom you put in place should be held to strict account, their opportunity for use-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

fulness should not be impaired, nor their efforts for good thwarted, by unfounded and querulous complaint and cavil.

Let us together, but in our different places, take part in the regulation and administration of the government of our State, and thus become, not only the keepers of our own interests, but contributors to the progress and prosperity which will await us.

I enter upon the discharge of the duties of the office to which my fellow-citizens have called me with a profound sense of responsibility; but my hope is in the guidance of a kind Providence, which I believe will aid an honest design; and the forbearance of a just people, which, I trust, will recognize a patriotic endeavor.

[From the First Message to the New York Legislature, January 2, 1883.]

The power of the State to exact from the citizen a part of his earnings and income for the support of the government, it is obvious, should be exercised with absolute fairness and justice. When it is not so exercised, the people are oppressed. This furnishes the highest and the best reason why laws should be enacted and executed which will subject all property—as all alike need the protection of the State—to an equal share in the burdens of taxation, by means of which the government is maintained. And yet it is notoriously true that personal property, not less remunerative than land and real estate, escapes to a very great extent the payment of its fair proportion of the expense incident to its protection and preservation under the law. The people should always be able to recognize, with the pride and satisfaction which are the strength of our institu-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

tions, in the conduct of the State, the source of indiscriminating justice, which can give no pretext for discontent.

Let us enter upon the discharge of our duties, fully appreciating our relations to the people, and determined to serve them faithfully and well. This involves a jealous watch of the public funds, and a refusal to sanction their appropriation except for public needs. To this end all unnecessary offices should be abolished, and all employment of doubtful benefit discontinued. If to this we add the enactment of such wise and well-considered laws as will meet the varied wants of our fellow-citizens and increase their prosperity, we shall merit and receive the approval of those whose representatives we are, and, with the consciousness of duty well performed, shall leave our impress for good on the legislation of the State. . . .

[*Serenade Speech at Albany, N. Y., October 12, 1883.*]

Fellow-Citizens: I am very much gratified by this remembrance of me in the middle of the rejoicing which to-night gladdens the hearts of the members of the party to which I am glad to belong. I do not for a moment attribute this demonstration and the compliment of the serenade to any other cause than the inclination of my party friends, at such a time as this, to congratulate each other on this occasion. Official place and public position may be laid aside, for a moment, while, as fellow-members of a party which has achieved a victory, we mingle our joy and exultation. We celebrate to-night a victory in a most important field, and a victory which gives us an earnest of a much greater yet to come. We look with pride and joy

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

to the achievement of our brethren in a sister State, and yield to them all the praise and admiration which their gallantry and courage claim.

The first battle in the great campaign of 1884 has been fought and won. Ohio in the van calls on us to follow. What shall the answer be? The Democracy of New York sends back the ringing assurance that we are on the way, and in a few short days will be at her side, bearing glorious trophies. This is not an idle boast, full of temporary enthusiasm, nor the voice of blind partisan zeal. We shall succeed because we deserve success, because the people are just, and because we bear high aloft the banner of their rights. We know full well the need of watchfulness and effort, and we shall not fail to appreciate that neglect and slothfulness are a betrayal of our trust.

I congratulate most sincerely every true Democrat in the State of New York that the cause in which he is enlisted is so worthy of his best efforts, and that the candidates chosen to lead in the contest so well represent his cause. The convention which selected, for the Democratic party, the men now presented to the people of the State for their suffrages had before it other men, any of whom the party would have delighted to honor; but a choice was to be made, and that it was well and fairly made I fully believe. The charge or insinuation in any quarter that the choice was influenced improperly, or determined otherwise than by the judgment of those upon whom the responsibility was cast, will not deceive and may be safely left to the intelligence of the people of the State.

For myself, I shall claim the privilege of aiding in the cause. This cannot be done by fault-finding and cavil. I know I can aid by performing the duties of my public trust for the benefit of the people, for I am sure that the party which does not keep near to them, and the party representatives who are not careful of their interests, they will

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

repudiate. We seek to put the affairs of the State in the hands of men having the full confidence of the party. We seek to put in higher places those who have shown fidelity to every private and public trust. We present to the people of the State candidates all of whom come accredited with the confidence and affection of their neighbors, which are the best credentials. Their ability to perform the duties of the offices is unquestioned, and, fresh from the people, they understand and will care for their wants.

Believing these things, I am enlisted in their success, and I hope that, through the hearty efforts of their party friends and by the intelligent action of the voters of the State, I may welcome them to share in the administration of our State government.

[Address at Evacuation Day Celebration, New York, November 26, 1883.]

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Chamber of Commerce: My theme is too great for me, and I shall not attempt to cover it. The few words I shall speak will be upon a topic which makes but one element in the supremacy of the State of New York, and I fear that I shall treat of that in a very practical and perhaps uninteresting way.

I am free to confess that I am somewhat embarrassed to-night by my surroundings. Not only am I in the presence of a distinguished company, but I see about me what I suppose to be the guardians of the commerce of the State. This word "commerce" sounds very large to me; because, whenever I have heard the greatness of a nation or a State spoken of, their commerce has been dwelt upon as a chief ingredient or factor in such greatness. Here is the gateway of the commerce of our State; and while the uttermost

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

corner of our domain has felt and still feels its healthful influence, the tribute it has paid in passing this point has erected one of the largest cities in the world, and created many colossal fortunes. I suppose, of course, I need not suggest that other cities and other States are quite willing to relieve the city and State of New York of a part or all of the commerce thus enjoyed; and I doubt not the danger to be apprehended from any such competitors has received due care and attention.

I have lately seen a statement, by which it appears that for the year ending August 31, 1882, there were shipped from New Orleans to fifteen foreign ports 2,744,581 bushels of wheat and 639,342 bushels of corn. This was transported in sixty-one steamers and two sailing vessels. But for the year ending August 31, 1883, there were shipped from the same city to twenty-nine foreign ports 5,529,847 bushels of wheat and 7,161,168 bushels of corn, and this was transported in 278 steamers and twenty-four sailing vessels. We thus find an increase, during the year specified, as follows: Increase in wheat, 2,785,266; increase in corn, 6,521,826; increase in number of ports, 14; increase in number of vessels, 239.

I expect there are other dangers to be apprehended from other quarters, which may threaten the perpetuity and volume of New York commerce. Is there care enough taken to have champions of this all-important interest in the halls of legislation, and is it there distinctively enough represented? Bear in mind that you may labor and toil, in the whirl and excitement of business, to build new warehouses, and add to the city's wealth and to your own, but that, while you thus build, ignorant, negligent, or corrupt men among your lawmakers can easily and stealthily pull down. Political duty and selfish interests lead in the same direction, and a neglect of this duty will, I believe, bring a sure punishment.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

I venture the opinion that the commerce of your port should be free from the annoying burdens and taxation to which it is now subjected, and yet a law passed by the last legislature, as a partial measure of relief, failed in its execution, for reasons, perhaps, in one sense commercial in their character, but far removed from any relations to the commerce of the port. I hasten to disclaim any insinuation that there are legislators sent from here who are not faithful to this great interest; but I see no reason why they should not all be of that kind, nor why the commercial interests of this great city should not be more regarded in their selection.

The people of the State have lately taken it upon themselves to support the canals from funds raised by taxation, thus freeing one branch of commerce from its burden. This means much to the farmer, who, by hours of toil, unknown to you, exacts from the soil barely sufficient to live and educate his children. He deems the advantage of a free canal to him indirect and remote; but this increased taxation he must meet. His land and farm buildings cannot be concealed; and if, by chance, he is able to improve them, his betterments are within the gaze of the tax-gatherer, and bring a further increase of taxation. Are you sure that all the property of this great metropolis, where fortunes, which the farmer vainly works a lifetime to secure, are made and lost in a day, meets, with equal fairness, its share of taxation? At any rate, cannot the city of New York afford to pay the expense necessary to the maintenance of its port—thus securing its commercial supremacy and controlling, free from State interference, this interest so directly important to you all.

We are apt, on such a day as this, to recall with pride what has been done within a hundred years to make us great, and we are quite sure to appropriate a full share of all that has been done in our day and generation. It is

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

well, too, that we should deserve the praise of those who shall follow us and speak of us a hundred years hence; but let us see to it that in our love for our State, and in our recognition of every duty which belongs to good citizenship, we are not behind those who lived a hundred years ago.

[From the Second Message to the New York Legislature, January 1, 1884.]

The action of the Board of Railroad Commissioners in requiring the filing of quarterly reports by the railroad companies, exhibiting their financial condition, is a most important step in advance, and should be abundantly sustained. It would, in my opinion, be a most valuable protection to the people if other large corporations were obliged to report to some department their transactions and financial condition.

The State creates these corporations upon the theory that some proper thing of benefit can be better done by them than by private enterprise, and that the aggregation of the funds of many individuals may be thus profitably employed. They are launched upon the public with the seal of the State, in some sense, upon them. They are permitted to represent the advantages they possess and the wealth sure to follow from admission to membership. In one hand is held a charter from the State, and in the other is held their preferred stock.

It is a fact, singular, though well-established, that people will pay their money for stock in a corporation engaged in enterprises in which they would refuse to invest if in private hands.

It is a grave question whether the formation of these.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

artificial bodies ought not to be checked, or better regulated, and in some way supervised.

At any rate, they should always be kept well in hand, and the funds of its citizens should be protected by the State which has invited their investment. While the stockholders are the owners of the corporate property, notoriously they are oftentimes completely in the power of the directors and managers who acquire a majority of the stock and by this means perpetuate their control, using the corporate property and franchises for their benefit and profit, regardless of the interests and rights of the minority of stockholders. Immense salaries are paid to officers; transactions are consummated by which the directors make money, while the rank and file among the stockholders lose it; the honest investor waits for dividends and the directors grow rich. It is suspected, too, that large sums are spent under various disguises in efforts to influence legislation.

It is not consistent to claim that the citizen must protect himself by refusing to purchase stock. The law constantly recognizes the fact that people should be defended from false representations and from their own folly and cupidity. It punishes obtaining goods by false pretenses, gambling, and lotteries.

It is a hollow mockery to direct the owner of a small amount of stock in one of these institutions to the courts. Under existing statutes, the law's delay, perplexity and uncertainty lead but to despair.

The State should either refuse to allow these corporations to exist under its authority or patronage, or acknowledging their paternity and its responsibility, should provide a simple, easy way for its people whose money is invested, and the public generally, to discover how the funds of these institutions are spent, and how their affairs are conducted. It should, at the same time, provide a way by which the

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

squandering or misuse of corporate funds would be made good to the parties injured thereby.

This might well be accomplished by requiring corporations to file reports frequently, made out with the utmost detail, and which would not allow lobby expenses to be hidden under the pretext of legal services and counsel fees, accompanied by vouchers and sworn to by the officers making them, showing particularly the debts, liabilities, expenditures, and property of the corporation. Let this report be delivered to some appropriate department or officer, who shall audit and examine the same; provide that a false oath to such account shall be perjury and make the directors liable to refund to the injured stockholders any expenditure which shall be determined improper by the auditing authority.

Such requirements might not be favorable to stock speculation, but they would protect the innocent investors; they might make the management of corporations more troublesome, but this ought not to be considered when the protection of the people is the matter in hand. It would prevent corporate efforts to influence legislation; the honestly conducted and strong corporations would have nothing to fear; the badly managed and weak ought to be exposed.

[*Address when presiding over the New York State Bar Association, Albany, January 8, 1884.*]

Gentlemen of the Association: At a late hour I was solicited to preside at your meeting. I should certainly have felt that I must decline, but for two considerations. I was assured that no address would be expected of me, and that even a little speech, on assuming the chair, might be

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

dispensed with. This disposed of one objection to my consent.

The other consideration sprang up in my mind when I reflected that there would be here an assemblage of my professional brethren, and the impulse was irresistible to be among them for a time, though necessarily brief, and to feel about me the atmosphere from which, for a twelve-month, I have been excluded. I beg to assure you, gentlemen, that in the crowd of official duties which for the past year have surrounded me, I have never lost sight of the guild to which I am proud to belong, nor have I lost any of the love and care for the noble profession I have chosen. On the contrary, as I have seen the controlling part which the lawyers of the State assume in the enacting of her laws, and in all other works that pertain to her progress and her welfare, I have appreciated more than ever the value and usefulness of the legal profession. And, when I have seen how generally my professional brethren have been faithful to their public trusts, my pride has constantly increased.

And yet from the outside world I come within the grateful circle of professional life to say to you that much is to be done before the bar of this State will, in all its parts, be what we all could wish. We hold honorable places, but we hold places of power—if well used, to protect and save our fellows; if prostituted and badly used, to betray and destroy. It seems to me that a profession so high and noble in all the purposes of its existence should be only high and noble in all its results. But we know it is not so. There is not a member of the bar in this assemblage who has not shuddered when he thought of the wicked things he had the power to do safely; and he has shuddered again when he recalled those, whom he was obliged to call professional brothers, who needed but the motive to do these very things.

An association like this, to be really useful, must be

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

something more than a society devoted to the laudation of the profession. It should have duties to perform, earnest in their nature, and not the less boldly met because they are disagreeable. Those who steal our livery to aid them in the commission of crime should be detected and exposed; and this association, or branches of it, should have watchmen on the walls to protect the honor and fair fame of the bar of the State.

Your words are fair, when, in your constitution, you declare the objects of this association to be "to elevate the standard of integrity, honor, and courtesy in the legal profession"; and I have no doubt you have done much in that direction; but I hope I may be pardoned for reminding you here that frequently, to insure health and vigor, the bad, diseased limbs of the tree must be lopped off.

My thought has carried me further than I intended. Be assured I have spoken in no censorious spirit. I congratulate the State Bar Association on all it has done, and for one am determined to aid its work as well during my temporary professional exile as when I shall again gladly mingle in the contests of the bar.

*[Address at the Semi-Centennial of Rochester,
N. Y., June 10, 1884.]*

Having been in the service of the State for nearly eighteen months, I feel, like any other loyal and grateful servant, that no flight of oratory or grace of diction could, if they were within my reach, do justice to the greatness and the goodness of my master. I shall not attempt to do more than to recall some of the elements which make ours a great State, and to suggest the pride which we should feel as citizens of this commonwealth.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

The State of New York is not alone a vast area—though it includes within its borders more territory than seven of the original thirteen States combined, beautifully diversified with mountains and valleys, streams and lakes, forests and fields, and with farms where the wealth and variety of crops tell the story of fertility and adaptation to the most valuable products.

The State is not alone a busy workshop, with its continuous hum of machinery and its army of artisans and workmen—though its manufactures exceed in worth, variety, and volume any other State or Territory, and though their value is more than the aggregate produced in ten of the original States.

The State is not alone a pathway of commerce and a center of trade—though our waterways and railroads transport a nation's wealth, and though our metropolis rivals the money centers of the world, and is a distributing point for all lands.

The State is not alone an immense aggregation of people—though its population exceeds that of any sister State, amounting to more than one-tenth of all the States and Territories, and nearly exceeds that of eight of the original States.

Nor do all these things combined make up the State that we delight to call our own.

Our cities, busy, thrifty, and prosperous, are constantly increasing in population and wealth, and in the means to furnish to their people all that pertains to refinement and civilization.

Our villages, quiet, contented, and orderly, are everywhere; and by their growth and enterprise give proof of proper and economical management.

Our colleges and seminaries on every hill, and our common schools on every hand, are evidences of the faith of the people in popular and thorough education. Our nu-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

merous charitable institutions enlist the care of the State for the unfortunate poor. Our churches, and the tolerant and almost universal observance of religious duties by every sect and creed, teach obedience to the law and prepare our people for good citizenship. Our soldiery, well disciplined and equipped, stand ready to defend our homes, while they beget a martial spirit and patriotic sentiment. A wise and firm administration of the law by our courts gives no occasion for disorders and outbreaks that arise from the miscarriage of justice.

Surely we have enough to cause us to congratulate ourselves upon the claim we have to State citizenship. And yet I cannot forget how much the continuance of all that makes us proud to-day depends upon the watchfulness and independence of the people and their effective participation and interest in State affairs. With a bad government, notwithstanding all our advantages, our State will not be great. Remember that the government of the State was made for the people, and see to it that it be by the people. A sturdy independence and a determination to hold the public servant to a strict accountability will teach him to keep well in view the line between the people's interests and narrow and selfish partisanship; and I am sure that a man, after faithful service in official place, reaps no mean reward, if, at the end, he shall retire with the confidence and affection of a thoughtful and intelligent community, still retaining the proud title of a citizen of the Empire State.

[Address at the G. A. R. Banquet, in Buffalo, N. Y., July 4, 1884.]

I am almost inclined to complain because the sentiment to which I am requested to respond is not one which permits me to speak at length of the city which, for more than

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

twenty-nine years, has been my home. You bid me speak of the State, while everything that surrounds me, and all that has been done to-day, remind me of other things. I cannot fail to remember most vividly, to-night, that exactly two years ago I felt that much of the responsibility of a certain celebration rested on my shoulders. I suppose there were others who did more than I to make the occasion a success, but I know that I considered myself an important factor, and that when, after weeks of planning and preparation, the day came and finally passed, I felt as much relieved as if the greatest effort of my life had been a complete success.

On that day we laid the corner stone of the monument which has to-day been unveiled in token of its completion. We celebrated, too, the semi-centennial of our city's life. I was proud then to be its chief executive, and everything connected with its interests and prosperity was dear to me. To-night I am still proud to be a citizen of Buffalo, and my fellow-townsmen cannot, if they will, prevent the affection I feel for my city and its people. But my theme is a broader one, and one that stirs the heart of every citizen of the State.

The State of New York, in all that is great, is easily the leader of all the States. Its history is filled with glorious deeds, and its life is bound up with all that makes the nation great. From the first of the nation's existence our State has been the constant and generous contributor to its life and growth and vigor.

But to the exclusion of every other thought to-night, there is one passage in the history of the State that crowds upon my mind.

There came a time when discord reached the family circle of States, threatening the nation's life. Can we forget how wildly New York sprang forward to protect and preserve what she had done so much to create and build up. Four

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

hundred and fifty thousand men left her borders to stay the tide of destruction.

During the bloody affray which followed, nearly fourteen thousand and five hundred of her sons were killed in battle or died of wounds. Their bones lie in every State where the war for the Union was waged. Add to these nearly seventeen thousand and five hundred of her soldiers, who, within that sad time, died of disease, and then contemplate the pledges of New York's devotion to a united country, and the proofs of her faith in the supreme destiny of the sisterhood of States.

And there returned to her thousands of her sons who fought and came home laden with the honors of patriotism, many of whom still survive, and, like the minstrels of old, tell us of heroic deeds and battles won which saved the nation's life.

When our monument, which should commemorate the sufferings and death of their comrades, was begun, the veterans of New York were here. To-day they come again and view complete its fair proportions, which in the years to come shall be a token that the patriotic dead are not forgotten.

The State of New York is rich in her soldier dead, and she is rich in her veterans of the war. Those who still survive, and the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, hold in trust for the State the blessed memories which connect her with her dead; and these memories we know will be kept alive and green.

Long may the State have her veterans of the war; and long may she hold them in grateful and chastened remembrance. And as often as her greatness and her grandeur are told, let these be called the chief jewels in her crown

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*Serenade Speech in Albany, N. Y., July 10, 1884.*]

Fellow-Citizens: I cannot but be gratified with this kindly greeting. I find that I am fast reaching the point where I shall count the people of Albany not merely as fellow-citizens, but as townsmen and neighbors.

On this occasion, I am, of course, aware that you pay no compliment to a citizen, and present no personal tribute, but that you have come to demonstrate your loyalty and devotion to a cause in which you are heartily enlisted.

The American people are about to exercise, in its highest sense, their power of right and sovereignty. They are to call in review before them their public servants and the representatives of political parties, and demand of them an account of their stewardship.

Parties may be so long in power, and may become so arrogant and careless of the interests of the people, as to grow heedless of their responsibility to their masters. But the time comes, as certainly as death, when the people weigh them in the balance.

The issues to be adjudicated by the nation's great assize are made up and are about to be submitted.

We believe that the people are not receiving at the hands of the party which, for nearly twenty-four years, has directed the affairs of the nation, the full benefits to which they are entitled—of a pure, just, and economical rule—and we believe that the ascendancy of genuine Democratic principles will insure a better government, and greater happiness and prosperity to all the people.

To reach the sober thought of the nation, and to dislodge an enemy intrenched behind spoils and patronage, involve a struggle, which, if we under-estimate, we invite

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

defeat. I am profoundly impressed with the responsibility of the part assigned to me in this contest. My heart, I know, is in the cause, and I pledge you that no effort of mine shall be wanting to secure the victory which I believe to be within the achievement of the Democratic hosts.

Let us, then, enter upon the campaign, now fairly opened, each one appreciating well the part he has to perform, ready, with solid front, to do battle for better government, confidently, courageously, always honorably, and with a firm reliance upon the intelligence and patriotism of the American people.

*[Response to Official Notification at Albany,
N. Y., July 29, 1884.]*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: Your formal announcement does not, of course, convey to me the first information of the result of the convention, lately held by the Democracy of the nation. And yet when, as I listen to your message, I see about me representatives from all parts of the land, of the great party which, claiming to be the party of the people, asks them to intrust to it the administration of their government, and when I consider, under the influence of the stern reality which present surroundings create, that I have been chosen to represent the plans, purposes, and the policy of the Democratic party, I am profoundly impressed by the solemnity of the occasion and by the responsibility of my position.

Though I gratefully appreciate it, I do not at this moment congratulate myself upon the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me, because my mind is full of an anxious desire to perform well the part which has been assigned to me. Nor do I at this moment forget that

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the rights and interests of more than fifty millions of my fellow-citizens are involved in our efforts to gain Democratic supremacy. This reflection presents to my mind the consideration which, more than all others, gives to the action of my party, in convention assembled, its most sober and serious aspect.

The party and its representatives which ask to be intrusted, at the hands of the people, with the keeping of all that concerns their welfare and their safety, should only ask it with the full appreciation of the trust, and with a firm resolve to administer it faithfully and well. I am a Democrat—because I believe that this truth lies at the foundation of true Democracy. I have kept the faith—because I believe, if rightly and fairly administered and applied, Democratic doctrines and measures will insure the happiness, contentment, and prosperity of the people.

If, in the contest upon which we now enter, we steadfastly hold to the underlying principles of our party creed, and at all times keep in view the people's good, we shall be strong, because we are true to ourselves, and because the plain and independent voters of the land will seek, by their suffrages, to compass their release from party tyranny where there should be submission to the popular will, and their protection from party corruption where there should be devotion to the people's interests.

These thoughts lend a consecration to our cause; and we go forth, not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefit of a pure and honest administration of national affairs. No higher purpose or motive can stimulate us to supreme effort, or urge us to continuous and earnest labor and effective party organization. Let us not fail in this, and we may confidently hope to reap the full reward of patriotic services well performed.

I have thus called to mind some simple truths; and, trite

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

though they are, it seems to me we do well to dwell upon them at this time.

I shall soon, I hope, signify in the usual manner my acceptance of the nomination which has been tendered to me. In the meantime, I gladly greet you all as co-workers in a noble cause.

[*Letter Accepting Nomination for President, Albany, N. Y., August 18, 1884.*]

Gentlemen: I have received your communication, dated July 28, 1884, informing me of my nomination to the office of President of the United States by the National Democratic Convention, lately assembled at Chicago. I accept the nomination with a grateful appreciation of the supreme honor conferred and a solemn sense of the responsibility which, in its acceptance, I assume. I have carefully considered the platform adopted by the convention and cordially approve the same. So plain a statement of Democratic faith, and the principles upon which that party appeals to the suffrages of the people, needs no supplement or explanation.

It should be remembered that the office of President is essentially executive in its nature. The laws enacted by the legislative branch of the government, the Chief Executive is bound faithfully to enforce. And when the wisdom of the political party, which selects one of its members as a nominee for that office, has outlined its policy and declared its principles, it seems to me that nothing in the character of the office or the necessities of the case requires more, from the candidate accepting such nomination than the suggestion of certain well-known truths, so absolutely vital to the safety and welfare of the nation that they cannot be too often recalled or too seriously enforced.

We proudly call ours a government by the people. It is

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

not such when a class is tolerated which arrogates to itself the management of public affairs, seeking to control the people, instead of representing them. Parties are the necessary outgrowths of our institutions; but a government is not by the people when one party fastens its control upon the country and perpetuates its power by cajoling and betraying the people instead of serving them. A government is not by the people when a result which should represent the intelligent will of free and thinking men is or can be determined by the shameless corruption of their suffrages.

When an election to office shall be the selection by the voters of one of their number to assume for a time a public trust, instead of his dedication to the profession of politics; when the holders of the ballot, quickened by a sense of duty, shall avenge truth betrayed and pledges broken, and when the suffrage shall be altogether free and uncorrupted, the full realization of a government by the people will be at hand. And of the means to this end not one would, in my judgment, be more effective than an amendment to the Constitution disqualifying the President from re-election. When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptations to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people.

A true American sentiment recognizes the dignity of labor and the fact that honor lies in honest toil. Contented labor is an element of national prosperity. Ability to work constitutes the capital and the wage of labor the income of a vast number of our population, and this interest should

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

be jealously protected. Our workmen are not asking unreasonable indulgence, but, as intelligent and manly citizens, they seek the same consideration which those demand who have other interests at stake. They should receive their full share of the care and attention of those who make and execute the laws, to the end that the wants and needs of the employers and employed shall alike be subserved and the prosperity of the country, the common heritage of both, be advanced. As related to this subject, while we should not discourage the immigration of those who come to acknowledge allegiance to our government and add to our citizen population, yet, as a means of protection to our workmen, a different rule should prevail concerning those who, if they come or are brought to our land, do not intend to become Americans, but will injuriously compete with those justly entitled to our field of labor.

In a letter accepting the nomination to the office of Governor, nearly two years ago, I made the following statement, to which I have steadily adhered:

The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil, and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman.

A proper regard for the welfare of the workmen being inseparably connected with the integrity of our institutions, none of our citizens are more interested than they in guarding against any corrupting influences which seek to pervert the beneficent purposes of our government, and none should be more watchful of the artful machinations of those who allure them to self-inflicted injury.

In a free country the curtailment of the absolute rights of the individual should only be such as is essential to the peace and good order of the community. The limit between

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the proper subjects of governmental control and those which can be more fittingly left to the moral sense and self-imposed restraint of the citizen should be carefully kept in view. Thus laws unnecessarily interfering with the habits and customs of our people which are not offensive to the moral sentiments of the civilized world, and which are consistent with good citizenship and the public welfare, are unwise and vexatious.

The commerce of a nation, to a great extent, determines its supremacy. Cheap and easy transportation should therefore be liberally fostered. Within the limits of the Constitution, the general government should so improve and protect its natural water-ways as will enable the producers of the country to reach a profitable market.

The people pay the wages of the public employees, and they are entitled to the fair and honest work which the money thus paid should command. It is the duty of those intrusted with the management of their affairs to see that such public service is forthcoming. The selection and retention of subordinates in government employment should depend upon their ascertained fitness and the value of their work, and they should be neither expected nor allowed to do questionable party service. The interests of the people will be better protected; the estimate of public labor and duty will be immensely improved; public employment will be open to all who can demonstrate their fitness to enter it; the unseemly scramble for place under government, with the consequent importunity which embitters official life, will cease, and the public departments will not be filled with those who conceive it to be their first duty to aid the party to which they owe their places, instead of rendering patient and honest return to the people.

I believe that the public temper is such that the voters of the land are prepared to support the party which gives the best promise of administering the government in the hon-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

est, simple, and plain manner which is consistent with its character and purposes. They have learned that mystery and concealment in the management of their affairs cover tricks and betrayal. The statesmanship they require consists in honesty and frugality, a prompt response to the needs of the people as they arise, and a vigilant protection of all their varied interests. If I should be called to the Chief Magistracy of the nation by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, I will assume the duties of that high office with a solemn determination to dedicate every effort to the country's good, and with an humble reliance upon the favor and support of the Supreme Being, who, I believe, will always bless honest human endeavor in the conscientious discharge of public duty.

[Address at Newark, N. J., October 26, 1884.]

I am here to visit the county and State where I was born, in response to the invitation of many political friends and a number of those who, as neighbors, remember my family, if not me. I do not wish to attempt any false pretense by declaring that ever since the day when, a very small boy, I left the State, I have languished in an enforced absence and longed to tread again its soil; and yet I may say, without affectation, that though the way of life has led me far from the place of my birth, the names of Caldwell and Newark and the memories connected with these places are as fresh as ever. I have never been disloyal to my native State, but have ever kept a place warm in my heart for the love I cherish for my birthplace. I hope then, that I shall not be regarded as a recreant son, but that I may, without challenge, lay claim to my place as a born Jerseyman.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

If you will grant me this I shall not be too modest to assume to share the pride which you all must feel in the position the State of New Jersey and the County of Essex hold in the country to-day. The history of the State dates beyond the time when our Union was formed. Its farmlands exceed in average value per acre those of any other State, and it easily leads all the States in a number of important industries. When we consider the city of Newark, we find a municipality ranking as the fourteenth in point of population among the cities of the land. It leads every other city in three important industries; it is second in another, and third in still another.

Of course, all these industries necessitate the existence of a large laboring population. This force, in my opinion, is a further element of strength and greatness in the State; no part of the community should be more interested in a wise and just administration of their government, none should be better informed as to their needs and rights, and none should guard more vigilantly against the smooth pretenses of false friends.

In common with other citizens they should desire an honest and economical administration of public affairs. It is quite plain, too, that the people have a right to demand that no more money shall be taken from them, directly or indirectly, for public use, than is necessary for this purpose. Indeed, the right of the government to exact tribute from the citizen is limited to its actual necessities, and every cent taken from the people beyond that required for their protection by the government is no better than robbery. We surely must condemn, then, a system which takes from the pockets of the people millions of dollars not needed for the support of the government, and which tends to the inauguration of corrupt schemes and extravagant expenditures.

The Democratic party has declared that all taxation shall

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

be limited by the requirements of an economical government. This is plain and direct, and it distinctly recognized the value of labor, and its right to governmental care, when it declared that the necessary reduction in taxation, and the limitation thereof to the country's needs, should be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor and without injuring the interests of our laboring population. At this time, when the suffrages of the laboring men are so industriously sought, they should, by careful inquiry, discover the party pledged to the protection of their interests, and which recognizes in their labor something most valuable to the prosperity of the country and primarily entitled to its care and protection. An intelligent examination will lead them to the exercise of their privileges as citizens in furtherance of their interests and the welfare of the country. An unthinking performance of their duty at the ballot-box will result in their injury and betrayal.

No party and no candidate can have cause to complain of the free and intelligent expression of the people's will. This expression will be free when uninfluenced by appeals to prejudice, or the senseless cry of danger selfishly raised by a party that seeks the retention of power and patronage; and it will be intelligent when based upon calm deliberation and a full appreciation of the duty of good citizenship. In a government of the people no party gains to itself all the patriotism which the country contains. The perpetuity of our institutions and the public welfare surely do not depend upon unchanging party ascendancy, but upon a simple businesslike administration of the affairs of government and the appreciation by public officers that they are the people's servants, not their masters.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*Address at Bridgeport, Conn., October 30, 1884.*]

I cannot forbear, at such a time as this, to express the pleasure I experience in the sincere and heartfelt welcome that the people of New Haven, Bridgeport, and the State of Connecticut have accorded me. If this welcome was a tribute to me as an individual, I could only express my gratitude; but when I find I represent an idea that is the same with you as with me, it is with a sense of responsibility that I stand before you.

The world has not produced so grand a spectacle as a nation of freemen determining its own cause. In that position you stand to-night. At such a time a leader stands in a solemn position, and the plaudits of his hearers can only serve to increase the feeling of responsibility—that is, if he is a man true to his country and to the best interests of her people—which pervades the contest.

Survey the field of the coming contest. See the forces drawn up in array against you from a party strong in numbers, flanked by a vast army of office-holders, long in power, rich in resources, both of money and influence, but corrupt to the core. To-day, they seek to control the religious element of your country; to-morrow, they will endeavor to gain the interest of your millionaire magnates for the purpose of raising money to carry on their campaign.

There should be no mistake about this contest. It is an attempt to break down the barrier between the people of the United States and those that rule them. The people are bound down by a class of office-holders whose business it is to make money out of their positions. If you are to go on forever choosing your rulers from this class, what will be the end? This is a question every one of you can an-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

swer for himself. Because it is the party of the people thousands are flocking to our standard, for they love their fellow-countrymen and their country more than they do their party.

Let us feel that the people are the rulers of the nation, and not the office-holders, whose sole ambition and purpose is private gain. Let us also feel that if the people give us the power of government we hold from the people a sacred trust.

[Inaugural Address as President, Washington, D. C., March 4, 1885.]

Fellow-Citizens: In the presence of this vast assemblage of my countrymen I am about to supplement and seal, by the oath which I shall take, the manifestation of the will of a great and free people. In the exercise of their power and right of self-government they have committed to one of their fellow-citizens a supreme and sacred trust; and he here consecrates himself to their service.

This impressive ceremony adds little to the solemn sense of responsibility with which I contemplate the duty I owe to all the people of the land. Nothing can relieve me from anxiety lest by any act of mine their interests may suffer, and nothing is needed to strengthen my resolution to engage every faculty and effort in the promotion of their welfare.

Amid the din of party strife the people's choice was made; but its attendant circumstances have demonstrated anew the strength and safety of a government by the people. In each succeeding year it more clearly appears that our democratic principle needs no apology, and that in its fearless and faithful application is to be found the surest guaranty of good government.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

But the best results in the operation of a government wherein every citizen has a share, largely depend upon a proper limitation of purely partisan zeal and effort, and a correct appreciation of the time when the heat of the partisan should be merged in the patriotism of the citizen.

To-day the executive branch of the government is transferred to new keeping. But this is still the government of all the people, and it should be none the less an object of their affectionate solicitude. At this hour the animosities of political strife, the bitterness of partisan defeat, and the exultation of partisan triumph should be supplanted by an ungrudging acquiescence in the popular will, and a sober, conscientious concern for the general weal. Moreover, if, from this hour, we cheerfully and honestly abandon all sectional prejudice and distrust, and determine, with manly confidence in one another, to work out harmoniously the achievements of our national destiny, we shall deserve to realize all the benefits which our happy form of government can bestow.

On this auspicious occasion we may well renew the pledge of our devotion to the Constitution, which, launched by the founders of the republic and consecrated by their prayers and patriotic devotion, has for almost a century borne the hopes and the aspirations of a great people through prosperity and peace, and through the shock of foreign conflicts and the perils of domestic strife and vicissitudes.

By the Father of his Country our Constitution was commended for adoption as "the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession." In that same spirit it should be administered, in order to promote the lasting welfare of the country, and to secure the full measure of its priceless benefits to us and to those who will succeed to the blessings of our national life. The large variety of diverse and competing interests subject to Federal control, persistently

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

seeking the recognition of their claims, need give us no fear that "the greatest good to the greatest number" will fail to be accomplished, if, in the halls of national legislation, that spirit of amity and mutual concession shall prevail in which the Constitution had its birth. If this involves the surrender or postponement of private interests and the abandonment of local advantages, compensation will be found in the assurance that the common interest is subserved and the general welfare advanced.

In the discharge of my official duty I shall endeavor to be guided by a just and unrestrained construction of the Constitution, a careful observance of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal government and those reserved to the State or to the people, and by a cautious appreciation of those functions which, by the Constitution and laws, have been especially assigned to the executive branch of the government.

But he who takes the oath to-day to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States only assumes the solemn obligation which every patriotic citizen, on the farm, in the workshop, in the busy marts of trade, and everywhere should share with him. The Constitution which prescribes his oath, my countrymen, is yours; the government you have chosen him to administer for a time is yours; the suffrage which executes the will of freemen is yours; the laws and the entire scheme of our civil rule, from the town meeting to the State capitals and the national capital, are yours. Your every voter as surely as your Chief Magistrate under the same high sanction, though in a different sphere, exercises a public trust. Nor is this all. Every citizen owes to the country a vigilant watch and close scrutiny of its public servants, and a fair and reasonable estimate of their fidelity and usefulness. Thus is the people's will impressed upon the whole framework of our civil polity—municipal, State and Federal; and this is the price

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

of our liberty and the inspiration of our faith in the republic.

It is the duty of those serving the people in public place closely to limit public expenditures to the actual needs of the government economically administered, because this bounds the right of the government to exact tribute from the earnings of labor or the property of the citizen, and because public extravagance begets extravagance among the people. We should never be ashamed of the simplicity and prudential economies which are best suited to the operation of a republican form of government and most compatible with the mission of the American people. Those who are selected for a limited time to manage public affairs are still of the people, and may do much by their example to encourage, consistently with the dignity of their official functions, that plain way of life which among their fellow-citizens aids integrity and promotes thrift and prosperity.

The genius of our institutions, the needs of our people in their home life, and the attention which is demanded for the settlement and development of the resources of our vast territory, dictate the scrupulous avoidance of any departure from that foreign policy commended by the history, the traditions, and the prosperity of our republic. It is the policy of independence, favored by our position and defended by our known love of justice and by our power. It is the policy of peace suitable to our interests. It is the policy of neutrality, rejecting any share in foreign broils and ambitions upon other continents, and repelling their intrusion here. It is the policy of Monroe and of Washington and Jefferson: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none."

A due regard for the interests and prosperity of all the people demands that our finances shall be established upon such a sound and sensible basis as shall secure the safety and confidence of business interests and make the wage of

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

labor sure and steady; and that our system of revenue shall be so adjusted as to relieve the people of unnecessary taxation, having a due regard to the interests of capital invested and workmen employed in American industries, and preventing the accumulation of a surplus in the treasury to tempt extravagance and waste.

Care for the property of the nation, and for the needs of future settlers, requires that the public domain should be protected from purloining schemes and unlawful occupation.

The conscience of the people demands that the Indians within our boundaries shall be fairly and honestly treated as wards of the government, and their education and civilization promoted, with a view to their ultimate citizenship; and that polygamy in the Territories, destructive of the family relation and offensive to the moral sense of the civilized world, shall be repressed.

The laws should be rigidly enforced which prohibit the immigration of a servile class to compete with American labor, with no intention of acquiring citizenship, and bringing with them and retaining habits and customs repugnant to our civilization.

The people demand reform in the administration of the government and the application of business principles to public affairs. As a means to this end civil service reform should be in good faith enforced. Our citizens have the right to protection from the incompetency of public employees who hold their places solely as the reward of partisan service, and from the corrupting influence of those who promise and the vicious methods of those who expect such rewards. And those who worthily seek public employment have the right to insist that merit and competency shall be recognized instead of party subserviency or the surrender of honest political belief.

In the administration of a government pledged to do equal and exact justice to all men, there should be no pre-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

text for anxiety touching the protection of the freedmen in their rights, or their security in the enjoyment of their privileges under the Constitution and its amendments. All discussion as to their fitness for the place accorded to them as American citizens is idle and unprofitable, except as it suggests the necessity for their improvement. The fact that they are citizens entitles them to all the rights due to that relation, and charges them with all its duties, obligations, and responsibilities.

These topics and the constant and ever-varying wants of an active and enterprising population, may well receive the attention and the patriotic endeavor of all who make and execute the Federal law. Our duties are practical, and call for industrious application, an intelligent perception of the claims of public office, and, above all, a firm determination, by united action, to secure to all the people of the land the full benefits of the best form of government ever vouchsafed to man. And let us not trust to human effort alone; but humbly acknowledging the power and goodness of Almighty God, who presides over the destiny of nations, and who has at all times been revealed in our country's history, let us invoke his aid and his blessing upon our labors.

*[Proclamation on the Death of General Ulysses
S. Grant, Washington, D. C., July 23,
1885.]*

The President of the United States has just received the sad tidings of the death of that illustrious citizen and ex-President of the United States, General Ulysses S. Grant, at Mount McGregor, in the State of New York, to which place he had lately been removed in the endeavor to prolong his life.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

In making this announcement to the people of the United States, the President is impressed with the magnitude of the public loss of a great military leader, who was in the hour of victory magnanimous; amid disaster serene and self-sustained; who in every station, whether as a soldier, or as a Chief Magistrate, twice called to power by his fellow-countrymen, trod unswervingly the pathway of duty, undeterred by doubts, single-minded, and straightforward.

The entire country has witnessed with deep emotion his prolonged and patient struggle with painful disease, and has watched by his couch of suffering with tearful sympathy.

The destined end has come at last, and his spirit has returned to the Creator who sent it forth.

The great heart of the nation that followed him when living with love and pride, bows now in sorrow above him dead, tenderly mindful of his virtues, his great patriotic services, and of the loss occasioned by his death.

In testimony of respect to the memory of General Grant, it is ordered that the Executive Mansion and the several Departments at Washington be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days, and that all public business shall on the day of the funeral be suspended; and the Secretaries of War and of the Navy will cause orders to be issued for appropriate military and naval honors to be rendered on that day.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-third day of July, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five,
[L. s.] and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and tenth.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

*[Thanksgiving Proclamation as President of
the United States, Washington, D. C.,
November 2, 1885.]*

The American people have always abundant cause to be thankful to Almighty God, whose watchful care and guiding hand have been manifested in every stage of their national life—guarding and protecting them in time of peril, and safely leading them in the hour of darkness and of danger.

It is fitting and proper that a nation thus favored should, on one day in every year, for that purpose especially appointed, publicly acknowledge the goodness of God, and return thanks to him for all his gracious gifts.

Therefore I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate and set apart Thursday, the twenty-sixth day of November instant, as a day of public Thanksgiving and Prayer; and do invoke the observance of the same by all the people of the land.

On that day let all secular business be suspended; and let the people assemble in their usual places of worship, and with prayer and songs of praise devoutly testify their gratitude to the Giver of every good and perfect gift for all that he has done for us in the year that has passed; for our preservation as a nation and for our deliverance from the shock and danger of political convulsion; for the blessings of peace and for our safety and quiet, while wars and rumors of wars have agitated and afflicted other nations of the earth; for our security against the scourge of pestilence, which in other lands has claimed its dead by thousands and filled the streets with mourners; for plenteous crops which reward the labor of the husbandman and increase our nation's wealth; and for the contentment throughout our

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

borders which follows in the train of prosperity and abundance.

And let there also be, on the day thus set apart, a reunion of families, sanctified and chastened by tender memories and associations, and let the social intercourse of friends, with pleasant reminiscence, renew the ties of affection and strengthen the bonds of kindly feeling.

And let us by no means forget, while we give thanks and enjoy the comforts which have crowned our lives, that truly grateful hearts are inclined to deeds of charity; and that a kind and thoughtful remembrance of the poor will double the pleasures of our condition, and render our praise and thanksgiving more acceptable in the sight of the Lord.

[Executive Order on the Death of the Vice-President, Washington, D. C., November 25, 1885.]

To the People of the United States: Thomas A. Hendricks, Vice-President of the United States, died to-day at five o'clock p. m., at Indianapolis, and it becomes my mournful duty to announce the distressing fact to his fellow-countrymen.

In respect to the memory and the eminent and varied services of this high official and patriotic public servant, whose long career was so full of usefulness and honor to his State and to the United States, it is ordered that the national flag be displayed at half-mast upon the public buildings of the United States; that the Executive Mansion and the several Executive Departments in the city of Washington be closed on the day of the funeral, and be draped in mourning for the period of thirty days; that the usual and appropriate military and naval honors be rendered, and

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

that on all the legations and consulates of the United States in foreign countries the national flag shall be displayed at half-mast on the reception of this order, and the usual emblems of mourning be adopted for thirty days.

[From First Annual Message, Washington, D. C., December 8, 1885.]

To the Congress of the United States: Your assembling is clouded by a sense of public bereavement, caused by the recent and sudden death of Thomas A. Hendricks, Vice-President of the United States. His distinguished public services, his complete integrity and devotion to every duty, and his personal virtues will find honorable record in his country's history.

Ample and repeated proofs of the esteem and confidence in which he was held by his fellow-countrymen were manifested by his election to offices of the most important trust and highest dignity; and at length, full of years and honors, he has been laid at rest amid universal sorrow and benediction.

The Constitution, which requires those chosen to legislate for the people to annually meet in the discharge of their solemn trust, also requires the President to give to Congress information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall deem necessary and expedient. At the threshold of a compliance with these constitutional directions it is well for us to bear in mind that our usefulness to the people's interests will be promoted by a constant appreciation of the scope and character of our respective duties as they relate to Federal legislation. While the Executive may recommend such measures as he shall deem expedient, the responsibility

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

for legislative action must and should rest upon those selected by the people to make their laws.

Contemplation of the grave and responsible functions assigned to the respective branches of the Government under the Constitution will disclose the partitions of power between our respective departments and their necessary independence, and also the need for the exercise of all the power intrusted to each in that spirit of comity and cooperation which is essential to the proper fulfillment of the patriotic obligations which rest upon us as faithful servants of the people.

The jealous watchfulness of our constituencies, great and small, supplements their suffrages, and before the tribunal they establish every public servant should be judged.

It is gratifying to announce that the relations of the United States with all foreign powers continue to be friendly. Our position after nearly a century of successful constitutional government, maintenance of good faith in all our engagements, the avoidance of complications with other nations, and our consistent and amicable attitude toward the strong and weak alike furnish proof of a political disposition which renders professions of good will unnecessary. There are no questions of difficulty pending with any foreign government.

.

An international copyright conference was held at Berne in September, on the invitation of the Swiss Government. The envoy of the United States attended as a delegate, but refrained from committing this Government to the results, even by signing the recommendatory protocol adopted. The interesting and important subject of international copyright has been before you for several years. Action is certainly desirable to effect the object in view; and while there may be question as to the relative advantage of treating it by legislation or by specific treaty, the matured views of the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

Berne conference can not fail to aid your consideration of the subject.

The inadequacy of existing legislation touching citizenship and naturalization demands your consideration.

While recognizing the right of expatriation, no statutory provision exists providing means for renouncing citizenship by an American citizen, native born or naturalized, nor for terminating and vacating an improper acquisition of citizenship. Even a fraudulent decree of naturalization can not now be canceled. The privilege and franchise of American citizenship should be granted with care, and extended to those only who intend in good faith to assume its duties and responsibilities when attaining its privileges and benefits. It should be withheld from those who merely go through the forms of naturalization with the intent of escaping the duties of their original allegiance without taking upon themselves those of their new status, or who may acquire the rights of American citizenship for no other than a hostile purpose toward their original governments. These evils have had many flagrant illustrations.

I regard with favor the suggestion put forth by one of my predecessors that provision be made for a central bureau of record of the decrees of naturalization granted by the various courts throughout the United States now invested with that power.

The rights which spring from domicile in the United States, especially when coupled with a declaration of intention to become a citizen, are worthy of definition by statute. The stranger coming hither with intent to remain, establishing his residence in our midst, contributing to the general welfare, and by his voluntary act declaring his purpose to assume the responsibilities of citizenship, thereby gains an inchoate status which legislation may properly define. The laws of certain States and Territories admits a

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

domiciled alien to the local franchise, conferring on him the rights of citizenship to a degree which places him in the anomalous position of being a citizen of a State and yet not of the United States within the purview of Federal and international law.

It is important within the scope of national legislation to define this right of alien domicile as distinguished from Federal naturalization.

.

Past Congresses have had under consideration the advisability of abolishing the discrimination made by the tariff laws in favor of the works of American artists. The odium of the policy which subjects to a high rate of duty the paintings of foreign artists and exempts the productions of American artists residing abroad, and who receive gratuitously advantages and instruction, is visited upon our citizens engaged in art culture in Europe, and has caused them with practical unanimity to favor the abolition of such an ungracious distinction; and in their interest, and for other obvious reasons, I strongly recommend it.

.

All must admit the importance of an effective navy to a nation like ours, having such an extended seacoast to protect; and yet we have not a single vessel of war that could keep the seas against a first-class vessel of any important power. Such a condition ought not longer to continue. The nation that can not resist aggression is constantly exposed to it. Its foreign policy is of necessity weak and its negotiations are conducted with disadvantage because it is not in condition to enforce the terms dictated by its sense of right and justice.

Inspired, as I am, by the hope, shared by all patriotic citizens, that the day is not very far distant when our Navy will be such as befits our standing among the nations of

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the earth, and rejoiced at every step that leads in the direction of such a consummation, I deem it my duty to especially direct the attention of Congress to the close of the report of the Secretary of the Navy, in which the humiliating weakness of the present organization of his Department is exhibited and the startling abuses and waste of its present methods are exposed. The conviction is forced upon us with the certainty of mathematical demonstration that before we proceed further in the restoration of a Navy we need a thoroughly reorganized Navy Department. The fact that within seventeen years more than \$75,000,000 have been spent in the construction, repair, equipment, and armament of vessels, and the further fact that instead of an effective and creditable fleet we have only the discontent and apprehension of a nation undefended by war vessels, added to the disclosures now made, do not permit us to doubt that every attempt to revive our Navy has thus far for the most part been misdirected, and all our efforts in that direction have been little better than blind gropings and expensive, aimless follies.

Unquestionably if we are content with the maintenance of a Navy Department simply as a shabby ornament to the Government, a constant watchfulness may prevent some of the scandal and abuse which have found their way into our present organization, and its incurable waste may be reduced to the minimum. But if we desire to build ships for present usefulness instead of naval reminders of the days that are past, we must have a Department organized for the work, supplied with all the talent and ingenuity our country affords, prepared to take advantage of the experience of other nations, systematized so that all effort shall unite and lead in one direction, and fully imbued with the conviction that war vessels, though new, are useless unless they combine all that the ingenuity of man has up to this day brought forth relating to their construction.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

I earnestly commend the portion of the Secretary's report devoted to this subject to the attention of Congress, in the hope that his suggestions touching the reorganization of his Department may be adopted as the first step toward the reconstruction of our Navy.

In the Territory of Utah the law of the United States passed for the suppression of polygamy has been energetically and faithfully executed during the past year, with measurably good results. A number of convictions have been secured for unlawful cohabitation, and in some cases pleas of guilty have been entered and a slight punishment imposed, upon a promise by the accused that they would not again offend against the law, nor advise, counsel, aid, or abet in any way its violation by others.

The Utah commissioners express the opinion, based upon such information as they are able to obtain, that but few polygamous marriages have taken place in the Territory during the last year. They further report that while there can not be found upon the registration lists of voters the name of a man actually guilty of polygamy, and while none of that class are holding office, yet at the last election in the Territory all the officers elected, except in one county, were men who, though not actually living in the practice of polygamy, subscribe to the doctrine of polygamous marriages as a divine revelation and a law unto all higher and more binding upon the conscience than any human law, local or national. Thus is the strange spectacle presented of a community protected by a republican form of government, to which they owe allegiance, sustaining by their suffrages a principle and a belief which set at naught that obligation of absolute obedience to the law of the land which lies at the foundation of republican institutions.

The strength, the perpetuity, and the destiny of the nation rest upon our homes, established by the law of God,

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

guarded by parental care, regulated by parental authority, and sanctified by parental love.

These are not the homes of polygamy.

The mothers of our land, who rule the nation as they mold the characters and guide the actions of their sons, live according to God's holy ordinances, and each, secure and happy in the exclusive love of the father of her children, sheds the warm light of true womanhood, unperverted and unpolluted, upon all within her pure and wholesome family circle.

These are not the cheerless, crushed, and unwomanly mothers of polygamy.

The fathers of our families are the best citizens of the Republic. Wife and children are the sources of patriotism, and conjugal and parental affection beget devotion to the country. The man who, undefiled with plural marriage, is surrounded in his single home with his wife and children has a stake in the country which inspires him with respect for its laws and courage for its defense.

These are not the fathers of polygamous families.

There is no feature of this practice or the system which sanctions it which is not opposed to all that is of value in our institutions.

There should be no relaxation in the firm but just execution of the law now in operation, and I should be glad to approve such further discreet legislation as will rid the country of this blot upon its fair name.

Since the people upholding polygamy in our Territories are reenforced by immigration from other lands, I recommend that a law be passed to prevent the importation of Mormons into the country.

The report of the Civil Service Commission, which will be submitted, contains an account of the manner in which the civil-service law has been executed during the last year

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

and much valuable information on this important subject.

I am inclined to think that there is no sentiment more general in the minds of the people of our country than a conviction of the correctness of the principle upon which the law enforcing civil-service reform is based. In its present condition the law regulates only a part of the subordinate public positions throughout the country. It applies the test of fitness to applicants for these places by means of a competitive examination, and gives large discretion to the Commissioners as to the character of the examination and many other matters connected with its execution. Thus the rules and regulations adopted by the Commission have much to do with the practical usefulness of the statute and with the results of its application.

The people may well trust the Commission to execute the law with perfect fairness and with as little irritation as is possible. But of course no relaxation of the principle which underlies it and no weakening of the safeguards which surround it can be expected. Experience in its administration will probably suggest amendment of the methods of its execution, but I venture to hope that we shall never again be remitted to the system which distributes public positions purely as rewards for partisan service. Doubts may well be entertained whether our Government could survive the strain of a continuance of this system, which upon every change of Administration inspires an immense army of claimants for office to lay siege to the patronage of Government, engrossing the time of public officers with their importunities, spreading abroad the contagion of their disappointment, and filling the air with the tumult of their discontent.

The allurements of an immense number of offices and places exhibited to the voters of the land, and the promise of their bestowal in recognition of partisan activity, debauch

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the suffrage and rob political action of its thoughtful and deliberative character. The evil would increase with the multiplication of offices consequent upon our extension, and the mania for office holding, growing from its indulgence, would pervade our population so generally that patriotic purpose, the support of principle, the desire for the public good, and solicitude for the nation's welfare would be nearly banished from the activity of our party contests and cause them to degenerate into ignoble, selfish, and disgraceful struggles for the possession of office and public place.

Civil-service reform enforced by law came none too soon to check the progress of demoralization.

One of its effects, not enough regarded, is the freedom it brings to the political action of those conservative and sober men who, in fear of the confusion and risk attending an arbitrary and sudden change in all the public offices with a change of party rule, cast their ballots against such a chance.

Parties seem to be necessary, and will long continue to exist; nor can it be now denied that there are legitimate advantages, not disconnected with office holding, which follow party supremacy. While partisanship continues bitter and pronounced and supplies so much of motive to sentiment and action, it is not fair to hold public officials in charge of important trusts responsible for the best results in the performance of their duties, and yet insist that they shall rely in confidential and important places upon the work of those not only opposed to them in political affiliation, but so steeped in partisan prejudice and rancor that they have no loyalty to their chiefs and no desire for their success. Civil-service reform does not exact this, nor does it require that those in subordinate positions who fail in yielding their best service or who are incompetent should be retained simply because they are in place. The whining of a clerk discharged for indolence or incompetency, who,

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

though he gained his place by the worst possible operation of the spoils system, suddenly discovers that he is entitled to protection under the sanction of civil-service reform, represents an idea no less absurd than the clamor of the applicant who claims the vacant position as his compensation for the most questionable party work.

The civil-service law does not prevent the discharge of the indolent or incompetent clerk, but it does prevent supplying his place with the unfit party worker. Thus in both these phases is seen benefit to the public service. And the people who desire good government, having secured this statute, will not relinquish its benefits without protest. Nor are they unmindful of the fact that its full advantages can only be gained through the complete good faith of those having its execution in charge. And this they will insist upon.

The present condition of the law relating to the succession to the Presidency in the event of the death, disability, or removal of both the President and Vice-President is such as to require immediate amendment. This subject has repeatedly been considered by Congress, but no result has been reached. The recent lamentable death of the Vice-President, and vacancies at the same time in all other offices the incumbents of which might immediately exercise the functions of the Presidential office, has caused public anxiety and a just demand that a recurrence of such a condition of affairs should not be permitted.

In conclusion I commend to the wise care and thoughtful attention of Congress the needs, the welfare, and the aspirations of an intelligent and generous nation. To subordinate these to the narrow advantages of partisanship or the accomplishment of selfish aims is to violate the people's trust and betray the people's interests; but an individual sense of responsibility on the part of each of us and a stern determination to perform our duty well must give us

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

place among those who have added in their day and generation to the glory and prosperity of our beloved land.

[Letter to Allen G. Thurman, Washington, D. C., January 4, 1886.]

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of an invitation to be present at the annual reunion of the Jackson Club, of the city of Columbus, on the evening of the 8th inst.

My official duties here will prevent my acceptance of the invitation so kindly tendered, and I beg to assure the Club that the objects and purposes of the reunion, which are expressed in the note of the committee, meet with my cordial and sincere approval.

I should be most pleased to be one of those who, on that occasion, will congratulate the friends of good government on the success of the Democratic party, for I believe that the application of the true and pure principles of that political faith must result in the welfare of the country.

It is also proposed, I learn, to consult together as to the manner in which the accomplishment of "the greatest good to our people" can best be aided and assisted. No higher or more sacred mission was ever intrusted to a party organization, and I am convinced that it will be honestly and faithfully performed by a close sympathy with the people in their wants and needs, by a patriotic endeavor to quicken their love and devotion for American institutions, and by an earnest effort to enlarge their apprehensions and realizations of the benefits which the wise and unselfish administration of a free government will secure to them.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[Executive Order on the Death of General Hancock, February 9, 1886.]

Tidings of the death of Winfield Scott Hancock, the senior Major-General of the Army of the United States, have just been received.

A patriotic and valiant defender of his country; an able and heroic soldier; a spotless and accomplished gentleman—crowned alike with the laurels of military renown and the highest tribute of his fellow-countrymen to his worth as a citizen—he has gone to his reward.

It is fitting that every mark of public respect should be paid to his memory. Therefore it is now ordered by the President that the national flag be displayed at half-mast upon all the buildings of the Executive Departments in this city until after his funeral shall have taken place.

[Special Message Recommending Legislation Providing for the Arbitrament of Disputes between Laboring Men and Employers, Washington, D. C., April 22, 1886.]

To the Senate and the House of Representatives: The Constitution imposes upon the President the duty of recommending to the consideration of Congress from time to time such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.

I am so deeply impressed with the importance of immediately and thoughtfully meeting the problem which recent events and a present condition have thrust upon us, involving the settlement by arbitration of disputes arising between

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

our laboring men and their employers, that I am constrained to recommend to Congress legislation upon this serious and pressing subject.

Under our form of government the value of labor as an element of national prosperity should be distinctly recognized, and the welfare of the laboring man should be regarded as especially entitled to legislative care. In a country which offers to all its citizens the highest attainment of social and political distinction its workingmen can not justly or safely be considered as irrevocably consigned to the limits of a class and entitled to no attention and allowed no protest against neglect.

The laboring man bearing in his hand an indispensable contribution to our growth and progress, may well insist, with manly courage and as a right, upon the same recognition from those who make our laws as is accorded to any other citizen having a valuable interest in charge; and his reasonable demands should be met in such a spirit of appreciation and fairness as to induce a contented and patriotic co-operation in the achievement of a grand national destiny.

While the real interests of labor are not promoted by a resort to threats and violent manifestations, and while those who, under the pretext of an advocacy of the claims of labor, wantonly attack the rights of capital, and for selfish purposes or the love of disorder sow seeds of violence and discontent, should neither be encouraged nor conciliated, all legislation on the subject should be calmly and deliberately undertaken, with no purpose of satisfying unreasonable demands or gaining partisan advantage.

The present condition of the relations between labor and capital is far from satisfactory. The discontent of the employed is due in a large degree to the grasping and heedless exactions of employers, and the alleged discrimination in favor of capital as an object of governmental

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

attention. It must also be conceded that the laboring men are not always careful to avoid causeless and unjustifiable disturbance.

Though the importance of a better accord between these interests is apparent, it must be borne in mind that any effort in that direction by the Federal Government must be greatly limited by constitutional restrictions. There are many grievances which legislation by Congress can not redress, and many conditions which can not by such means be reformed.

I am satisfied, however, that something may be done under Federal authority to prevent the disturbances which so often arise from disputes between employers and the employed, and which at times seriously threaten the business interests of the country; and in my opinion the proper theory upon which to proceed is that of voluntary arbitration as the means of settling these difficulties.

But I suggest that instead of arbitrators chosen in the heat of conflicting claims, and after each dispute shall arise, for the purpose of determining the same, there be created a Commission of Labor, consisting of three members, who shall be regular officers of the Government, charged among other duties with the consideration and settlement, when possible, of all controversies between labor and capital.

A Commission thus organized would have the advantage of being a stable body, and its members, as they gained experience, would constantly improve in their ability to deal intelligently and usefully with the questions which might be submitted to them. If arbitrators are chosen for temporary service as each case of dispute arises, experience and familiarity with much that is involved in the question will be lacking, extreme partisanship and bias will be the qualifications sought on either side, and frequent complaints of unfairness and partiality will be inevitable. The imposition upon a Federal court of a duty so foreign to the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

judicial function as the selection of an arbitrator in such cases, is at least of doubtful propriety.

The establishment by Federal authority of such a Bureau would be a just and sensible recognition of the value of labor, and of its right to be represented in the departments of the Government. So far as its conciliatory offices shall have relation to disturbances which interfered with transit and commerce between the States, its existence would be justified, under the provisions of the Constitution, which gives to Congress the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States." And in the frequent disputes between the laboring men and their employers, of less extent and the consequences of which are confined within State limits and threaten domestic violence, the interposition of such a Commission might be tendered, upon the application of the legislature or executive of a State, under the constitutional provision which requires the General Government to "protect" each of the States "against domestic violence."

If such a Commission were fairly organized, the risk of a loss of popular support and sympathy resulting from a refusal to submit to so peaceful an instrumentality would constrain both parties to such disputes to invoke its interference and abide by its decisions. There would also be good reason to hope that the very existence of such an agency would invite application to it for advice and counsel, frequently resulting in the avoidance of contention and misunderstanding.

If the usefulness of such a Commission is doubted because it might lack power to enforce its decisions, much encouragement is derived from the conceded good that has been accomplished by the railroad commissions which have been organized in many of the States, which, having little more than advisory power, have exerted a most salutary influence in the settlement of disputes between conflicting interests.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

In July, 1884, by a law of Congress, a Bureau of Labor was established and placed in charge of a Commissioner of Labor, who is required to "collect information upon the subject of labor, its relations to capital, the hours of labor and the earnings of laboring men and women, and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual, and moral prosperity."

The Commission which I suggest could easily be grafted upon the Bureau thus already organized, by the addition of two more Commissioners and by supplementing the duties now imposed upon it by such other powers and functions as would permit the Commissioners to act as arbitrators when necessary between labor and capital under such limitations and upon such occasions as should be deemed proper and useful.

Power should also be distinctly conferred upon this Bureau to investigate the causes of all disputes as they occur, whether submitted for arbitration or not, so that information may always be at hand to aid legislation on the subject when necessary and desirable.

[From the Veto of the Andrew J. White Pension Bill, Washington, D. C., May 8, 1886.]

The policy of frequently reversing, by special enactment, the decisions of the bureau invested by law with the examination of pension claims, fully equipped for such examination, and which ought not to be suspected of any lack of liberality to our veteran soldiers, is exceedingly questionable. It may well be doubted if a committee of Congress has a better opportunity than such an agency to judge of the merits of these claims. If, however, there is any lack of power in the Pension Bureau for a full investigation it

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

should be supplied; if the system adopted is inadequate to do full justice to claimants, it should be corrected; and if there is a want of sympathy and consideration for the defenders of our government the bureau should be re-organized.

The disposition to concede the most generous treatment to the disabled, aged, and needy among our veterans ought not to be restrained; and it must be admitted that, in some cases, justice and equity cannot be done nor the charitable tendencies of the government in favor of worthy objects of its care indulged under fixed rules. These conditions sometimes justify a resort to special legislation; but I am convinced that the interposition by special enactment in the granting of pensions should be rare and exceptional. In the nature of things, if this is lightly done and upon slight occasion, an invitation is offered for the presentation of claims to Congress, which, upon their merits, could not survive the test of an examination by the Pension Bureau, and whose only hope of success depends upon sympathy, often misdirected, instead of right and justice. The instrumentality organized by law for the determination of pension claims is thus often overruled and discredited, and there is danger that in the end popular prejudice will be created against those who are worthily entitled to the bounty of the government.

There have lately been presented to me on the same day, for approval, nearly two hundred and forty special bills granting and increasing pensions, and restoring to the pension list the names of parties which for cause have been dropped. To aid Executive duty they were referred to the Pension Bureau for examination and report. After a delay absolutely necessary they have been returned to me within a few hours of the limit constitutionally permitted for Executive action. Two hundred and thirty-two of these bills are thus classified:

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

Eighty-one cover cases in which favorable action by the Pension Bureau was denied by reason of the insufficiency of the testimony filed to prove the facts alleged.

These bills I have approved on the assumption that the claims were meritorious, and that by the passage of the bills the government has waived full proof of the facts.

Twenty-six of the bills cover claims rejected by the Pension Bureau, because the evidence produced tended to prove that the alleged disability existed before the claimant's enlistment; twenty-one cover claims which have been denied by such bureau, because the evidence tended to show that the disability, though contracted in the service, was not incurred in the line of duty; thirty-three cover claims which have been denied, because the evidence tended to establish that the disability originated after the soldier's discharge from the army; forty-seven cover claims which have been denied, because the general pension laws contain no provisions under which they could be allowed; and twenty-four of the claims have never been presented to the Pension Bureau.

[Message Relating to the Acceptance and Inauguration of the Colossal Statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," Washington, D. C., May 11, 1886.]

To the Senate and House of Representatives: By a joint resolution of Congress, approved March 3, 1877, the President was authorized and directed to accept the colossal statue of Liberty Enlightening the World when presented by the citizens of the French Republic, and to designate and set apart for the erection thereof a suitable site upon either Governor's or Bedloe's Island, in the harbor of New

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

York, and upon the completion thereof to cause the statue "to be inaugurated with such ceremonies as will serve to testify the gratitude of our people for this expressive and felicitous memorial of the sympathy of the citizens of our sister Republic."

The President was further thereby "authorized to cause suitable regulations to be made for its future maintenance as a beacon, and for the permanent care and preservation thereof as a monument of art and the continued good-will of the great nation which aided us in our struggle for freedom."

Under the authority of this resolution, on the 4th day of July, 1884, the minister of the United States to the French Republic, by direction of the President of the United States, accepted the statue and received a deed of presentation from the Franco-American Union, which is now preserved in the archives of the Department of State.

I now transmit to Congress a letter to the Secretary of State from Joseph W. Drexel, Esq., chairman of the executive committee of "the American committee on the pedestal of the great statue of 'Liberty Enlightening the World,'" dated the 27th of April, 1886, suggesting the propriety of the further execution by the President of the joint resolution referred to, by prescribing the ceremonies of inauguration to be observed upon the complete erection of the statue upon its site on Bedloe's Island, in the harbor of New York.

Thursday, the 3d of September, being the anniversary of the signing of the treaty of peace of Paris by which the independence of these United States was recognized and secured, has been suggested by this committee, under whose auspices and agency the pedestal for the statue has been constructed, as an appropriate day for the ceremonies of inauguration.

The international character which has been impressed

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

upon this work by the joint resolution of 1877, makes it incumbent upon Congress to provide means to carry their resolution into effect. Therefore I recommend the appropriation of such sum of money as in the judgment of Congress shall be deemed adequate and proper to defray the cost of the inauguration of this statue.

I have been informed by the committee that certain expenses have been incurred in the care and custody of the statue since it was deposited on Bedloe's Island, and the phraseology of the joint resolution providing for "the permanent care and preservation thereof as a monument of art," would seem to include the payment by the United States of the expense so incurred since the reception of the statue in this country.

The action of the French Government and people in relation to the presentation of this statue to the United States will, I hope, meet with hearty and responsive action upon the part of Congress, in which the Executive will be most happy to co-operate.

*[Address at the Virginia State Fair, Richmond,
October 12, 1886.]*

Fellow-Citizens of Virginia: While I thank you most sincerely for your kind reception and recognize in its heartiness the hospitality for which the people of Virginia have always been distinguished, I am fully aware that your demonstration of welcome is tendered not to an individual, but to an incumbent of an office which crowns the government of the United States. The State of Virginia, the Mother of Presidents, seven of whose sons have filled that high office, to-day greets a President who for the first time meets Virginians upon Virginia soil.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

I congratulate myself that my first introduction to the people of Virginia occurs at a time when they are surrounded by the exhibits of the productiveness and prosperity of their State. Whatever there may be in honor in her history, and however much of pride there may be in her traditions, her true greatness is here exemplified. In our sisterhood of States the leading and most commanding place must be gained and kept by that commonwealth which, by the labor and intelligence of her citizens, can produce the most of those things which meet the necessities and desires of mankind.

But the full advantage of that which may be yielded to a State by the toil and ingenuity of her people is not measured alone by the money value of the products. The efforts and the struggles of her farmers and her artisans not only create new values in the field of agriculture and in the arts and manufactures, but they, at the same time, produce rugged, self-reliant, and independent men, and cultivate that product which, more than all others, ennobles a State—a patriotic, earnest American citizenship.

This will flourish in every part of the American domain. Neither drought nor rain can injure it, for it takes root in true hearts, enriched by love of country. There are no new varieties in this production. It must be the same wherever seen, and its quality is neither sound nor genuine unless it grows to deck and beautify an entire and united nation, nor unless it supports and sustains the institutions and the government founded to protect American liberty and happiness.

The present administration of the government is pledged to return for such husbandry not only promises, but actual tenders of fairness and justice, with equal protection and a full participation in national achievements. If, in the past, we have been estranged and the cultivation of American citizenship has been interrupted, your enthusiastic welcome of to-day demonstrates that there is an end to such

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

estrangement, and that the time of suspicion and fear is succeeded by an era of faith and confidence.

In such a kindly atmosphere and beneath such cheering skies I greet the people of Virginia as co-laborers in the field where grows the love of our united country.

God grant that in the years to come Virginia—the Old Dominion, the Mother of Presidents, she who looked on the nation at its birth—may not only increase her trophies of growth in agriculture and manufactures, but that she may be among the first of all the States in the cultivation of true American citizenship.

[Address at the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Harvard College, November 9, 1886.]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I find myself to-day in a company to which I am much unused, and when I see the alumni of the oldest college in the land surrounding in their right of sonship the maternal board at which I am but an invited guest, the reflection that for me there exists no alma mater gives rise to a feeling of regret, which is tempered only by the cordiality of your welcome and your reassuring kindness.

If the fact is recalled that only twelve of my twenty-one predecessors in office had the advantage of a collegiate or university education, a proof is presented of the democratic sense of our people, rather than an argument against the supreme value of the best and most liberal education in high public positions. There certainly can be no sufficient reason for any space or distance between the walks of a most classical education and the way that leads to a political place. Any disinclination on the part of the most

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

learned and cultured of our citizens to mingle in public affairs, and the consequent abandonment of political activity to those who have but little regard for student and scholar in politics, are not favorable conditions under a government such as ours, and if they have existed to a damaging extent, very recent events appear to indicate that the education and conservatism of the land are to be hereafter more plainly heard in the expression of the popular will.

Surely the splendid destiny which awaits a patriotic effort in behalf of our country will be sooner reached if the best of our thinkers and educated men shall deem it a solemn duty of citizenship to engage actively and practically in political affairs, and if the force and power of their thought and learning shall be willingly or unwillingly acknowledged in party management.

If I am to speak of the President of the United States I desire to mention, as the most pleasant and characteristic feature of our system of government, the nearness of the people to their President and other high officials. A close view afforded our citizens of the acts and conduct of those to whom they have intrusted their interests, serves as a regulator and check upon temptation and pressure in office, and is a constant reminder that diligence and faithfulness are the measure of public duty; and such a relation between President and people ought to leave but little room, in popular judgment and conscience, for unjust and false accusations and for malicious slanders invented for the purpose of undermining the people's trust and confidence in the administration of their government.

No public officer should desire to check the utmost freedom of criticism as to all official acts, but every right-thinking man must concede that the President of the United States should not be put beyond the protection which American love of fair play and decency accords to every American citizen. This trait of our national character would not

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

encourage, if their extent and tendency were fully appreciated, the silly, mean, and cowardly lies that every day are found in the columns of certain newspapers, which violate every instinct of American manliness, and in ghoulish glee desecrate every sacred relation of private life.

There is nothing in the highest office that the American people can confer which necessarily makes the President altogether selfish, scheming, and untrustworthy. On the contrary, the solemn duties which confront him tend to a sober sense of responsibility; the trust of the American people and an appreciation of their mission among the nations of the earth should make him a patriotic man, and the tales of distress which reach him from the humble and lowly, and needy and afflicted in every corner of the land, cannot fail to quicken within him every kind impulse and tender sensibility.

After all, it comes to this: The people of the United States have one and all a sacred mission to perform, and your President, not more surely than any other citizen who loves his country, must assume part of the responsibility of the demonstration to the world of the success of popular government. No man can hide his talent in a napkin, and escape the condemnation which his slothfulness deserves, or evade the stern sentence which his faithlessness invites.

Be assured, my friends, that the privilege of this day, so full of improvement, and the enjoyments of this hour, so full of pleasure and cheerful encouragements, will never be forgotten; and in parting with you now let me express my earnest hope that Harvard's alumni may always honor the venerable institution which has honored them, and that no man who forgets and neglects his duty to American citizenship will find his alma mater here.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*Executive Proclamation on the Death of ex-President Chester A. Arthur, Washington, D. C., November 18, 1886.*]

It is my painful duty to announce the death of Chester Alan Arthur, lately the President of the United States, which occurred after an illness of long duration, at an early hour this morning, at his residence in the city of New York.

Mr. Arthur was called to the chair of Chief Magistrate of the nation by a tragedy which cast its shadow over the entire government.

His assumption of the grave duties was marked by an evident and conscientious sense of his responsibilities, and an earnest desire to meet them in a patriotic and benevolent spirit.

With dignity and ability he sustained the important duties of his station, and the reputation of his personal worth, conspicuous graciousness, and patriotic fidelity will long be cherished by his fellow-countrymen.

[*From Second Annual Message, Washington, D. C., December 6, 1886.*]

To the Congress of the United States: In discharge of a constitutional duty, and following a well-established precedent in the Executive office, I herewith transmit to the Congress at its reassembling certain information concerning the state of the Union, together with such recommendations for legislative consideration as appear necessary and expedient.

The drift of sentiment in civilized communities toward

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

full recognition of the rights of property in the creations of the human intellect has brought about the adoption by many important nations of an international copyright convention, which was signed at Berne on the 18th of September, 1885.

Inasmuch as the Constitution gives to the Congress the power "to promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries," this Government did not feel warranted in becoming a signatory pending the action of Congress upon measures of international copyright now before it; but the right of adhesion to the Berne convention hereafter has been reserved. I trust the subject will receive at your hands the attention it deserves, and that the just claims of authors, so urgently pressed, will be duly heeded.

Representations continue to be made to me of the injurious effect upon American artists studying abroad and having free access to the art collections of foreign countries of maintaining a discriminating duty against the introduction of the works of their brother artists of other countries, and I am induced to repeat my recommendation for the abolition of that tax.

.

The American people, with a patriotic and grateful regard for our ex-soldiers, too broad and too sacred to be monopolized by any special advocates, are not only willing but anxious that equal and exact justice should be done to all honest claimants for pensions. In their sight the friendless and destitute soldier, dependent on public charity, if otherwise entitled, has precisely the same right to share in the provision made for those who fought their country's battles as those better able, through friends and influence, to push their claims. Every pension that is granted under

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

our present plan upon any other grounds than actual service and injury or disease incurred in such service, and every instance of the many in which pensions are increased on other grounds than the merits of the claim, work an injustice to the brave and crippled, but poor and friendless, soldier, who is entirely neglected or who must be content with the smallest sum allowed under general laws.

There are far too many neighborhoods in which are found glaring cases of inequality of treatment in the matter of pensions, and they are largely due to a yielding in the Pension Bureau to importunity on the part of those, other than the pensioner, who are especially interested, or they arise from special acts passed for the benefit of individuals.

The men who fought side by side should stand side by side when they participate in a grateful nation's kind remembrance.

Every consideration of fairness and justice to our ex-soldiers and the protection of the patriotic instinct of our citizens from perversion and violation point to the adoption of a pension system broad and comprehensive enough to cover every contingency, and which shall make unnecessary an objectionable volume of special legislation.

As long as we adhere to the principle of granting pensions for service, and disability as the result of the service, the allowance of pensions should be restricted to cases presenting these features.

Every patriotic heart responds to a tender consideration for those who, having served their country long and well, are reduced to destitution and dependence, not as an incident of their service, but with advancing age or through sickness or misfortune. We are all tempted by the contemplation of such a condition to supply relief, and are often impatient of the limitations of public duty. Yielding to no one in the desire to indulge this feeling of con-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

sideration, I can not rid myself of the conviction that if these ex-soldiers are to be relieved they and their cause are entitled to the benefit of an enactment under which relief may be claimed as a right, and that such relief should be granted under the sanction of law, not in evasion of it; nor should such worthy objects of care, all equally entitled, be remitted to the unequal operation of sympathy or the tender mercies of social and political influence, with their unjust discriminations.

The discharged soldiers and sailors of the country are our fellow-citizens, and interested with us in the passage and faithful execution of wholesome laws. They can not be swerved from their duty of citizenship by artful appeals to their spirit of brotherhood born of common peril and suffering, nor will they exact as a test of devotion to their welfare a willingness to neglect public duty in their behalf.

The relations of labor to capital and of laboring men to their employers are of the utmost concern to every patriotic citizen. When these are strained and distorted, unjustifiable claims are apt to be insisted upon by both interests, and in the controversy which results the welfare of all and the prosperity of the country are jeopardized. Any intervention of the General Government, within the limits of its constitutional authority, to avert such a condition should be willingly accorded.

In a special message transmitted to the Congress at its last session I suggested the enlargement of our present Labor Bureau and adding to its present functions the power of arbitration in cases where differences arise between employer and employed. When these differences reach such a stage as to result in the interruption of commerce between the States, the application of this remedy by the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

General Government might be regarded as entirely within its constitutional powers. And I think we might reasonably hope that such arbitrators, if carefully selected and if entitled to the confidence of the parties to be affected, would be voluntarily called to the settlement of controversies of less extent and not necessarily within the domain of Federal regulation.

I am of the opinion that this suggestion is worthy the attention of the Congress.

But after all has been done by the passage of laws, either Federal or State, to relieve a situation full of solicitude, much more remains to be accomplished by the reinstatement and cultivation of a true American sentiment which recognizes the equality of American citizenship. This, in the light of our traditions and in loyalty to the spirit of our institutions, would teach that a hearty co-operation on the part of all interests is the surest path to national greatness and the happiness of all our people; that capital should, in recognition of the brotherhood of our citizenship and in a spirit of American fairness, generously accord to labor its just compensation and consideration, and that contented labor is capital's best protection and faithful ally. It would teach, too, that the diverse situations of our people are inseparable from our civilization; that every citizen should in his sphere be a contributor to the general good; that capital does not necessarily tend to the oppression of labor, and that violent disturbances and disorders alienate from their promoters true American sympathy and kindly feeling.

.

The continued operation of the law relating to our civil service has added the most convincing proofs of its necessity and usefulness. It is a fact worthy of note that every public officer who has a just idea of his duty to the people

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

testifies to the value of this reform. Its staunchest friends are found among those who understand it best, and its warmest supporters are those who are restrained and protected by its requirements.

The meaning of such restraint and protection is not appreciated by those who want places under the Government regardless of merit and efficiency, nor by those who insist that the selection of such places should rest upon a proper credential showing active partisan work. They mean to public officers, if not their lives, the only opportunity afforded them to attend to public business, and they mean to the good people of the country the better performance of the work of their Government.

It is exceedingly strange that the scope and nature of this reform are so little understood and that so many things not included within its plan are called by its name. When cavil yields more fully to examination, the system will have large additions to the number of its friends.

Our civil-service reform may be imperfect in some of its details; it may be misunderstood and opposed; it may not always be faithfully applied; its designs may sometimes miscarry through mistake or willful intent; it may sometimes tremble under the assaults of its enemies or languish under the misguided zeal of impracticable friends; but if the people of this country ever submit to the banishment of its underlying principle from the operation of their Government they will abandon the surest guaranty of the safety and success of American institutions. I invoke for this reform the cheerful and ungrudging support of the Congress.

.

In conclusion I earnestly invoke such wise action on the part of the people's legislators as will subserve the public good and demonstrate during the remaining days of the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

Congress as at present organized its ability and inclination to so meet the people's needs that it shall be gratefully remembered by an expectant constituency.

[*To a Member of the Cardinal Gibbons Reception Committee, Washington, D. C., January 26, 1887.*]

My Dear Sir: I have received from you, as one of the Committee of the Catholic Club of Philadelphia, an invitation to attend a banquet to be given by the club, on Tuesday evening, February 8, in honor of His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons. The thoughtfulness which prompted this invitation is gratefully appreciated; and I regret that my public duties here will prevent its acceptance. I should be glad to join in the contemplated expression of respect to be tendered to the distinguished head of the Catholic Church in the United States, whose personal acquaintance I very much enjoy, and who is so worthily entitled to the esteem of all his fellow-citizens.

I thank you for the admirable letter which accompanies my invitation, in which you announce as one of the doctrines of your club "that a good and exemplary Catholic must *ex necessitate rei* be a good and exemplary citizen," and that "the teachings of both human and Divine law thus merging in the one word, duty, form the only union of Church and State that a civil and religious government can recognize."

I know you will permit me, as a Protestant, to supplement this noble sentiment by the expression of my conviction that the same influence and result follow a sincere and consistent devotion to the teachings of every religious creed which is based upon Divine sanction.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

A wholesome religious faith thus inures to the perpetuity, the safety and the prosperity of our Republic, by exacting the due observance of civil law, the preservation of public order, and a proper regard for the rights of all; and thus are its adherents better fitted for good citizenship and confirmed in a sure and steadfast patriotism. It seems to me, too, that the conception of duty to the State which is derived from religious precept involves a sense of personal responsibility, which is of the greatest value in the operation of the government by the people. It will be a fortunate day for our country when every citizen feels that he has an ever-present duty to perform to the State which he cannot escape from or neglect without being false to his religious as well as his civil allegiance.

Wishing for your club the utmost success in its efforts to bring about this result.

[Letter to George Steele, Esq., President American Fishery Union, and Others, Gloucester, Mass., Washington, D. C., April 7, 1887.]

Gentlemen: I have received your letter lately addressed to me, and have given full consideration to the expression of the views and wishes therein contained, in relation to the existing differences between the governments of Great Britain and the United States, growing out of the refusal to award to our citizens, engaged in fishing enterprises, the privileges to which they are entitled, either under treaty stipulations or the guarantees of international comity and neighborly concession.

I sincerely trust the apprehension you express, of unjust and unfriendly treatment of American fishermen lawfully found in Canadian waters, will not be realized. But

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

if such apprehension should prove to be well founded, I earnestly hope that no fault or inconsiderate action of any of our citizens will in the least weaken the just position of our government, or deprive us of the universal sympathy and support to which we should be entitled.

The action of this administration since June, 1885, when the fishing articles of the treaty of 1871 were terminated, under the notification which had two years before been given to our government, has been fully disclosed by the correspondence between the representatives and the appropriate departments of the respective governments, with which I am apprised by your letter you are entirely familiar. An examination of this correspondence has doubtless satisfied you that in no case have the rights or privileges of American fishermen been overlooked or neglected, but that, on the contrary they have been sedulously insisted upon and cared for by every means within the control of the Executive branch of the government.

The Act of Congress approved March 3, 1887, authorizing a course of retaliation through Executive action, in the event of a continuance on the part of the British American authorities of unfriendly conduct and treaty violations affecting American fishermen, has devolved upon the President of the United States exceedingly grave and solemn responsibilities, comprehending highly important consequences to our national character and dignity, and involving extremely valuable commercial intercourse between the British Possessions in North America and the people of the United States.

I understand the main purpose of your letter is to suggest that, in case recourse to the retaliatory measures authorized by this Act should be invited by unjust treatment of our fishermen in the future, the object of such retaliation might be fully accomplished by "prohibiting Canadian-caught fish from entry into the ports of the United States."

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

The existing controversy is one in which two nations are the parties concerned. The retaliation contemplated by the Act of Congress is to be enforced, not to protect solely any particular interest, however meritorious or valuable, but to maintain the national honor, and thus protect all our people. In this view, the violation of American fishery rights, and unjust or unfriendly acts toward a portion of our citizens engaged in this business, are but the occasion for action, and constitute a national affront which gives birth to or may justify retaliation. This measure, once resorted to, its effectiveness and value may well depend upon the thoroughness and extent of its application; and in the performance of international duties, the enforcement of international rights, and the protection of our citizens, this government and the people of the United States must act as a unit—all intent upon attaining the best result of retaliation upon the basis of a maintenance of national honor and dignity.

A nation seeking by any means to maintain its honor, dignity, and integrity is engaged in protecting the rights of its people; and if in such efforts particular interests are injured and special advantages forfeited, these things should be patriotically borne for the public good.

An immense volume of population, manufactures, and agricultural productions, and the marine tonnage and railways to which these have given activity, all largely the result of intercourse between the United States and British America, and the natural growth of a full half century of good neighborhood and friendly communication, form an aggregate of material wealth and incidental relations of most impressive magnitude. I fully appreciate these things, and am not unmindful of the great number of our people who are concerned in such vast and diversified interests.

In the performance of the serious duty which the Con-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

gress has imposed upon me, and in the exercise upon just occasion of the power conferred under the Act referred to, I shall deem myself bound to inflict no unnecessary damage or injury upon any portion of our people; but I shall, nevertheless, be unflinchingly guided by a sense of what the self-respect and dignity of the nation demand. In the maintenance of these, and in the support of the honor of the government, beneath which every citizen may repose in safety, no sacrifice of personal or private interests shall be considered as against the general welfare.

[Address at the Unveiling of the Garfield Statue, Washington, D. C., May 12, 1887.]

Fellow-Citizens: In performance of the duty assigned to me on this occasion, I hereby accept, on behalf of the people of the United States, this completed and beautiful statue.

Amid the interchange of fraternal greetings between the survivors of the Army of the Cumberland and their former foes upon the battlefield, and while the Union General and the people's President awaited burial, the common grief of these magnanimous soldiers and mourning citizens found expression in the determination to erect this tribute to American greatness; and thus, to-day, in its symmetry and beauty, it presents a sign of animosities forgotten, an emblem of a brotherhood redeemed, and a token of a nation restored.

Monuments and statues multiply throughout the land, fittingly illustrative of the love and affection of our grateful people and commemorating brave and patriotic sacrifices in war, fame in peaceful pursuits, or honor in public station.

But from this day forth there shall stand at our seat of

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

government this statue of a distinguished citizen who, in his life and services, combined all these things and more, which challenge admiration in American character—loving tenderness in every domestic relation, bravery on the field of battle, fame and distinction in our halls of legislation, and the highest honor and dignity in the Chief Magistracy of the nation.

This stately effigy shall not fail to teach every beholder that the source of American greatness is confined to no condition, nor dependent alone for its growth and development upon favorable surroundings. The genius of our national life beckons to usefulness and honor those in every sphere, and offers the highest preferment to manly ambition and sturdy honest effort, chastened and consecrated by patriotic hopes and aspirations. As long as this statue stands, let it be proudly remembered that to every American citizen the way is open to fame and station, until he

Moving up from high to higher,
Becomes on Fortune's crowning slope
The pillar of a people's hope,
The center of a World's desire.

Nor can we forget that it also teaches our people a sad and distressing lesson; and the thoughtful citizen who views its fair proportions cannot fail to recall the tragedy of a death which brought grief and mourning to every household in the land. But, while American citizenship stands aghast and affrighted that murder and assassination should lurk in the midst of a free people and strike down the head of their government, a fearless search and the discovery of the origin and hiding place of these hateful and unnatural things should be followed by a solemn resolve to purge forever from our political methods and from the operation of our government, the perversions and misconceptions which gave birth to passionate and bloody thoughts.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

If, from this hour, our admiration for the bravery and nobility of American manhood, and our faith in the possibilities and opportunities of American citizenship be renewed; if our appreciation of the blessing of a restored Union and love for our government be strengthened, and if our watchfulness against the dangers of a mad chase after partisan spoils be quickened, the dedication of this statue to the people of the United States will not be in vain.

[*Letter to John W. Frazier, Secretary of the Reunion of Union and ex-Confederate Soldiers held at Gettysburg, July 2, 1887. Washington, June 24, 1887.*]

My Dear Sir: I have received your invitation to attend, as a guest of the Philadelphia Brigade, a reunion of ex-Confederate soldiers of Pickett's Division who survived their terrible charge at Gettysburg, and those of the Union Army still living, by whom it was heroically resisted.

The fraternal meeting of these soldiers upon the battlefield where twenty-four years ago, in deadly affray, they fiercely sought each other's lives, where they saw their comrades fall, and where all their thoughts were of vengeance and destruction, will illustrate the generous impulse of brave men and their honest desire for peace and reconciliation.

The friendly assault there to be made will be resistless, because inspired by American chivalry; and its results will be glorious, because conquered hearts will be its trophies of success. Thereafter this battlefield will be consecrated by a victory which shall presage the end of the bitterness of strife, the exposure of the insincerity which conceals hatred by professions of kindness, the condemnation of frenzied

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

appeals to passion for unworthy purposes, and the beating down of all that stands in the way of the destiny of our united country.

While those who fought, and who have so much to forgive, lead in the pleasant ways of peace, how wicked appear the traffic in sectional hate and the betrayal of patriotic sentiment!

It surely cannot be wrong to desire the settled quiet which lights for our entire country the path to prosperity and greatness; nor need the lessons of the war be forgotten and its results jeopardized in the wish for that genuine fraternity which insures national pride and glory.

I should be very glad to accept your invitation and be with you at that interesting reunion, but other arrangements already made and my official duties here will prevent my doing so.

Hoping that the occasion will be as successful and useful as its promoters can desire.

*[Address at the Centennial of Clinton, N. Y.,
July 13, 1887.]*

I am by no means certain of my standing here among those who celebrate the centennial of Clinton's existence as a village. My recollections of the place reach backward but about thirty-six years, and my residence here covered a very brief period. But these recollections are fresh and distinct to-day, and pleasant too, though not entirely free from somber coloring.

It was here, in the school at the foot of College Hill, that I began my preparation for college life and enjoyed the anticipation of a collegiate education. We had two teachers in our school. One became afterward a judge in Chicago,

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

and the other passed through the legal profession to the ministry, and within the last two years was living farther West. I read a little Latin with two other boys in the class. I think I floundered through four books of the *Æneid*. The other boys had nice large modern editions of Virgil, with big print and plenty of notes to help one over the hard places. Mine was a little old-fashioned copy which my father used before me, with no notes, and which was only translated by hard knocks. I believe I have forgiven those other boys for their persistent refusal to allow me the use of the notes in their books. At any rate, they do not seem to have been overtaken by any dire retribution, for one of them is now a rich and prosperous lawyer in Buffalo, and the other is a professor in your college and the orator of to-day's celebration. The struggles with ten lines of Virgil, which at first made up my daily task, are amusing as remembered now; but with them I am also forced to remember that, instead of being the beginning of the higher education for which I honestly longed, they occurred near the end of my school advantages. This suggests a disappointment which no lapse of time can alleviate, and a deprivation I have sadly felt with every passing year.

I remember Benoni Butler and his store. I don't know whether he was an habitual poet or not, but I heard him recite one poem of his own manufacture which embodied an account of a travel to or from Clinton in the early days. I can recall but two lines of this poem, as follows:

Paris Hill next came in sight;
And there we tarried overnight.

I remember the next-door neighbors, Doctors Bissell and Scollard—and good, kind neighbors they were, too—not your cross, crabbed kind who could not bear to see a boy about. It always seemed to me that they drove very fine

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

horses; and for that reason I thought they must be extremely rich.

I don't know that I should indulge further recollections that must seem very little like centennial history; but I want to establish as well as I can my right to be here. I might speak of the college faculty, who cast such a pleasing though sober shade of dignity over the place, and who, with other educated and substantial citizens, made up the best of social life. I was a boy then, and slightly felt the atmosphere of this condition; but, notwithstanding, I believe I absorbed a lasting appreciation of the intelligence and refinement which made this a delightful home.

I know that you will bear with me, my friends, if I yield to the impulse which the mention of home creates, and speak of my own home here, and how through the memories which cluster about it I may claim a tender relationship to your village. Here it was that our family circle entire, parents and children, lived day after day in loving and affectionate converse; and here, for the last time, we met around the family altar and thanked God that our household was unbroken by death or separation. We never met together in any other home after leaving this, and Death followed closely our departure. And thus it is that, as with advancing years I survey the havoc Death has made, and as the thoughts of my early home become more sacred, the remembrance of this pleasant spot, so related, is revived and chastened.

I can only add my thanks for the privilege of being with you to-day, and wish for the village of Clinton in the future a continuation and increase of the blessing of the past.

I am inclined to content myself on this occasion with an acknowledgment, on behalf of the people of the United States, of the compliment which you have paid to the office which represents their sovereignty. But such an acknowl-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

edgment suggests an idea which I cannot refrain from dwelling upon for a moment.

That the office of President of the United States does represent the sovereignty of sixty millions of free people, is, to my mind, a statement full of solemnity; for this sovereignty I conceive to be the working out or enforcement of the divine right of man to govern himself and a manifestation of God's plan concerning the human race.

Though the struggles of political parties to secure the incumbency of this office, and the questionable methods sometimes resorted to for its possession may not be in keeping with this idea, and though the deceit practiced to mislead the people in their choice, and its too frequent influence on their suffrage may surprise us, these things should never lead us astray in our estimate of this exalted position and its value and dignity.

And though your fellow-citizen who may be chosen to perform for a time the duties of this highest place should be badly selected, and though the best attainable results may not be reached by his administration, yet the exacting watchfulness of the people, freed from the disturbing turmoil of partisan excitement, ought to prevent mischance to the office which represents their sovereignty, and should reduce to a minimum the danger of harm to the State.

I by no means underestimate the importance of the utmost care and circumspection in the selection of the incumbent. On the contrary, I believe there is no obligation of citizenship that demands more thought and conscientious deliberation than this. But I am speaking of the citizen's duty to the office and its selected incumbent.

This duty is only performed when, in the interest of the entire people, the full exercise of the powers of the Chief Magistracy is insisted on, and when, for the people's safety, a due regard for the limitations placed upon the office is exacted. These things should be enforced by the mani-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

festation of a calm and enlightened public opinion. But this should not be simulated by the mad clamor of disappointed interest, which, without regard for the general good, or allowance for the exercise of official judgment, would degrade the office by forcing compliance with selfish demands.

If your President should not be of the people and one of your fellow-citizens, he would be utterly unfit for the position, incapable of understanding the people's wants and careless of their desires. That he is one of the people implies that he is subject to human frailty and error. But he should be permitted to claim but little toleration for mistakes; the generosity of his fellow-citizens should alone decree how far good intentions should excuse his shortcomings.

Watch well, then, this high office, the most precious possession of American citizenship. Demand for it the most complete devotion on the part of him to whose custody it may be intrusted, and protect it not less vigilantly against unworthy assaults from without.

Thus will you perform a sacred duty to yourselves and to those who may follow you in the enjoyment of the freest institutions which Heaven has ever vouchsafed to man.

[Address at the Laying of the Corner Stone of the Y. M. C. A. Building in Buffalo, September 7, 1882.]

Ladies and Gentlemen: I desire to express the sincere pleasure and gratification I experience in joining with you in the exercises of this afternoon. An event is here marked which I deem a most important one, and one well worthy of the attention of all good citizens. We, this day, bring into a prominent place an institution which, it seems to me, can-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

not fail to impress itself upon our future with the best results.

Perhaps a majority of our citizens have heard of the Young Men's Christian Association; and perchance the name has suggested, in an indefinite way, certain efforts to do good and to aid generally in the spread of religious teaching. I venture to say, however, that a comparatively small part of our community has really known the full extent of the work of this Association; and many have thought of it as an institution well enough in its way—a proper enough outlet for a superabundance of religious enthusiasm—doing, of course, no harm, and perhaps very little good. Some have aided it by their contributions from a sense of Christian duty, but more have passed by on the other side.

We have been too much in the habit of regarding institutions of this kind as entirely disconnected from any considerations of municipal growth or prosperity, and have too often considered splendid structures, active trade, increasing commerce, and growing manufactures as the only things worthy of our care as public-spirited citizens. A moment's reflection reminds us that this is wrong. The citizen is a better business man if he is a Christian gentleman, and surely business is not the less prosperous and successful if conducted on Christian principles. This is an extremely practical, and perhaps not a very elevated, view to take of the purposes and benefits of the Young Men's Christian Association. But I assert that if it did no more than to impress some religious principles upon the business of our city, it would be worthy of generous support. And when we consider the difference, as a member of the community, between the young man who, under the influence of such an association, has learned his duty to his fellows and to the State, and that one who, subject to no moral restraint, yields to temptation and thus becomes vicious and criminal, the im-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

portance of an institution among us which leads our youth and young men in the way of morality and good citizenship must be freely admitted.

I have thus only referred to this association as in some manner connected with our substantial prosperity. There is a higher theme connected with this subject which touches the welfare, temporal and spiritual, of the objects of its care. Upon this I will not dwell. I cannot, however, pass on without invoking the fullest measure of honor and consideration due to the self-sacrificing and disinterested efforts of the men—and women, too—who have labored amid trials and discouragements to plant this Association firmly upon a sure foundation. We all hope and expect that our city has entered upon a course of unprecedented prosperity and growth. But to my mind not all the signs about us point more surely to real greatness than the event which we here celebrate.

Good and pure government lies at the foundation of the wealth and progress of every community.

As the Chief Executive of this proud city, I congratulate all my fellow-citizens that to-day we lay the foundation stone of an edifice which shall be a beautiful adornment, and, what is more important, shall inclose within its walls such earnest Christian endeavors as must make easier all our efforts to administer, safely and honestly, a good municipal government. I commend the Young Men's Christian Association to the cheerful and generous support of every citizen, and trust that long after the men who have wrought so well in establishing these foundations shall have surrendered lives well spent, this building shall stand a monument of well directed, pious labor, to shed its benign influence on generations yet to come.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*Address at the Banquet of the Hibernian Society, Philadelphia, Pa., September 17, 1887.*]

I should hardly think my participation in the centennial celebration was satisfactory if I had not the opportunity of meeting the representatives of the society which, through its antiquity and associations, bears close relations on the events of the time we commemorate. That you celebrate this occasion is a reminder of the fact that in the troublous and perilous days of our country those whose names stood upon your roll of membership fought for the cause of free government and for the homes which they had found upon our soil.

No society or corporation, I am sure, has in its charter, or in its traditions and history, a better or more valuable certificate of its patriotic worth and character than you have, and which is found in the words of Washington, who, in 1782, declared of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, of which this association is the successor, that it "has always been noted for the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are engaged." These are priceless words, and they render most fitting the part which the members of the Hibernian Society are to-day assuming.

I noticed upon a letter which I have received from your secretary that one object of your society is stated to be "for the relief of emigrants from Ireland," and this leads me to reflect how nearly allied love of country is to a kindly humanity, and how naturally such a benevolent purpose of this society, as the assistance and relief of your stranger and needy emigrants, follows the patriotism in which it had its origin.

Long may the Hibernian Society live and prosper, and

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

long may its benevolent and humane work be prosecuted. And when another centennial of the Constitution is celebrated, may those who shall then form its membership be as fully inspired with the patriotism of its history and traditions, and as ready to join in the general felicitation, as the men I see about me here.

[Address at the Constitution Centennial, Philadelphia, Pa., September 17, 1887.]

I deem it a very great honor and pleasure to participate in these impressive exercises.

Every American citizen should on this centennial day rejoice in his citizenship.

He will not find the cause of his rejoicing in the antiquity of his country, for among the nations of the earth his stands with the youngest. He will not find it in the glitter and the pomp that bedeck a monarch and dazzle abject and servile subjects, for in his country the people themselves are rulers. He will not find it in the story of bloody foreign conquests, for his government has been content to care for its own domain and people.

He should rejoice because the work of framing our Constitution was completed one hundred years ago to-day, and also because, when completed, it established a free government. He should rejoice because this Constitution and government have survived so long, and also because they have survived so many blessings and have demonstrated so fully the strength and value of popular rule. He should rejoice in the wondrous growth and achievements of the past one hundred years, and also in the glorious promise of the Constitution through centuries to come.

We shall fail to be duly thankful for all that was done for us one hundred years ago, unless we realize the diffi-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

culties of the work then in hand, and the dangers avoided in the task of forming "a more perfect union" between disjointed and inharmonious States, with interests and opinions radically diverse and stubbornly maintained.

The perplexities of the convention which undertook the labor of preparing our Constitution are apparent in these earnest words of one of the most illustrious of its members:

The small progress we have made after four or five weeks of close attendance and continued reasonings with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question—several of the last producing as many noes as yeas—is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We, indeed, seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics which, having been formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist. In this situation of this assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not heretofore once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Light to illuminate our understandings?

And this wise man, proposing to his fellows that the aid and blessing of God should be invoked in their extremity, declared:

I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of the truth that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings that "except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without his concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel. We shall be divided by our little partial, local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a byword down to future ages; and, what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

In the face of all discouragements, the fathers of the republic labored on for four long, weary months, in alternate hope and fear, but always with rugged resolve, never faltering in a sturdy endeavor sanctified by a prophetic sense of the value to posterity of their success, and always with unflinching faith in the principles which make the foundation of a government by the people.

At last their task was done. It is related that upon the back of the chair occupied by Washington as the president of the Convention a sun was painted, and that as the delegates were signing the completed Constitution one of them said: "I have often and often, in the course of the session, and in the solicitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the president without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

We stand to-day on the spot where this rising sun emerged from political night and darkness; and in its own bright meridian light we mark its glorious way. Clouds have sometimes obscured its rays, and dreadful storms have made us fear; but God has held it in its course, and through its life-giving warmth has performed his latest miracle in the creation of this wondrous land and people.

As we look down the past century to the origin of our Constitution, as we contemplate its trials and its triumphs, as we realize how completely the principles upon which it is based have met every national peril and every national need, how devoutly should we confess, with Franklin, "God governs in the affairs of men;" and how solemn should be the reflection that to our hands is committed this ark of the people's covenant, and that ours is the duty to shield it from impious hands. We receive it sealed with the tests of a century. It has been found sufficient in the past; and in all the future years it will be found sufficient, if the American people are true to their sacred trust.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

Another centennial day will come, and millions yet unborn will inquire concerning our stewardship and the safety of their Constitution. God grant that they may find it unimpaired; and as we rejoice in the patriotism and devotion of those who lived a hundred years ago, so may others who follow us rejoice in our fidelity and in our jealous love for constitutional liberty.

[Address at the Dinner of the Historical and Scientific Societies of Philadelphia, Pa., September 17, 1887.]

On such a day as this, and in the atmosphere that now surrounds him, I feel that the President of the United States should be thoughtfully modest and humble. The great office he occupies stands to-day in the presence of its maker; and it is especially fitting for this servant of the people and creature of the Constitution, amid the impressive scenes of this centennial occasion, by a rigid self-examination to be assured concerning his loyalty and obedience to the law of his existence. He will find that the rules prescribed for his guidance require for the performance of his duty, not the intellect or attainments which would raise him far above the feeling and sentiment of the plain people of the land, but rather such a knowledge of their condition, and sympathy with their wants and needs as will bring him near to them. And though he may be almost appalled by the weight of his responsibility and the solemnity of his situation, he cannot fail to find comfort and encouragement in the success of the fathers of the Constitution, wrought from their simple, patriotic devotion to the rights and interests of the people. Surely he may hope that, if reverently invoked, the spirit which gave the Con-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

stitution life, will be sufficient for its successful operation and the accomplishment of its beneficent purposes.

Because they are brought nearest the events and scenes which marked the birth of American institutions, the people of Philadelphia should, of all our citizens, be more imbued with the broadest patriotism. The first Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention met here, and Philadelphia still has in her keeping Carpenter's Hall, Independence Hall and its bell, and the grave of Franklin.

As I look about me and see here represented the societies that express so largely the culture of Philadelphia, its love of art, its devotion to science, its regard for the broadest knowledge, and its studious care for historical research—societies some of which antedate the Constitution—I feel that I am in notable company. To you is given the duty of preserving for your city, for all your fellow-countrymen, and for mankind, the traditions and the incidents related to the freest and best government ever vouchsafed to man. It is a sacred trust, and as time leads our government further and further from the date of its birth, may you solemnly remember that a nation exacts of you that these traditions and incidents shall never be tarnished nor neglected, but that, brightly burnished, they may always be held aloft, fastening the gaze of a patriotic people and keeping alive their love and reverence for the Constitution

*[From Address at the Laying of the Y. M. C. A.
Building Corner Stone, Kansas City, Mo.,
October 13, 1887.]*

In the busy activities of our daily life we are apt to neglect instrumentalities which are quietly, but effectually doing most important service in molding our national char-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

acter. Among these, and challenging but little notice compared with their valuable results, are the Young Men's Christian Associations scattered throughout our country. All will admit the supreme importance of that honesty and fixed principle which rest upon Christian motives and purposes, and all will acknowledge the sad and increasing temptations which beset our young men and lure them to their destruction.

[Letter to the Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D. C., November 4, 1887.]

Gentlemen: I have received your invitation to attend the annual banquet of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York on the evening of the 15th instant. It would certainly give me great pleasure to be present on that occasion and meet those who, to a great extent, have in charge the important business interests represented in your association. I am sure, too, that I should derive profit as well as pleasure from such a meeting.

Those charged by the people with the management of their government cannot fail to enhance their usefulness by a familiarity with business conditions and intimacy with business men, since good government has no more important mission than the stimulation and protection of the activities of the country.

This relation between governments and business suggests the thought that the members of such associations as yours owe to themselves and to all the people of the land a thoughtful discharge of their political obligations, guided by their practical knowledge of affairs, to the end that there may be impressed upon the administration of our govern-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

ment a business character and tendency free from the diversion of passion, and unmoved by sudden gusts of excitement.

But the most wholesome purpose of their political action will not be accomplished by an insistence upon their exclusive claims and selfish benefits, regardless of the welfare of the people at large. Interdependence is so thoroughly an element in our national existence that a patriotic and generous heed to the general good sense will best subserve every particular interest.

I regret that my official duties and engagements prevent the acceptance of your courteous invitation, and express the hope that the banquet may be a most enjoyable and interesting occasion to those present.

[*From Third Annual Message, Washington, D. C., December 6, 1887.*]

To the Congress of the United States: You are confronted at the threshold of your legislative duties with a condition of the national finances which imperatively demands immediate and careful consideration.

The amount of money annually exacted, through the operation of present laws, from the industries and necessities of the people largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government.

When we consider that the theory of our institutions guarantees to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share toward the careful and economical maintenance of the Government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

justice. This wrong inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public Treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder.

This condition of our Treasury is not altogether new, and it has more than once of late been submitted to the people's representatives in the Congress, who alone can apply a remedy. And yet the situation still continues, with aggravated incidents, more than ever presaging financial convulsion and widespread disaster.

It will not do to neglect this situation because its dangers are not now palpably imminent and apparent. They exist none the less certainly, and await the unforeseen and unexpected occasion when suddenly they will be precipitated upon us.

It has been suggested that the present bonded debt might be refunded at a less rate of interest and the difference between the old and new security paid in cash, thus finding use for the surplus in the Treasury. The success of this plan, it is apparent, must depend upon the volition of the holders of the present bonds; and it is not entirely certain that the inducement which must be offered them would result in more financial benefit to the Government than the purchase of bonds, while the latter proposition would reduce the principal of the debt by actual payment instead of extending it.

The proposition to deposit the money held by the Government in banks throughout the country for use by the

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

people is, it seems to me, exceedingly objectionable in principle, as establishing too close a relationship between the operations of the Government Treasury and the business of the country and too extensive a commingling of their money, thus fostering an unnatural reliance in private business upon public funds. If this scheme should be adopted, it should only be done as a temporary expedient to meet an urgent necessity. Legislative and executive effort should generally be in the opposite direction, and should have a tendency to divorce, as much and as fast as can be safely done, the Treasury Department from private enterprise.

Of course it is not expected that unnecessary and extravagant appropriations will be made for the purpose of avoiding the accumulation of an excess of revenue. Such expenditure, besides the demoralization of all just conceptions of public duty which it entails, stimulates a habit of reckless improvidence not in the least consistent with the mission of our people or the high and beneficent purposes of our Government.

I have deemed it my duty to thus bring to the knowledge of my countrymen, as well as to the attention of their representatives charged with the responsibility of legislative relief, the gravity of our financial situation. The failure of the Congress heretofore to provide against the dangers which it was quite evident the very nature of the difficulty must necessarily produce caused a condition of financial distress and apprehension since your last adjournment which taxed to the utmost all the authority and expedients within executive control; and these appear now to be exhausted. If disaster results from the continued inaction of Congress, the responsibility must rest where it belongs.

Though the situation thus far considered is fraught with danger which should be fully realized, and though it presents features of wrong to the people as well as peril to the country, it is but a result growing out of a perfectly

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

palpable and apparent cause, constantly reproducing the same alarming circumstances—a congested National Treasury and a depleted monetary condition in the business of the country. It need hardly be stated that while the present situation demands a remedy, we can only be saved from a like predicament in the future by the removal of its cause.

Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put into the public Treasury, consists of a tariff or duty levied upon importations from abroad and internal-revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that none of the things subjected to internal-revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessaries. There appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardship to any portion of the people.

But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never used and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and paid

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public Treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the Government's income; and in a readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which, without regard to the public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits instead of moderately profitable returns. As the volume and diversity of our national activities increase, new recruits are added to those who desire a continuation of the advantages which they conceive the present system of tariff taxation directly affords them. So stubbornly have all efforts to reform the present condition been resisted by those of our fellow-citizens thus engaged that they can hardly complain of the suspicion, entertained to a certain extent, that there exists an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage.

We are in the midst of centennial celebrations, and with

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

becoming pride we rejoice in American skill and ingenuity, in American energy and enterprise, and in the wonderful natural advantages and resources developed by a century's national growth. Yet when an attempt is made to justify a scheme which permits a tax to be laid upon every consumer in the land for the benefit of our manufacturers, quite beyond a reasonable demand for governmental regard, it suits the purposes of advocacy to call our manufactures infant industries still needing the highest and greatest degree of favor and fostering care that can be wrung from Federal legislation.

It is also said that the increase in the price of domestic manufactures resulting from the present tariff is necessary in order that higher wages may be paid to our workmen employed in manufactories than are paid for what is called the pauper labor of Europe. All will acknowledge the force of an argument which involves the welfare and liberal compensation of our laboring people. Our labor is honorable in the eyes of every American citizen; and as it lies at the foundation of our development and progress, it is entitled, without affectation or hypocrisy, to the utmost regard. The standard of our laborers' life should not be measured by that of any other country less favored, and they are entitled to their full share of all our advantages.

In speaking of the increased cost to the consumer of our home manufactures resulting from a duty laid upon imported articles of the same description, the fact is not overlooked that competition among our domestic producers sometimes has the effect of keeping the price of their products below the highest limit allowed by such duty. But it is notorious that this competition is too often strangled by combinations quite prevalent at this time, and frequently called trusts, which have for their object the regulation of the supply and price of commodities made and sold by mem-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

bers of the combination. The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes.

If, however, in the absence of such combination, a healthy and free competition reduces the price of any particular dutiable article of home production below the limit which it might otherwise reach under our tariff laws, and if with such reduced price its manufacture continues to thrive, it is entirely evident that one thing has been discovered which should be carefully scrutinized in an effort to reduce taxation.

The necessity of combination to maintain the price of any commodity to the tariff point furnishes proof that someone is willing to accept lower prices for such commodity and that such prices are remunerative; and lower prices produced by competition prove the same thing. Thus where either of these conditions exists a case would seem to be presented for an easy reduction of taxation.

The considerations which have been presented touching our tariff laws are intended only to enforce an earnest recommendation that the surplus revenues of the Government be prevented by the reduction of our customs duties, and at the same time to emphasize a suggestion that in accomplishing this purpose we may discharge a double duty to our people by granting to them a measure of relief from tariff taxation in quarters where it is most needed and from sources where it can be most fairly and justly accorded.

Nor can the presentation made of such considerations be with any degree of fairness regarded as evidence of unfriendliness toward our manufacturing interests or of any lack of appreciation of their value and importance.

These interests constitute a leading and most substantial element of our national greatness and furnish the proud proof of our country's progress. But if in the emergency that presses upon us our manufacturers are asked to surrender something for the public good and to avert disaster,

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

their patriotism, as well as a grateful recognition of advantages already afforded, should lead them to willing co-operation. No demand is made that they shall forego all the benefits of governmental regard; but they can not fail to be admonished of their duty, as well as their enlightened self-interest and safety, when they are reminded of the fact that financial panic and collapse, to which the present condition tends, afford no greater shelter or protection to our manufactures than to other important enterprises. Opportunity for safe, careful, and deliberate reform is now offered; and none of us should be unmindful of a time when an abused and irritated people, heedless of those who have resisted timely and reasonable relief, may insist upon a radical and sweeping rectification of their wrongs.

The difficulty attending a wise and fair revision of our tariff laws is not underestimated. It will require on the part of the Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country.

Under our present laws more than 4,000 articles are subject to duty. Many of these do not in any way compete with our own manufactures, and many are hardly worth attention as subjects of revenue. A considerable reduction can be made in the aggregate by adding them to the free list. The taxation of luxuries presents no features of hardship; but the necessaries of life used and consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened.

The radical reduction of the duties imposed upon raw material used in manufactures, or its free importation, is of course an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessaries. It would not only relieve them from the increased cost caused by the tariff on such material, but

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

the manufactured product being thus cheapened that part of the tariff now laid upon such product, as a compensation to our manufacturers for the present price of raw material, could be accordingly modified. Such reduction or free importation would serve besides to largely reduce the revenue. It is not apparent how such a change can have any injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material. Thus our people might have the opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limits of home consumption, saving them from the depression, interruption in business, and loss caused by a glutted domestic market and affording their employees more certain and steady labor, with its resulting quiet and contentment.

The question thus imperatively presented for solution should be approached in a spirit higher than partisanship and considered in the light of that regard for patriotic duty which should characterize the action of those intrusted with the weal of a confiding people. But the obligation to declared party policy and principle is not wanting to urge prompt and effective action. Both of the great political parties now represented in the Government have by repeated and authoritative declarations condemned the condition of our laws which permit the collection from the people of unnecessary revenue, and have in the most solemn manner promised its correction, and neither as citizens nor partisans are our countrymen in a mood to condone the deliberate violation of these pledges.

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a *condition* which confronts us, not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire with-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

drawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant, and the persistent claim made in certain quarters that all the efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free traders is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workingmen need, and with benefit to them and all our people by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts.

The Constitution provides that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union." It has been the custom of the Executive, in compliance with this provision, to annually exhibit to the Congress, at the opening of its session, the general condition of the country, and to detail with some particularity the operations of the different Executive Departments. It would be especially agreeable to follow this course at the present time and to call attention to the valuable accomplishments of these Departments during the last fiscal year; but I am so much impressed with the paramount importance of the subject to which this communication has thus far been devoted that I shall forego the addition of any other topic, and only urge upon your immediate consideration the "state of the Union" as shown in the present condition of our Treasury and our general fiscal situation, upon which every element of our safety and prosperity depends.

The reports of the heads of Departments, which will be

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

submitted, contain full and explicit information touching the transaction of the business intrusted to them and such recommendations relating to legislation in the public interest as they deem advisable. I ask for these reports and recommendations the deliberate examination and action of the legislative branch of the Government.

There are other subjects not embraced in the departmental reports demanding legislative consideration, and which I should be glad to submit. Some of them, however, have been earnestly presented in previous messages, and as to them I beg leave to repeat prior recommendations.

As the law makes no provision for any report from the Department of State, a brief history of the transactions of that important Department, together with other matters which it may hereafter be deemed essential to commend to the attention of the Congress, may furnish the occasion for a future communication.

[Address to the Evangelical Alliance, Washington, D. C., December 9, 1887.]

Mr. President: I am glad to meet so large a delegation from the Evangelical Alliance of the United States. I understand the purpose of this Alliance to be the application of Christian rules of conduct to the problems and exigencies of social and political life.

Such a movement cannot fail to produce the most valuable results. All must admit that the reception of the teachings of Christianity results in the purest patriotism, in the most scrupulous fidelity to public trust, and in the best type of citizenship. Those who manage the affairs of government are by this means reminded that the law of God demands that they should be courageously true to the interests of

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the people, and that the Ruler of the Universe will require of them a strict account of their stewardship. The people, too, are thus taught that their happiness and welfare will be best promoted by a conscientious regard for the interest of a common brotherhood, and that the success of a government by the people depends upon the morality, the justice, and the honesty of the people.

I am especially pleased to know that your efforts are not cramped and limited by denominational lines, and that your credentials are found in a broad Christian fellowship. Manifestly, if you seek to teach your countrymen toleration you yourselves must be tolerant; if you would teach them liberality for the opinions of each other, you yourselves must be liberal; and if you would teach them unselfish patriotism, you yourselves must be unselfish and patriotic. There is enough of work in the field you have entered to enlist the hearty co-operation of all who believe in the value and efficacy of Christian teaching and practice.

Your noble mission, if undertaken in a broad and generous spirit, will surely arrest the attention and respectful consideration of your fellow-citizens; and your endeavors, consecrated by benevolence and patriotic love, must exert a powerful influence in the enlightenment and improvement of our people, in illustrating the strength and stability of our institutions, and in advancing the prosperity and greatness of our beloved land.

[Letter to William A. Furey, Esq., Washington, D. C., February 2, 1888.]

My Dear Sir: I acknowledge with sincere thanks the invitation extended to me, on behalf of the Kings County Democratic Club, to attend a banquet to be given in the

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

City of Brooklyn on the 9th instant, in commemoration of the birthday of Samuel J. Tilden.

I indulge, with the utmost pleasure and satisfaction, the belief that this invitation is not a mere formal compliment tendered to me in fulfillment of customary propriety, but that it is an additional evidence of the genuine kindness of the people and my political friends of Brooklyn and Kings County, which has more than once during my public life been heartily manifested.

Entertaining this belief, I know that its expression will make it unnecessary for me to assure you that I would gladly accept your invitation if it were possible. I am not only certain that at your banquet I should be among true and steadfast friends, but that the occasion and its prevailing spirit cannot fail to inspire every participant with new strength and increased patriotism and courage.

The birthday of Samuel J. Tilden is fittingly celebrated by the Democracy of Kings County, for he found there in all his efforts to reform the public service and to reinstate his party in the confidence of the American people firm and stanch friends, never wavering in their willing and effective support. Let these friends now remind all their fellow-citizens of the patriotic and useful career of their honored and trusted leader, and let everyone professing his political faith proclaim the value of his teachings. He taught the limitation of Federal power under the Constitution, the absolute necessity of public economy, the safety of a sound currency, honesty in public place, the responsibility of public servants to the people, care for those who toil with their hands, a proper limitation of corporate privileges and a reform in the Civil Service.

His was true Democracy. It led him to meet boldly every public issue as it rose. With his conception of political duty, he thought it never too early and never too late to give battle to vicious doctrines and corrupt practices. He

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

believed that pure and sound Democracy flourished and grew in open, bold, and honest championship of the interests of the people, and that it but feebly lived upon deceit, false pretenses, and fear.

And he was right. His success proved him right, and proved, too, that the American people appreciate a courageous struggle in their defense.

I should certainly join you in recalling the virtues and achievements of this illustrious Democrat, on the anniversary of his birth, if, in the arrangement of the social events connected with my official life, an important one had not been appointed to take place on the evening of your banquet. This necessarily detains me here.

I hope that your celebration will be very successful and full of profitable enjoyment.

[*Letter to Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher, Washington, D. C., May 22, 1888.*]

My Dear Mrs. Beecher: I have been asked to furnish a contribution to a proposed memorial of your late husband.

While I am by no means certain that anything I might prepare would be worthy of a place among the eloquent and beautiful tributes which are sure to be presented, this request spurs to action my desire and intention to express to you, more fully than I have yet done, my sympathy in your affliction and my appreciation of my own and the country's loss in the death of Mr. Beecher.

More than thirty years ago I repeatedly enjoyed the opportunity of hearing him in his own pulpit. His warm utterances, and the earnest interest he displayed in the practical things related to useful living, the hopes he inspired, and the manner in which he relieved the precepts of

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

Christianity from gloom and cheerlessness, made me feel that, though a stranger, he was my friend. Many years afterward we came to know each other; and since that time my belief in his friendship, based upon acquaintance and personal contact, has been to me a source of the greatest satisfaction.

His goodness and kindness of heart, so far as they were manifested in his personal life and in his home, are sacred to you and to your grief; but, so far as they gave color and direction to his teachings and opinions, they are proper subjects for gratitude and congratulation on the part of every American citizen. They caused him to take the side of the common people in every discussion. He loved his fellows in their homes; he rejoiced in their contentment and comfort, and sympathized with them in their daily hardships and trials. As their champion he advocated in all things the utmost regulated and wholesome liberty and freedom. His sublime faith in the success of popular government led him to trust the people, and to treat their errors and misconceptions with generous toleration. An honorable pride in American citizenship, when guided by the teachings of religion, he believed to be a sure guarantee of a splendid national destiny. I never met him without gaining something from his broad views and wise reflections.

Your personal affliction in his death stands alone, in its magnitude and depth. But thousands wish that their sense of loss might temper your grief, and that they, by sharing your sorrow, might lighten it.

Such kindly assurances, and your realization of the high and sacred mission accomplished in your husband's useful life, furnish all this world can supply of comfort; but your faith and piety will not fail to lead you to a higher and better source of consolation.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

*[Address before the Northern and Southern
Presbyterian Assemblies at Philadelphia,
Pa., May 23, 1888.]*

I am very much gratified by the opportunity here afforded me to meet the representatives of the Presbyterian Church.

Surely a man never should lose his interest in the welfare of the Church in which he was reared; and yet I will not find fault with any of you who deem it a sad confession made when I acknowledge that I must recall the days now long past, to find my closest relation to the grand and noble denomination which you represent. I say this because those of us who inherit fealty to our Church, as I did, begin early to learn those things which make us Presbyterians all the days of our lives; and thus it is that the rigors of our early teaching, by which we are grounded in our lasting allegiance, are especially vivid, and perhaps the best remembered. The attendance upon church service three times each Sunday, and upon Sabbath school during the noon intermission, may be irksome enough to a boy of ten or twelve years of age to be well fixed in his memory; but I have never known a man who regretted these things in the years of his maturity. The Shorter Catechism, though thoroughly studied and learned, was not, perhaps, at the time perfectly understood, and yet, in the stern labors and duties of after life, those are not apt to be the worst citizens who were early taught: "What is the chief end of man?"

Speaking of these things and in the presence of those here assembled, the most tender thoughts crowd upon my mind—all connected with Presbyterianism and its teachings. There are present with me now memories of a kind and affectionate father, consecrated to the cause, and called to his rest and his reward in the midday of his usefulness; a

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

sacred recollection of the prayers and pious love of a sainted mother, and a family circle hallowed and sanctified by the spirit of Presbyterianism.

I certainly cannot but express the wish and hope that the Presbyterian Church will always be at the front in every movement which promises the temporal as well as the spiritual advancement of mankind. In the turmoil and the bustle of everyday life few men are foolish enough to ignore the practical value to our people and our country of the Church organizations established among us, and the advantage of Christian example and teachings.

The field is vast, and the work sufficient to engage the efforts of every sect and denomination; but I am inclined to believe that the Church which is most tolerant and conservative, without loss of spiritual strength, will soonest find the way to the hearts and affections of the people. While we may be pardoned for insisting that our denomination is the best, we may, I think, safely concede much that is good to all other Churches that seek to make men better.

I am here to greet the delegates of two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church. One is called "North" and the other "South." The subject is too deep and intricate for me; but I cannot help wondering why this should be. These words, so far as they denote separation and estrangement, should be obsolete. In the councils of the nation, and in the business of the country, they no longer mean reproach and antagonism. Even the soldiers who fought for the North and for the South are restored to fraternity and unity. This fraternity and unity are taught and enjoined by our Church. When shall she herself be united, with all the added strength and usefulness that harmony and union insure?

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*Speech to the Committee on Notification,
Washington, D. C., June 26, 1888.*]

Mr. Collins and Gentlemen of the Committee: I cannot but be profoundly impressed when I see about me the messengers of the national Democracy, bearing its summons to duty. The political party to which I owe allegiance both honors and commands me. It places in my hand the proud standard and bids me bear it high at the front in a battle which it wages bravely, because conscious of right; confidently, because its trust is in the people, and soberly, because it comprehends the obligations which success imposes.

The message which you bring awakens within me the liveliest sense of personal gratitude and satisfaction, and the honor which you tender me is, in itself, so great that there might well be no room for any other sentiment. And yet I cannot rid myself of grave and serious thoughts when I remember that party supremacy is not alone involved in the conflict which presses upon us, but that we struggle to secure and save the cherished institutions, the welfare, and happiness of a nation of freemen.

Familiarity with the great office which I hold has but added to my apprehension of its sacred character and the consecration demanded of him who assumes its immense responsibilities. It is the repository of the people's will and power. Within its vision should be the protection and welfare of the humblest citizen, and with quick ear it should catch from the remotest corner of the land the plea of the people for justice and for right. For the sake of the people he who holds this office of theirs should resist every encroachment upon its legitimate functions, and, for the sake of the integrity and usefulness of the office, it should

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

be kept near to the people and be administered in full sympathy with their wants and needs.

This occasion reminds me most vividly of the scene when, four years ago, I received a message from my party similar to that which you now deliver. With all that has passed since that day, I can truly say that the feeling of awe with which I heard the summons then is intensified many fold when it is repeated now. Four years ago I knew that our chief executive office, if not carefully guarded, might drift, little by little, away from the people, to whom it belonged, and become a perversion of all that it ought to be; but I did not know how much its moorings had already been loosened.

I knew four years ago how well devised were the principles of true Democracy for the successful operation of a government by the people and for the people; but I did not know how absolutely necessary their application then was for the restoration to the people of their safety and prosperity. I knew then that abuses and extravagances had crept into the management of public affairs; but I did not know their numerous forms, nor the tenacity of their grasp. I knew then something of the bitterness of partisan obstruction; but I did not know how bitter, how reckless, and how shameless it could be. I knew, too, that the American people were patriotic and just; but I did not know how grandly they loved their country, nor how noble and generous they were.

I shall not dwell upon the acts and the policy of the Administration now drawing to its close. Its record is open to every citizen of the land. And yet, I will not be denied the privilege of asserting, at this time, that in the exercise of the functions of the high trust confided to me I have yielded obedience only to the Constitution and the solemn obligation of my oath of office. I have done those things which, in the light of the understanding God has given me,

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

seemed most conducive to the welfare of my countrymen and the promotion of good government. I would not, if I could, for myself nor for you, avoid a single consequence of a fair interpretation of my course.

It but remains for me to say to you, and through you to the Democracy of the Nation, that I accept the nomination with which they have honored me, and that I will, in due time, signify such acceptance in the usual formal manner.

[*Special Message on the Death of Philip H. Sheridan, Washington, D. C., August 6, 1888.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives: It becomes my painful duty to announce to the Congress and to the people of the United States the death of Philip H. Sheridan, General of the Army, which occurred at a late hour last night at his summer home, in the State of Massachusetts.

The death of this valiant soldier and patriotic son of the Republic, though his long illness has been regarded with anxiety, has nevertheless shocked the country and caused universal grief.

He had established for himself a strong hold in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen, who soon caught the true meaning and purpose of his soldierly devotion and heroic temper.

His intrepid courage, his steadfast patriotism, and the generosity of his nature inspired with peculiar warmth the admiration of all the people.

Above his grave affection for the man and pride in his achievements will struggle for mastery, and too much honor

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

can not be accorded to one who was so richly endowed with all the qualities which make his death a national loss.

*[Letter to Hon. Patrick A. Collins and Others,
Washington, D. C., September 8, 1888.]*

Gentlemen: In addressing to you my formal acceptance of the nomination to the Presidency of the United States, my thoughts persistently dwell upon the impressive relation of such action to the American people, whose confidence is thus invited, and to the political party to which I belong, just entering upon a contest for continued supremacy.

The world does not afford a spectacle more sublime than is furnished when millions of free and intelligent American citizens select their Chief Magistrate, and bid one of their number to find the highest earthly honor and the full measure of public duty in ready submission to their will.

It follows that a candidate for this high office can never forget that, when the turmoil and the strife which attend the selection of its incumbent shall be heard no more, there must be, in the quiet calm which follows, a complete and solemn self-consecration by the people's chosen President of every faculty and endeavor to the service of a confiding and generous nation of freemen.

These thoughts are intensified by the light of my experience in the Presidential office, which has soberly impressed me with the severe responsibilities it imposes, while it has quickened my love for American institutions and taught me the priceless value of the trust of my countrymen.

It is of the highest importance that those who administer our government should jealously protect and maintain the rights of American citizens at home and abroad, and should strive to achieve for our country her proper place among

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the nations of the earth; but there is no people whose home interests are so great, and whose numerous objects of domestic concern deserve so much watchfulness and care.

Among these are the regulation of a sound financial system suited to our needs, thus securing an efficient agency of national wealth and general prosperity; the construction and equipment of means of defense, to insure our national safety and maintain the honor beneath which such national safety reposes; the protection of our national domain, still stretching beyond the needs of a century's expansion, and its preservation for the settler and the pioneer of our marvelous growth; a sensible and sincere recognition of the value of American labor, leading to the scrupulous care and just appreciation of the interests of our workingmen; the limitation and checking of such monopolistic tendencies and schemes as interfere with the advantages and benefits which the people may rightly claim; a generous regard and care for our surviving soldiers and sailors and for the widows and orphans of such as have died, to the end that, while the appreciation of their services and sacrifices is quickened, the application of their pension fund to improper cases may be prevented; protection against a servile immigration, which injuriously competes with our laboring men in the field of toil, and adds to our population an element ignorant of our institutions and laws, impossible of assimilation with our people, and dangerous to our peace and welfare; a strict and steadfast adherence to the principles of Civil Service Reform and a thorough execution of the laws passed for their enforcement, thus permitting to our people the advantages of business methods in the operation of their government; the guaranty to our colored citizens of all their rights of citizenship, and their just recognition and encouragement in all things pertaining to that relation; a firm, patient, and humane Indian policy, so that in peaceful relations with the government the civilization of the Indian

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

may be promoted, with resulting quiet and safety to the settlers on our frontiers; and the curtailment of public expense by the introduction of economical methods in every department of the government.

The pledges contained in the platform adopted by the late convention of the National Democracy lead to the advancement of these objects and insure good government—the aspiration of every true American citizen, and the motive for every patriotic action and effort. In the consciousness that much has been done in the direction of good government by the present administration, and submitting its record to the fair inspection of my countrymen, I indorse the platform thus presented, with the determination that, if I am again called to the Chief Magistracy, there shall be a continuance of devoted endeavor to advance the interests of the entire country.

Our scale of Federal taxation and its consequences largely engross, at this time, the attention of our citizens, and the people are soberly considering the necessity of measures of relief.

Our government is the creation of the people, established to carry out their designs and accomplish their good. It was founded on justice, and was made for a free, intelligent, and virtuous people. It is only useful when within their control, and only serves them well when regulated and guided by their constant touch. It is a free government, because it guarantees to every American citizen the unrestricted personal use and enjoyment of all the reward of his toil and of all his income, except what may be his fair contribution to necessary public expense. Therefore, it is not only the right, but the duty, of a free people, in the enforcement of this guaranty, to insist that such expense should be strictly limited to the actual public needs. It seems perfectly clear that when the government, this instrumentality created and maintained by the people to do

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

their bidding, turns upon them, and, through an utter perversion of its powers, extorts from their labor and capital tribute largely in excess of public necessities, the creature has rebelled against the creator and the masters are robbed by their servants.

The cost of the government must continue to be met by tariff duties collected at our custom houses upon imported goods, and by internal revenue taxes assessed upon spirituous and malt liquors, tobacco, and oleomargarine.

I suppose it is needless to explain that all these duties and assessments are added to the price of the articles upon which they are levied, and thus become a tax upon all those who buy these articles for use and consumption. I suppose, too, it is well understood that the effect of this tariff taxation is not limited to the consumers of imported articles, but that the duties imposed upon such articles permit a corresponding increase in price to be laid upon domestic productions of the same kind; which increase, paid by all our people as consumers of home productions and entering every American home, constitutes a form of taxation as certain and as inevitable as though the amount was annually paid into the hand of the tax gatherer.

These results are inseparable from the plan we have adopted for the collection of our revenue by tariff duties. They are not mentioned to discredit the system, but by way of preface to the statement that every million of dollars collected at our custom houses for duties upon imported articles and paid into the public treasury, represents many millions more which, though never reaching the national treasury, are paid by our citizens as the increased cost of domestic productions resulting from our tariff laws.

In these circumstances, and in view of this necessary effect of the operation of our plan for raising revenue, the absolute duty of limiting the rate of tariff charges to the necessities of a frugal and economical administration of the

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

government seems to be perfectly plain. The continuance, upon the pretext of meeting public expenditures, of such a scale of tariff taxation as draws from the substance of the people a sum largely in excess of public needs, is surely something which, under a government based upon justice, and which finds its strength and usefulness in the faith and trust of the people, ought not to be tolerated.

While the heaviest burdens incident to the necessities of the government are uncomplainingly borne, light burdens become grievous and intolerable when not justified by such necessities.

Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation.

And yet this is our condition. We are annually collecting at our custom houses, and by means of our internal revenue taxation, many millions in excess of all legitimate public needs. As a consequence, there now remains in the national treasury a surplus of more than two hundred and thirty millions of dollars.

No better evidence could be furnished that the people are exorbitantly taxed. The extent of the superfluous burden indicated by this surplus will be better appreciated when it is suggested that such surplus alone represents taxation aggregating more than one hundred and eight thousand dollars in a county containing fifty thousand inhabitants.

Taxation has always been the feature of organized government the hardest to reconcile with the people's ideas of freedom and happiness. When presented in a direct form, nothing will arouse popular discontent more quickly and profoundly than unjust and unnecessary taxation. Our farmers, mechanics, laborers, and all our citizens, closely scan the slightest increase in the taxes assessed upon their lands and other property, and demand good reason for such increase. And yet they seem to be expected, in some quarters, to regard the unnecessary volume of insidious and in-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

direct taxation visited upon them by our present rate of tariff duties with indifference, if not with favor.

The surplus revenue now remaining in the treasury not only furnishes conclusive proof of unjust taxation, but its existence constitutes a separate and independent menace to the prosperity of the people.

This vast accumulation of idle funds represents that much money drawn from the circulating medium of the country which is needed in the channels of trade and business.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the consequences which follow the continual withdrawal and hoarding by the government of the currency of the people are not of immediate importance to the mass of our citizens, and only concern those engaged in large financial transactions.

In the restless enterprise and activity which free and ready money among the people produces is found that opportunity for labor and employment, and that impetus to business and production, which bring in their train prosperity to our citizens in every station and vocation. New ventures, new investments in business and manufacture, the construction of new and important works, and the enlargement of enterprises already established, depend largely upon obtaining money upon easy terms with fair security; and all these things are stimulated by an abundant volume of circulating medium. Even the harvested grain of the farmer remains without a market, unless money is forthcoming for its movement and transportation to the seaboard.

The first result of a scarcity of money among the people is the exaction of severe terms for its use. Increasing distrust and timidity are followed by a refusal to loan or advance on any terms. Investors refuse all risks and decline all securities, and in a general fright the money still in the hands of the people is persistently hoarded. It is quite apparent that when this perfectly natural, if not inevitable,

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

stage is reached, depression in all business and enterprise will, as a necessary consequence, lessen the opportunity for work and employment, and reduce salaries and the wages of labor.

Instead, then, of being exempt from the influence and effect of an immense surplus lying idle in the national treasury, our wage-earners, and others who rely upon their labor for support, are most of all directly concerned in the situation. Others, seeing the approach of danger, may provide against it, but it will find those depending upon their daily toil for bread unprepared, helpless, and defenseless. Such a state of affairs does not present a case of idleness resulting from disputes between the laboring man and his employer, but it produces an absolute and enforced stoppage of employment and wages.

In reviewing the bad effects of this accumulated surplus and the scale of tariff rates by which it is produced, we must not overlook the tendency toward gross and scandalous public extravagance which a congested treasury induces, nor the fact that we are maintaining without excuse, in a time of profound peace, substantially the rates of tariff duties imposed in time of war, when the necessities of the government justified the imposition of the weightiest burdens upon the people.

Divers plans have been suggested for the return of this accumulated surplus to the people and the channels of trade. Some of these devices are at variance with all rules of good finance; some are delusive, some are absurd, and some betray, by their reckless extravagance, the demoralizing influence of a great surplus of public money upon the judgments of individuals.

While such efforts should be made as are consistent with public duty, and sanctioned by sound judgment, to avoid danger by the useful disposition of the surplus now remaining in the treasury, it is evident that, if its distribution

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

were accomplished, another accumulation would soon take its place if the constant flow of redundant income was not checked at its source by a reform in our present tariff laws.

We do not propose to deal with these conditions by merely attempting to satisfy the people of the truth of abstract theories, nor by alone urging their assent to political doctrine. We present to them the propositions that they are unjustly treated in the extent of present Federal taxation, that, as a result, a condition of extreme danger exists, and that it is for them to demand a remedy and that defense and safety promised in the guarantees of their free government.

We believe that the same means which are adapted to relieve the treasury of its present surplus and prevent its recurrence, should cheapen to our people the cost of supplying their daily wants. Both of these objects we seek in part to gain by reducing the present tariff rates upon the necessaries of life.

We fully appreciate the importance to the country of our domestic industrial enterprises. In the rectification of existing wrongs their maintenance and prosperity should be carefully and in a friendly spirit considered. Even such reliance upon present revenue arrangements as has been invited or encouraged should be fairly and justly regarded. Abrupt and radical changes which might endanger such enterprises, and injuriously affect the interests of labor dependent upon their success and continuance, are not contemplated or intended.

But we know the cost of our domestic manufactured products is increased, and their price to the consumer enhanced, by the duty imposed upon the raw material used in their manufacture. We know that this increased cost prevents the sale of our productions at foreign markets in competition with those countries which have the advantage of free raw material. We know that, confined to a home market, our

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

manufacturing operations are curtailed, their demand for labor irregular, and the rate of wages paid uncertain.

We propose, therefore, to stimulate our domestic industrial enterprises by freeing from duty the imported raw materials which, by the employment of labor, are used in our home manufactures, thus extending the markets for their sale and permitting an increased and steady production with the allowance of abundant profits.

True to the undeviating course of the Democratic party, we will not neglect the interests of labor and our workingmen. In all efforts to remedy existing evils, we will furnish no excuse for the loss of employment or the reduction of the wage of honest toil. On the contrary, we propose, in any adjustment of our revenue laws, to concede such encouragement and advantage to the employers of domestic labor as will easily compensate for any difference that may exist between the standard of wages which should be paid to our laboring men and the rate allowed in other countries. We propose, too, by extending the markets for our manufacturers to promote the steady employment of labor, while by cheapening the cost of the necessaries of life we increase the purchasing power of the workingman's wages and add to the comforts of his home.

And before passing from this phase of the question I am constrained to express the opinion that, while the interests of labor should be always sedulously regarded in any modification of our tariff laws, an additional and more direct and efficient protection to these interests would be afforded by the restriction and prohibition of the immigration or importation of laborers from other countries, who swarm upon our shores, having no purpose or intent of becoming our fellow-citizens, or acquiring any permanent interest in our country, but who crowd every field of employment with unintelligent labor at wages which ought not to satisfy those who make claim to American citizenship.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

The platform adopted by the late National Convention of our party contains the following declaration: "Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when by unnecessary taxation trusts and combinations are permitted and fostered which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them as purchasers of the benefits of natural competition."

Such combinations have always been condemned by the Democratic party. The declaration of its National Convention is sincerely made, and no member of our party will be found excusing the existence or belittling the pernicious results of these devices to wrong the people. Under various names they have been punished by the common law for hundreds of years; and they have lost none of their hateful features because they have assumed the name of trusts, instead of conspiracies.

We believe that these trusts are the natural offspring of a market artificially restricted; that an inordinately high tariff, besides furnishing the temptation for their existence, enlarges the limit within which they may operate against the people, and thus increases the extent of their power for wrong-doing.

With an unalterable hatred of all such schemes, we count the checking of their baleful operations among the good results promised by revenue reform.

While we cannot avoid partisan misrepresentation, our position upon the question of revenue reform should be so plainly stated as to admit of no misunderstanding.

We have entered upon no crusade of free trade. The reform we seek to inaugurate is predicated upon the utmost care for established industries and enterprises, a jealous regard for the interests of American labor, and a sincere desire to relieve the country from the injustice and danger which threaten evil to all the people of the land.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

We are dealing with no imaginary danger. Its existence has been repeatedly confessed by all political parties, and pledges of a remedy have been made on all sides.

Yet, when in the legislative body, where under the Constitution all remedial measures applicable to this subject must originate, the Democratic majority were attempting, with extreme moderation, to redeem the pledge common to both parties, they were met by determined opposition and obstruction; and the minority, refusing to co-operate in the House of Representatives, or propose another remedy, have remitted the redemption of their party pledge to the doubtful power of the Senate.

The people will hardly be deceived by their abandonment of the field of legislative action to meet in political convention and flippantly declare in their party platform that our conservative and careful effort to relieve the situation is destructive to the American system of protection. Nor will the people be misled by the appeal to prejudice contained in the absurd allegation that we serve the interests of Europe, while they will support the interests of America.

They propose in their platform thus to support the interests of our country by removing the internal revenue tax from tobacco and from spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes. They declare also that there should be such a revision of our tariff laws as shall tend to check the importation of such articles as are produced here. Thus, in proposing to increase the duties upon such articles to nearly or quite a prohibitory point, they confess themselves willing to travel backward in the road of civilization, and to deprive our people of the markets for their goods which can only be gained and kept by the semblance, at least, of an interchange of business, while they abandon our consumers to the unrestrained oppression of the domestic trusts and combinations which are in the same platform perfunctorily condemned.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

They propose further to release entirely from import duties all articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced in this country. The plain people of the land and the poor, who scarcely use articles of any description produced exclusively abroad and not already free, will find it difficult to discover where their interests are regarded in this proposition. They need in their homes cheaper domestic necessaries; and this seems to be entirely unprovided for in this proposed scheme to serve the country.

Small compensation for this neglected need is found in the further purpose here announced and covered by the declaration, that if, after the changes already mentioned, there still remains a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government, the entire internal taxation should be repealed, "rather than surrender any part of our protective system."

Our people ask relief from the undue and unnecessary burden of tariff taxation now resting upon them. They are offered instead—free tobacco and free whisky.

They ask for bread and they are given a stone.

The implication contained in this party declaration, that desperate measures are justified or necessary to save from destruction or surrender what is termed our protective system, should confuse no one. The existence of such a system is entirely consistent with the regulation of the extent to which it should be applied and the correction of its abuses.

Of course, in a country as great as ours, with such a wonderful variety of interests, often leading in entirely different directions, it is difficult, if not impossible, to settle upon a perfect tariff plan. But in accomplishing the reform we have entered upon, the necessity of which is so obvious, I believe we should not be content with a reduction of revenue involving the prohibition of importations and the removal of the internal tax upon whisky. It can be better and more safely done within the lines of granting actual re-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

lief to the people in their means of living, and at the same time giving an impetus to our domestic enterprises and furthering our National welfare.

If misrepresentations of our purposes and motives are to gain credence and defeat our present effort in this direction, there seems to be no reason why every endeavor in the future to accomplish revenue reform should not be likewise attacked and with like result. And yet no thoughtful man can fail to see in the continuance of the present burdens of the people, and the abstraction by the government of the currency of the country, inevitable distress and disaster. All danger will be averted by timely action. The difficulty of applying the remedy will never be less, and the blame should not be laid at the door of the Democratic party if it is applied too late.

With firm faith in the intelligence and patriotism of our countrymen, and relying upon the conviction that misrepresentation will not influence them, prejudice will not cloud their understanding and that menace will not intimidate them, let us urge the people's interest, and public duty, for the vindication of our attempt to inaugurate a righteous and beneficent reform.

[Address as Presiding Officer over Memorial Meeting in the Cooper Union, New York City, October 9, 1889.]

It is peculiarly fit and proper that among the tributes paid to the worth and usefulness of Samuel S. Cox the most hearty and sincere should flow from the hearts of his Congressional constituents. These he served faithfully and well; and they were honored by the honor of his life. It was as their chosen public servant that he gathered fame, and ex-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

hibited to the entire country the strength and the brightness of true American statesmanship. It was while he still served them that he died. All his fellow-citizens mourn his death, and speak in praise of his character and his achievements in public life; but his constituents may well feel that the affliction of his death is nearer to them than to others, by so much that they are entitled to a greater share of pride in all that he wrought.

I should not suit the part allotted to me on this occasion if I were to speak at length of the many traits of character within my personal knowledge that made your friend and mine the wise and efficient legislator, the useful and patriotic citizen, and the kind and generous man. These things constitute a theme upon which his fellow-countrymen love to dwell, and they will be presented to you to-night in more eloquent terms than I can command.

I shall not, however, forbear mentioning the fact that your representative, in all his public career, and in his relations to legislation, was never actuated by a corrupt or selfish interest. His zeal was born of public spirit, and the motive of his labor was the public good. He was never found among those who cloak their efforts for personal gain and advantage beneath the disguise of disinterested activity for the welfare of the people.

These are pleasant things for his friends to remember to-night, and they are without doubt the things upon which rest the greatest share of the honor and respect which his memory exacts from his fellow-citizens.

But while we thus contemplate the value of unselfish public usefulness, we cannot restrain a reflection which has a somber coloring. What is the condition of the times when we may justly and fairly exalt the memory of a deceased public servant because he was true and honest and faithful to his trust? Are we maintaining a safe standard of public duty when the existence of these virtues, instead of being

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

general, are exceptional enough to cause congratulation? All public servants should be as true and honest and faithful as the man whom we mourn to-night.

I beg you to take home with you among the reflections which this occasion shall awaken, an appreciation of the truth that if we are to secure for ourselves all the blessings of our free institutions we must better apprehend the interest we have at stake in their scrupulous maintenance, and must exact of those whom we trust in public office a more rigid adherence to the demands of public duty.

I congratulate you and myself upon the fact that we are to be addressed to-night by one whose eloquence and ability, as well as his warm friendship for Mr. Cox, eminently fit him to be the orator of the occasion.

[*From Fourth Annual Message, Washington, D. C., December 3, 1888.*]

To the Congress of the United States: As you assemble for the discharge of the duties you have assumed as the representatives of a free and generous people, your meeting is marked by an interesting and impressive incident. With the expiration of the present session of the Congress the first century of our constitutional existence as a nation will be completed.

Our survival for one hundred years is not sufficient to assure us that we no longer have dangers to fear in the maintenance, with all its promised blessings, of a government founded upon the freedom of the people. The time rather admonishes us to soberly inquire whether in the past we have always closely kept in the course of safety, and whether we have before us a way plain and clear which leads to happiness and perpetuity.

When the experiment of our Government was undertaken,

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the chart adopted for our guidance was the Constitution. Departure from the lines there laid down is failure. It is only by a strict adherence to the direction they indicate and by restraint within the limitations they fix that we can furnish proof to the world of the fitness of the American people for self-government.

The equal and exact justice of which we boast as the underlying principle of our institutions should not be confined to the relations of our citizens to each other. The Government itself is under bond to the American people that in the exercise of its functions and powers it will deal with the body of our citizens in a manner scrupulously honest and fair and absolutely just. It has agreed that American citizenship shall be the only credential necessary to justify the claim of equality before the law, and that no condition in life shall give rise to discrimination in the treatment of the people by their Government.

The citizen of our Republic in its early days rigidly insisted upon full compliance with the letter of this bond, and saw stretching out before him a clear field for individual endeavor. His tribute to the support of his Government was measured by the cost of its economical maintenance, and he was secure in the enjoyment of the remaining recompense of his steady and contented toil. In those days the frugality of the people was stamped upon their Government, and was enforced by the free, thoughtful, and intelligent suffrage of the citizen. Combinations, monopolies, and aggregations of capital were either avoided or sternly regulated and restrained. The pomp and glitter of governments less free offered no temptation and presented no delusion to the plain people who, side by side, in friendly competition, wrought for the ennoblement and dignity of man, for the solution of the problem of free government, and for the achievement of the grand destiny awaiting the land which God had given them.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

A century has passed. Our cities are the abiding places of wealth and luxury; our manufactories yield fortunes never dreamed of by the fathers of the Republic; our business men are madly striving in the race for riches, and immense aggregations of capital outrun the imagination in the magnitude of their undertakings.

We view with pride and satisfaction this bright picture of our country's growth and prosperity, while only a closer scrutiny develops a somber shading. Upon more careful inspection we find the wealth and luxury of our cities mingled with poverty and wretchedness and unremunerative toil. A crowded and constantly increasing urban population suggests the impoverishment of rural sections and discontent with agricultural pursuits. The farmer's son, not satisfied with his father's simple and laborious life, joins the eager chase for easily acquired wealth.

We discover that the fortunes realized by our manufacturers are no longer solely the reward of sturdy industry and enlightened foresight, but that they result from the discriminating favor of the Government and are largely built upon undue exactions from the masses of our people. The gulf between employers and the employed is constantly widening, and classes are rapidly forming, one comprising the very rich and powerful, while in another are found the toiling poor.

As we view the achievements of aggregated capital, we discover the existence of trusts, combinations, and monopolies, while the citizen is struggling far in the rear or is trampled to death beneath an iron heel. Corporations, which should be the carefully restrained creatures of the law and the servants of the people, are fast becoming the people's masters.

Still congratulating ourselves upon the wealth and prosperity of our country and complacently contemplating every incident of change inseparable from these conditions, it is

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

our duty as patriotic citizens to inquire at the present stage of our progress how the bond of the Government made with the people has been kept and performed.

Instead of limiting the tribute drawn from our citizens to the necessities of its economical administration, the Government persists in exacting from the substance of the people millions which, unapplied and useless, lie dormant in its Treasury. This flagrant injustice and this breach of faith and obligation add to extortion the danger attending the diversion of the currency of the country from the legitimate channels of business.

Under the same laws by which these results are produced the Government permits many millions more to be added to the cost of the living of our people and to be taken from our consumers, which unreasonably swell the profits of a small but powerful minority.

The people must still be taxed for the support of the Government under the operation of tariff laws. But to the extent that the mass of our citizens are inordinately burdened beyond any useful public purpose and for the benefit of a favored few, the Government, under pretext of an exercise of its taxing power, enters gratuitously into partnership with these favorites, to their advantage and to the injury of a vast majority of our people.

This is not equality before the law.

The existing situation is injurious to the health of our entire body politic. It stifles in those for whose benefit it is permitted all patriotic love of country, and substitutes in its place selfish greed and grasping avarice. Devotion to American citizenship for its own sake and for what it should accomplish as a motive to our nation's advancement and the happiness of all our people is displaced by the assumption that the Government, instead of being the embodiment of equality, is but an instrumentality through which especial and individual advantages are to be gained.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

The arrogance of this assumption is unconcealed. It appears in the sordid disregard of all but personal interests, in the refusal to abate for the benefit of others one iota of selfish advantage, and in combinations to perpetuate such advantages through efforts to control legislation and improperly influence the suffrages of the people.

The grievances of those not included within the circle of these beneficiaries, when fully realized, will surely arouse irritation and discontent. Our farmers, long suffering and patient, struggling in the race of life with the hardest and most unremitting toil, will not fail to see, in spite of misrepresentations and misleading fallacies, that they are obliged to accept such prices for their products as are fixed in foreign markets where they compete with the farmers of the world; that their lands are declining in value while their debts increase, and that without compensating favor they are forced by the action of the Government to pay for the benefit of others such enhanced prices for the things they need that the scanty returns of the labor fail to furnish their support or leave no margin for accumulation.

Our workmen, enfranchised from all delusions and no longer frightened by the cry that their wages are endangered by a just revision of our tariff laws, will reasonably demand through such revision steadier employment, cheaper means of living in their homes, freedom for themselves and their children from the doom of perpetual servitude, and an open door to their advancement beyond the limits of a laboring class. Others of our citizens, whose comforts and expenditures are measured by moderate salaries and fixed incomes, will insist upon the fairness and justice of cheapening the cost of necessaries for themselves and their families.

When to the selfishness of the beneficiaries of unjust discrimination under our laws there shall be added the discontent of those who suffer from such discrimination, we will realize the fact that the beneficent purposes of our Govern-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

ment, dependent upon the patriotism and contentment of our people, are endangered.

Communism is a hateful thing and a menace to peace and organized government; but the communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness, which insidiously undermines the justice and integrity of free institutions, is not less dangerous than the communism of oppressed poverty and toil, which, exasperated by injustice and discontent, attacks with wild disorder the citadel of rule.

He mocks the people who proposes that the Government shall protect the rich and that they in turn will care for the laboring poor. Any intermediary between the people and their Government or the least delegation of the care and protection the Government owes to the humblest citizen in the land makes the boast of free institutions a glittering delusion and the pretended boon of American citizenship a shameless imposition.

A just and sensible revision of our tariff laws should be made for the relief of those of our countrymen who suffer under present conditions. Such a revision should receive the support of all who love that justice and equality due to American citizenship; of all who realize that in this justice and equality our Government finds its strength and its power to protect the citizen and his property; of all who believe that the contented competence and comfort of many accord better with the spirit of our institutions than colossal fortunes unfairly gathered in the hands of a few; of all who appreciate that the forbearance and fraternity among our people, which recognize the value of every American interest, are the surest guaranty of our national progress, and of all who desire to see the products of American skill and ingenuity in every market of the world, with a resulting restoration of American commerce.

The necessity of the reduction of our revenues is so appar-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

ent as to be generally conceded, but the means by which this end shall be accomplished and the sum of direct benefit which shall result to our citizens present a controversy of the utmost importance. There should be no scheme accepted as satisfactory by which the burdens of the people are only apparently removed. Extravagant appropriations of public money, with all their demoralizing consequences, should not be tolerated, either as a means of relieving the Treasury of its present surplus or as furnishing pretext for resisting a proper reduction in tariff rates. Existing evils and injustice should be honestly recognized, boldly met, and effectually remedied. There should be no cessation of the struggle until a plan is perfected, fair and conservative toward existing industries, but which will reduce the cost to consumers of the necessaries of life, while it provides for our manufacturers the advantage of freer raw materials and permits no injury to the interests of American labor.

The cause for which the battle is waged is comprised within lines clearly and distinctly defined. It should never be compromised. It is the people's cause.

It can not be denied that the selfish and private interests which are so persistently heard when efforts are made to deal in a just and comprehensive manner with our tariff laws are related to, if they are not responsible for, the sentiment largely prevailing among the people that the General Government is the fountain of individual and private aid; that it may be expected to relieve with paternal care the distress of citizens and communities, and that from the fullness of its Treasury it should upon the slightest possible pretext of promoting the general good, apply public funds to the benefit of localities and individuals. Nor can it be denied that there is a growing assumption that, as against the Government and in favor of private claims and interests, the usual rules and limitations of business principles and just dealing should be waived.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

These ideas have been unhappily much encouraged by legislative acquiescence. Relief from contracts made with the Government is too easily accorded in favor of the citizen; the failure to support claims against the Government by proof is often supplied by no better consideration than the wealth of the Government and the poverty of the claimant; gratuities in the form of pensions are granted upon no other real ground than the needy condition of the applicant, or for reasons less valid; and large sums are expended for public buildings and other improvements upon representations scarcely claimed to be related to public needs and necessities.

The extent to which the consideration of such matters subordinate and postpone action upon subjects of great public importance, but involving no special private or partisan interest, should arrest attention and lead to reformation.

A few of the numerous illustrations of this condition may be stated.

The crowded condition of the calendar of the Supreme Court, and the delay to suitors and denial of justice resulting therefrom, has been strongly urged upon the attention of the Congress, with a plan for the relief of the situation approved by those well able to judge of its merits. While this subject remains without effective consideration, many laws have been passed providing for the holding of terms of inferior courts at places to suit the convenience of localities, or to lay the foundation of an application for the erection of a new public building.

Repeated recommendations have been submitted for the amendment and change of the laws relating to our public lands so that their spoliation and diversion to other uses than as homes for honest settlers might be prevented. While a measure to meet this conceded necessity of reform remains awaiting the action of the Congress, many claims to the public lands and applications for their donation, in favor of States and individuals, have been allowed.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

A plan in aid of Indian management, recommended by those well informed as containing valuable features in furtherance of the solution of the Indian problem, has thus far failed of legislative sanction, while grants of doubtful expediency to railroad corporations, permitting them to pass through Indian reservations, have greatly multiplied.

The propriety and necessity of the erection of one or more prisons for the confinement of United States convicts, and a post-office building in the national capital, are not disputed. But these needs yet remain unanswered, while scores of public buildings have been erected where their necessity for public purposes is not apparent.

A revision of our pension laws could easily be made which would rest upon just principles and provide for every worthy applicant. But while our general pension laws remain confused and imperfect, hundreds of private pension laws are annually passed, which are the sources of unjust discrimination and popular demoralization.

Appropriation bills for the support of the Government are defaced by items and provisions to meet private ends, and it is freely asserted by responsible and experienced parties that a bill appropriating money for public internal improvement would fail to meet with favor unless it contained items more for local and private advantage than for public benefit.

These statements can be much emphasized by an ascertainment of the proportion of Federal legislation which either bears upon its face its private character or which upon examination develops such a motive power.

And yet the people wait and expect from their chosen representatives such patriotic action as will advance the welfare of the entire country; and this expectation can only be answered by the performance of public duty with unselfish purpose. Our mission among the nations of the earth and our success in accomplishing the work God has given the American people to do require of those intrusted with the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

making and execution of our laws perfect devotion, above all other things, to the public good.

This devotion will lead us to strongly resist all impatience of constitutional limitations of Federal power and to persistently check the increasing tendency to extend the scope of Federal legislation into the domain of State and local jurisdiction upon the plea of subserving the public welfare. The preservation of the partitions between proper subjects of Federal and local care and regulation is of such importance under the Constitution, which is the law of our very existence, that no consideration of expediency or sentiment should tempt us to enter upon doubtful ground. We have undertaken to discover and proclaim the richest blessings of a free government, with the Constitution as our guide. Let us follow the way it points out; it will not mislead us. And surely no one who has taken upon himself the solemn obligation to support and preserve the Constitution can find justification or solace for disloyalty in the excuse that he wandered and disobeyed in search of a better way to reach the public welfare than the Constitution offers.

What has been said is deemed not inappropriate at a time when, from a century's height, we view the way already trod by the American people and attempt to discover their future path.

The seventh President of the United States—the soldier and statesman and at all times the firm and brave friend of the people—in vindication of his course as the protector of popular rights and the champion of true American citizenship, declared:

The ambition which leads me on is an anxious desire and a fixed determination to restore to the people unimpaired the sacred trust they have confided to my charge; to heal the wounds of the Constitution and to preserve it from further violation; to persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not in a splendid government supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratical establishments that they will find happiness

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

or their liberties protection, but in a plain system, void of pomp, protecting all and granting favors to none, dispensing its blessings like the dews of heaven, unseen and unfelt save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce. It is such a government that the genius of our people requires—such an one only under which our States may remain for ages to come united, prosperous, and free.

I am thoroughly convinced that our general pension laws should be revised and adjusted to meet as far as possible, in the light of our experience, all meritorious cases. The fact that 102 different rates of pensions are paid can not, in my opinion, be made consistent with justice to the pensioners or to the Government; and the numerous private pension bills that are passed, predicated upon the imperfection of general laws, while they increase in many cases existing inequality and injustice, lend additional force to the recommendation for a revision of the general laws on this subject.

The laxity of ideas prevailing among a large number of our people regarding pensions is becoming every day more marked. The principles upon which they should be granted are in danger of being altogether ignored, and already pensions are often claimed because the applicants are as much entitled as other successful applicants, rather than upon any disability reasonably attributable to military service. If the establishment of vicious precedents be continued, if the granting of pensions be not divorced from partisan and other unworthy and irrelevant considerations, and if the honorable name of veteran unfairly becomes by these means but another term for one who constantly clamors for the aid of the Government, there is danger that injury will be done to the fame and patriotism of many whom our citizens all delight to honor, and that a prejudice will be aroused unjust to meritorious applicants for pensions.

The consciousness that I have presented but an imperfect

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

statement of the condition of our country and its wants occasions no fear that anything omitted is not known and appreciated by the Congress, upon whom rests the responsibility of intelligent legislation in behalf of a great nation and a confiding people.

As public servants we shall do our duty well if we constantly guard the rectitude of our intentions, maintain unsullied our love of country, and with unselfish purpose strive for the public good.

*[Letter to the Committee of the Massachusetts
Tariff Reform League, Washington, D. C.,
December 24, 1888.]*

Gentlemen: I am exceedingly sorry that I cannot be present at the dinner of the Massachusetts Tariff Reform League on the 28th inst. This is not merely a formal and common expression of regret; it truly indicates how much I should enjoy meeting the members of your league, and how glad I should be to express in person my appreciation of their important services in a cause to which I am earnestly attached, and to acknowledge at the same time their frequent and encouraging manifestations of personal friendliness. I know, too, that it would be profitable and advantageous to be, even for a brief period, within the inspiring influence of the atmosphere surrounding patriotic and unselfish men, banded together in the interests of their fellow-countrymen, and devoted to the work of tariff reform.

This reform appears to me to be as far-reaching in its purposes as the destiny of our country, and as broad in its beneficence as the welfare of our entire people. It is because the efforts of its advocates are not discredited by any sordid motives that they are able boldly and confidently to

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

attack the strongholds of selfishness and greed. Our institutions were constructed in purity of purpose and love for humanity. Their operation is adjusted to the touch of national virtue and patriotism, and their results, under such guidance, must be the prosperity and happiness of our people; and so long as the advocates of tariff reform appreciate the sentiments in which our institutions had their origin, so long as they apprehend the sources which alone can guide their operations, so long as they, in a spirit of true patriotism, are consecrated to the service of their country, temporary defeat brings no discouragement. It but proves the stubbornness of the forces of combined selfishness, and discloses how far the people have been led astray and how great is the necessity of redoubled efforts in their behalf. To lose faith in the intelligence of the people is a surrender and an abandonment of the struggle. To arouse their intelligence, and free it from darkness and delusion, gives assurance of speedy and complete victory.

In the track of reform are often found the dead hopes of pioneers and the despair of those who fall in the march. But there will be neither despair nor dead hopes in the path of tariff reform; nor shall its pioneers fail to reach the heights. Holding fast their faith, and rejecting every alluring overture and every deceptive compromise which would betray their sacred trust, they themselves shall regain and restore the patrimony of their countrymen, freed from the trespass of grasping encroachment and safely secured by the genius of American justice and equality.

[Address at a Reception Given by the Democratic Club, New York, April 27, 1889.]

Mr. President: Many incidents of my short residence in this good city have served to fill my cup of gratitude, and to

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

arouse my appreciation of the kindness and consideration of those with whom I have made my home. The hospitality of the citizens of New York, for which they have long been distinguished, has outdone itself in my welcome. The members of my profession have, upon my return to its activities, received me with fraternal greetings, and personal friends have not permitted me to feel like a stranger in a strange city.

And yet I can truly say to-night that none of these things will be more vividly and gratefully remembered than the opportunity afforded me by this occasion to greet the political friends I see about me. While I believe that no man is more susceptible than I to every personal kindness, and while I am sure that no one values more his personal friendships, it should not be regarded as strange when I say that these are not more cherished than my loyalty and attachment to Democratic faith and my obligation to the cardinal principles of its party organization.

I have been honored by my party far beyond my deserts; indeed, no man can deserve its highest honors. After six years of public service, I return to you, my party friends. Six years have I stood as your representative in the State and nation, and now I return again to the ranks, more convinced than ever that the cause of true Democracy is the cause of the people—their safeguard and their hope.

I come to you with no excuses or apologies, and with no confession of disloyalty. It is not given to man to meet the various and conflicting views of party duty and policy which prevail within an organization where individual opinion is so freely tolerated as in the Democratic party. Because these views are various and conflicting some of them must be wrong, but when they are honestly held and advocated they should provoke no bitterness or condemnation. But when they are proclaimed merely as a cover and pretext for per-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

sonal resentment and disappointment, they should be met by the exposure and contempt which they deserve.

If one charged with party representation, with sincere design and purpose keeps the party faith, that should be a fulfillment of his party obligation.

No man can lay down the trust which he has held in behalf of a generous and confiding people, and feel that at all times he has met, in the best possible way, the requirements of his trust; but he is not derelict in duty if he has conscientiously devoted his effort and his judgment to the people's service.

I have deliberately placed in close connection loyalty to Democratic principles and devotion to the people's interest, for, in my view, they belong together and should mean the same thing.

But, in this day of party feeling and attachment, it is well for us to pause and recall the fact that the only justification for the existence of any party is the claim that, in profession and intent, its objects and its purposes are the promotion of the public good and the advancement and the welfare and prosperity of the entire country. There never was a party platform or declaration of principles that did not profess these things and make them the foundation of party creed, and any body of men that should associate themselves together proclaiming openly that their purpose was supremacy in the government with the sole intent of distributing offices and the spoils of victory among their associates, would be treated with ridicule and scorn. Thus we are brought face to face with the proposition that parties no more than individuals should be untruthful or dishonest.

Of course in the supremacy of party there are advantages to its members—and this is not amiss. But when high party aims and professions are lost sight of and abandoned, and the interests of office holding and personal pelf are all that remain to inspire party activity, not only is the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

support expected from patriotic people forfeited, but the elements of cohesion and of effective and lasting political strength are gone. The honest differences of opinion which must always exist upon questions of principle and of public policy, should be sufficient occasion for the existence of parties, and should point to the field of their usefulness. The study of these questions cannot fail to result in more valuable citizenship and more intelligent and better equipped partisans.

When we seek for the cause of the perpetuity of the Democratic party and its survival through every crisis and emergency, and in the face of all opposition, we find it in the fact that its corner stone is laid in devotion to the rights of the people and in its sympathy with all things that tend to the advancement of their welfare and happiness. Though heresy may sometimes have crept into its organization, and though party conduct may at times have been influenced by the shiftiness which is the habitual device of its opponents, there has always remained deeply imbedded in its nature and character that spirit of true Americanism and that love of popular rights which has made it indestructible in disaster and defeat, and has constituted it a boon to the country in its hour of triumph and supremacy.

The great founder of our party, as he consecrated himself by a solemn oath to the faithful performance of the duties of the Presidential office, and as he pledged himself to the preservation, protection, and defense of the Constitution, after presenting to his assembled countrymen the causes of congratulation, found in the condition of our country and the character of our people, impressively added: "With all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens: a wise and frugal government which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement,

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities."

In the lexicon of true Democracy these words are not obsolete, but they still furnish the inspiration for our efforts and an interpretation of our political faith.

Happily the party creed which we profess is not within such narrow lines as that obedience does not permit us to move abreast with the advanced thought of the country and to meet and test every question and apply a principle to every situation.

True Democracy, staunch in its adhesion to fundamental doctrine, is at the same time, in a proper sense, progressive. It recognizes our growth and our expansion, and the birth of new thought and sentiment. It will judge them all by safe standards, and in every phase of national development it will be prepared to meet as they arise every need of the people and every popular want. True Democracy honestly advocates national brotherhood, to the end that all our countrymen may aid in the achievement of the grand destiny which awaits us as a nation; and it condemns the pretext of liberality and harmony which, when partisan advantage is to be gained, gives way for inflammatory appeals to sectional hate and passion. It insists upon that equality before the law which concedes the care and protection of the government to simple manhood and citizenship. It does not favor the multiplication of offices and salaries merely to make partisans, nor use the promise and bestowal of place for the purpose of stifling the press and bribing the people. It seeks to lighten the burdens of life in every home and to take from the citizen for the cost of government the lowest possible tribute.

We know that we have espoused the cause of right and justice. We know that we have not permitted duty to country to wait upon expediency. We know that we have not

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

trafficked our principles for success. We know that we have not deceived the people with false promises and pretenses. And we know that we have not corrupted or betrayed the poor with the money of the rich.

Who shall say that these things promise no reward and that triumph shall not follow the enlightened judgment and the sober second thought of our countrymen? There are to-day no weak, weary, and despondent members of the true Democracy, and there should be none. Thoughtful attention to political topics is thoroughly aroused. Events day by day are leading men to review the reasons for their party affiliations and the supporters of the principles we profess are constantly recruited by intelligent, young, and sturdy adherents.

Let us deserve their confidence, and, shunning all ignoble practices, let us remain steadfast to Democratic faith and to the cause of our country. If we are true and loyal to these, the day of our triumph will surely and quickly come, and our victory shall be fairly, nobly won, through the invincible spirit of the Democracy.

[Address at the Washington Inauguration Centennial, New York, April 30, 1889.]

Wherever human government has been administered in tyranny, in despotism, or in oppression, there has been found, among the governed, yearning for a freer condition and the assertion of man's nobility. These are but the faltering steps of human nature in the direction of the freedom which is its birthright; and they presage the struggle of men to become a free people, and thus reach the plane of their highest and best aspirations. In this relation, and in their cry for freedom, it may be truly said, the voice of the people is the voice of God.

In sublime faith and rugged strength our fathers cried

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

out to the world, "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United State of America."

Thus "our people," in a day, assumed a place among the nations of the earth. Their mission was to teach the fitness of man for self-government, and their destiny was to outstrip every other people in national achievement and material greatness.

One hundred years have passed. We have announced and approved to the world our mission, and made our destiny secure.

Our churches, our schools and universities, and our benevolent institutions, which beautify every town and hamlet, and look out from every hillside, testify to the value our people place upon religious teaching, upon advanced education, and upon deeds of charity. That our people are still jealous of their individual rights and freedom is proved by the fact that no one in place or power has dared openly to assail them. The enthusiasm which marks the celebration of the centennial of the inauguration of their first Chief Magistrate shows the popular appreciation of the value of the office, which, in our plan of government, stands above all others, for the sovereignty of the people, and is the repository of their trust.

Surely such a people can be safely trusted with their free government; and there need be no fear that they have lost the qualities which fit them to be its custodians. If they should wander, they will return to duty in good time. If they should be misled, they will discover the true landmarks none too late for safety; and if they should even be corrupted they will speedily be found seeking with peace-offerings their country's holy altar.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

Let us, then, have an abiding faith in "our people." Let petulance and discontent with popular action disappear before the truth that in any and all circumstances, the will of the people, however it may be exercised, is the law of our national existence—the arbiter, absolute and unchangeable, by which we must abide. Other than existing situations and policies can only justify themselves when they may be reached by the spread of political intelligence and the revival of unselfish and patriotic interest in public affairs. Ill-natured complaints of popular incompetency, and self-righteous assertions of superiority over the body of the people, are impotent and useless.

But there is danger, I fear, that the scope of the words "our people" and all they import are not always fully apprehended. It is only natural that those in the various walks of life should see "our people" within the range of their own vision, and find just about them the interests most important and the most worthy the care of the government. The rich merchant or capitalist, in the center of wealth and enterprise, hardly has a glimpse of the country blacksmith at his forge or the farmer in his field; and these, in their turn, know but little of the laborers, who crowd our manufacturing and inhabit their own world of toil, or of the thousands who labor in our mines. If representatives of every element of our population and industries should be gathered together, they would find but little of purely selfish and personal interest in common; and upon a superficial glance but little would be seen to denote that only one people was represented. Yet, in the spirit of our institutions, all these, so separated in station and personal interest, are a common brotherhood and are "our people"; all of equal value before the law; all having, by their suffrage, the same voice in governmental affairs; all demanding with equal force protection and defense; and all, in their persons and property, equally entitled to their government's scrupulous care.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Address at the Fellowcraft Club, New York,
May 14, 1889.*]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I think I should be glad to depart to-night from what I suppose to be the custom here, and say a few words to you without the least reference to the occupations in which I understand the members of this club are principally engaged, and without speaking of the newspapers and those who make and manage them. But I do not see how I am to accomplish these things, because, in the first place, the atmosphere is against me, and in the second place, the newspaper press and what it does are so interwoven with our life that they can hardly be eliminated from the discussion of any subject.

I want to speak of American citizenship; and I am prompted at the outset to say that I cannot see why, among those who have to do with the newspaper press, all things that pertain to good citizenship should not have the highest place; and that I never could discover why those connected with newspapers should not be judged by the same rules as are applied to the rest of us, nor why they are not charged with certainly as serious duties and responsibilities as other citizens. I protest against the theory, which appears to have gained some headway in certain quarters, that they are a little outside of the mass of ordinary citizens; and in their defense and vindication, I deny the proposition that they deliberately acknowledge fealty and devotion to their newspapers first and to their country afterward. Of course, if crowded, I should be obliged to confess that, in my opinion, there are exceptions, and that, occasionally, there are found among the editors and managers of newspapers, as everywhere else, those whose personal resentments, or extreme and misguided partisanship, lead them to pitiable conclusions;

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

but against these I put the great number who, day by day, labor to make our country better and our people more thoughtful and intelligent.

The warmth of my desire to see good American citizenship more prevalent, and the value of it better appreciated by our people, arises in a great degree, I suppose, from my recent experience in discharging the duties of an office which afforded an opportunity of observing the motive power and strength of selfish interests in governmental affairs; and in comparison, how weak, if judged by their accomplishments, are disinterested love of country and dutiful solicitude for the public good.

Ours is not a government which operates well by its own momentum. It is so constructed that it will only yield its best results when it feels the constant pressure of the hands of the people. This condition suggests the importance of patriotism and devotion to the general and public welfare in all branches of the government. But this is impossible if the representatives of the people in the State or nation look no higher than the promotion of personal benefit, or the local interests of their immediate constituents, or the accomplishment of some purpose in aid of their own retention in place. The man who enters upon a legislative career, having charged himself especially or exclusively with the passage of measures in which he or his personal supporters are alone interested, or with the success of some private enterprise, is apt to be false to himself and untrue to his trust. His mind is preoccupied to such an extent, and his selfish purposes assume such large proportions in his sight, that a scheme for a new public building for his town or district, or for a bridge across a river, or for the right of way for a railroad, or for the allowance of a claim against the government, crowds out all consideration on his part of great and broad general subjects. Thus he furnishes no intelligent aid in legislation for the public good, and it is fortunate for the people if he does

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

not deliver questionable votes in exchange for like favors in behalf of his pet scheme or schemes.

I do not indulge in the statement of an imaginary case. And what I have thus presented is but an illustration of the perversions that are creeping into every branch of our public service. Thoughtful men will not deny that danger lurks in the growing tendency of to-day to regard public office as something which may be sought and administered for private ends, instead of being received and held as a public trust.

Now I plead for the cultivation of a sentiment among the people which will condemn this conduct and these ideas, and which will impress upon those who act for and represent us in every official capacity the truth that their duty is only performed by activity for the public good and by the utmost care that the spirit of our institutions suffers no impairment.

As a stream will not rise above its source, so it is manifest that, to reach this better condition, selfishness and listlessness among the people themselves must give way to a sincere and earnest desire for the preservation and increase of that sentiment of true American citizenship which recognizes in the advancement of the entire country something more to be desired than the direct and immediate attainment of purely private ends.

Here is a field in which all can labor and find plenty to do. Those active in the work will have their love of country enlivened, and they will not fail to receive encouraging response to their efforts.

It will be a mistake for us to relax effort because we cannot reach the highest point of useful activity, or because we may not be able to deal directly with evils in the highest places. A good beginning is made when communities and individuals are led to appreciate properly the value of public spirit and unselfishness in matters connected with their home affairs and with the interest of their neighborhoods. The men who have learned the lesson of good citizenship, as related to the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

concerns of the school district, the village, or the city, will soon strive effectively to impress that lesson upon those who have to do with the concerns of the State and of the nation.

I am sure that we can none of us confidently say that even here, in this grand and busy city, there is no room for an increase of public spirit, or that too much attention is paid to the cultivation of American citizenship. I do not mean to say that we are behind in these things, but intend merely to intimate that we should as far excel in this direction as we do in every other.

Nor is there the least danger that we shall have among us too many reminders that our city is something more than a swift-running mill which grinds the grists of fortune, and that we have in our history and traditions things well worthy of commemoration in palpable and lasting form. Thus the project now on foot to build in an appropriate location a permanent and beautiful arch, to replace a temporary one which added so much to our splendid Centennial display, should not be allowed to miscarry. Such a structure will lead the minds of our citizens away from sordid things, and will suggest to them not only the impressive thoughts connected with our first President's inauguration, but will constantly remind them how grandly the event was celebrated in this city one hundred years afterward. By such means is public spirit fostered, and the way opened for a wider prevalence of good citizenship in its highest and broadest sense.

Let us, on the threshold of a new century, charged as we are with the maintenance, in our day and generation, of the integrity of our government, pledge ourselves to labor, each in his own sphere, for the revival of pure and simple patriotism and for the increase of that unselfish love of our entire country in which our safety lies.

And now I cannot refrain from suggesting as a closing thought that the responsibility of men like those who con-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

stitute the membership of this club, in every part and every phase a movement in the direction of public spirit and good citizenship, is made apparent when it is conceded that no agency can accomplish more in the cause than a free, courageous, and patriotic press.

*[Address at the Laying of the Corner Stone of
the New Academy of Medicine, New York,
October 2, 1889.]*

The congratulation and the satisfaction which attend this hour especially belong to the members of the Academy of Medicine. This is as it should be, for the exercises of to-day signalize an achievement wrought by their activity and energy, and give proof of their devotion and attachment to their chosen profession. To the members of this organization the corner stone which we now lay is an honor, for it is a monument which marks an important advance in the attainment of the purpose of the Academy, as declared in its constitution: "the promotion of the science and art of medicine."

In these extensive foundations is also found proof of the progressive ideas of these earnest men and their constantly enlarging estimate of what is necessary to meet the purposes to which their energy is directed. I have lately seen a pamphlet containing the constitution and by-laws of the Academy, with a prefatory note published only three years ago. In this note it is declared that, from the inception of the Academy, one of its chief objects has been the procurement of a building or hall where its meetings might be held, where a library and museum could be garnered, and where the profession could meet on common ground. The statement is added with much apparent satisfaction that the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

efforts put forth in this direction have culminated in the purchase of a commodious building centrally situated, thus "providing a library, hall, and audience room, which will, for some time, answer the Academy's wants and those of the profession." It is already found that the commodious building which, three years ago, was deemed sufficient headquarters for the usefulness of the Academy, is too small and cramped to answer the beneficent purposes of the organization, and the erection of a structure three or four times as large has been entered upon. It is thus evident that the members of the Academy of Medicine, not forgetting the mission they have undertaken to promote the science and art of medicine, and, seeing broader avenues leading to this object, have promptly, and with an energy which never fails, begun their preparations for wider activity and more important results.

I have spoken of the mission of the Academy. The nobility and sacred character of this mission have been often dwelt upon. It is an old story, but it will never lose its interest while humanity is touched with human woe; while self-sacrifice receives the homage of Christian hearts; while the sufferings and sorrows of our fellow-men start the tear of pity; nor while their alleviation brings comfort and satisfaction to the soul of sympathy.

These reflections easily and naturally lead to the thought that the members of the Academy of Medicine are not entitled to the absolute monopoly of congratulation to-day. All your fellow-citizens may well claim a share, not only because they are interested in the promotion of the science and art of medicine, by reason of their liability to accident and disease, but because such advance in any profession, as is here demonstrated, adds to the glory and renown of our common country. I am here to claim for the laymen among your fellow-citizens a part of the pride which grows out of the progress and achievement of our medical profession. I

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

base this claim upon the fact that, in this favored land of ours, all interests are so interwoven and all activities lead, or should lead, so directly to the accomplishment of our common national destiny that none of us can be indifferent to an important advance among us in any science or industry.

I am sure that you are not inclined to ignore the aid you have received, in the project you have undertaken, from the laymen among your fellows. Nor can you forget that underlying all that you have done and all that you have received are our free American institutions, which encourage and give scope to every worthy effort, and which offer fitting rewards for intelligent and well-directed labor in every condition of life.

You will not, therefore, I trust, deem it impertinent if I remind you that none of us is absolved from the duty of aiding in the maintenance in complete integrity of these free institutions, and that this requires the thoughtful care and attention of every citizen. You do much for your country when you raise the standard and enlarge the usefulness of your profession; but you do not accomplish all you can, nor do you discharge your full duty of citizenship, unless you also attempt to better the condition of public affairs and give to political topics and movements the benefit of your trained thought and well-informed judgment. In this way you assist in making safe and sure the foundations upon which must rest the success and value of all your professional efforts and accomplishments.

I hope, when we shall celebrate here the discovery of our country, that we may point out on this spot, in your completed building, a splendid monument of the progress of our medical education, a monument which shall not only prove to the stranger that our physicians are proud of their profession, but one which shall also be a reminder that those who govern within its walls do not forget, in their devotion to the science and art of medicine, their other duties of citizenship.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*Address at the New York Chamber of Commerce Banquet, November 19, 1889.*]

As I speak of the honorary members of the Chamber of Commerce, I shall, first of all, avail myself of the opportunity here afforded to express my thanks for the action of that body which placed my name upon its roll of honor. It is a source of great gratification to me to be thus related, though only nominally, to the vast business interests which this organization has in its charge and keeping, and I think and trust that I do not in the least underestimate the improvement and benefit which may result to me from such relationship.

The business of a country is its life blood; and all who are directly or indirectly connected with it, who are acquainted with its operations and are able to discern the manner in which it may be benefited or injured, and the causes which affect it, should be, for these reasons, better able to perform well their duties as citizens.

Good government is the object of every patriotic aspiration of our people. But good government is so unlike a thing to be gained by dreaming of it, and is something so practical and palpable, that it is best judged by business tests; and thus the condition of the business of a country is properly considered a reliable indicator of the nature of its government and the manner in which such government is administered.

Of course, the conception of business here intended must not be confused with the selfish scurry and sordid clutching after wealth which we see about us every day—heedless of the rights of others and utterly regardless of any obligation to aid in the nation's growth and greatness. This is not the business of a country; nor should the narrow and circum-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

scribed success of such endeavor be recognized as evidence of a beneficent government or of wholesome laws. The active, strong impulse which, starting from important centers, steadily permeates the entire land, giving to our tradesmen, everywhere, healthy prosperity, to our toilers remunerative labor, and to our homes comfort and contentment, constitute phases of the business of our country which we love to recognize as proofs of the value of our free institutions and demonstrations of the benign operation of just legislation. But when these factors of general thrift and happiness are wanting, we may well fear that we are not in the enjoyment of all the blessings of good government.

Since business, properly defined, is thus closely related to government, it plainly follows that, if those intrusted with public affairs were more identified with men like those forming the active membership of this Chamber of Commerce, and were better informed concerning the interest which such men represent, the country would be the gainer. I do not hesitate to say that we should have more business men in our national legislature. If this should be conceded, and the question of reaching that result is presented, but two modes can be suggested—either to make business men of those elected or choose business men in the first instance. The latter plan is manifestly the best, and, indeed, the only practical one.

I must confess that, fresh from public employment, as I look about me here, I feel like a good judge of valuable material, when he sees it in abundance unused and going to waste before his eyes. It is well for you to be conversant with markets, and you are obliged to study them. But it is undeniable that the laws of your country and their execution are so related to markets that they, too, are worthy of your attention. I know that participation in the public service would involve an interruption of your ordinary vocations, but is it not your duty to suffer this for the sake of the good

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

you can accomplish? Nor is the subject devoid of an inducement based upon self-interest, for you must agree with me that business men upon Congressional committees, or upon the floor of Congress, could accomplish much more in the direction of their own protection than by periodically seeking admission to committee rooms, or awaiting the convenience of legislators who need their instructions.

I cannot be mistaken when I say that some dangers which beset our political life might be avoided or safely met if our business men would more actively share in public affairs, and that nothing would better befit the character and object of your organization than a practical movement in this direction.

I hasten now to say that I have not forgotten the topic with which I started. I am embarrassed in treating of it because, in theory, the honorary members are those who have rendered useful public service. As the last and least of these members I feel that I can do little more than acknowledge my gratitude for the privilege of being counted with the grand men whose names stand above me on the roll—the living and the dead.

There has been much discussion lately concerning the disposition which should be made of our ex-Presidents, and many plans have been suggested for putting us out of the way. I am sure we are very sorry to make so much trouble, but I do hope that, whatever conclusion may be reached, the recommendation of a Kentucky newspaper editor, to take us out and shoot us, will not be adopted. Prior to the 4th day of last March I did not appreciate as well as I do now the objections to this proceeding, but I have had time to reflect upon the subject since and I find excellent reasons for opposing this plan.

If I should be allowed to express myself upon this question I would suggest that the best way to deal with your troublesome ex-Presidents is to let them alone and give them

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

the same chance to earn an honest living that other people have. And if for any reason you desire to honor them, it cannot be done better than by putting their names upon the roll of honorary membership of the New York Chamber of Commerce.

[*Letter to the Young Men's Democratic Club
at Canton, O., New York, November 22,
1889.*]

Gentlemen: I am pleased with the invitation you extend to Mrs. Cleveland and myself to be present at the anniversary meeting of the Young Men's Democratic Club on the 5th day of December. If the exercises you contemplate and outline in your letter are carried out, all who attend them are certainly promised a rare exposition of sound doctrine from the eloquent and able speakers you have secured. I am sorry that, owing to other engagements, we must be among the absent ones.

The spirit and tone of your letter, so far as it relates to the purposes of your club, are very gratifying. The constantly growing interest manifested by our young men in the principles of the Democratic party constitute, in my opinion, the most reliable hope of their ascendancy. If, at any time in the past, it has with any truth been said that our party did not invite to its standard the enterprising and thoughtful young men of the country, to-day such an allegation shall be disputed.

And these men, keenly alive to their country's welfare, quick to discover the needs of the present, and ready, in the freedom of untrammelled thought, to follow in the pathway of good citizenship, can be safely trusted with political responsibilities. I hope your meeting will be very successful.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[Address at the Banquet of the Merchants' Association of Boston, December 12, 1889.]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: When I see about me this gathering of business men and merchants, I find it impossible to rid myself of the impressive thought that here is represented that factor in civilized life which measures the progress of a people, which constitutes the chief care of every enlightened government, and which gives to a country the privilege of recognized membership in the community of nations.

Our business men cannot, if they would, escape the responsibility which this condition casts upon them—a responsibility most exacting and invested with the seriousness which always results from a just apprehension of man's relation to his fellow-man and the obligation due from a citizen to his government. They can find no pretext for indifference in the self-complacent claim that under American institutions, as in other times and in foreign lands, business men and merchants have only gained a recognition of their importance and value as it has been forced from a government in which they had no representation and from rulers who looked upon their vocation with contempt. They cannot absolve themselves from loyal duty to a government which has, at all times, invited them to a high place in public counsels and which has always ungrudgingly conceded their indispensable value in the growth and progress of our republic.

These considerations plainly point out your responsibility and duty as members of the guild of business and as belonging to the fellowship of trade.

But we cannot avoid other reflections leading in the same direction and related to you alone—the business men of Bos-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

ton. The scene of your activity is the commercial center of a great and ancient commonwealth, rich in patriotic traditions. It was upon the waters of your harbor that the first active and physical defiance and opposition were made to odious and unfair imperial legislation affecting colonial trade; and the first battle by Americans for liberty of the person, and for freedom from unjust and oppressive restraint upon business, was fought within sight of your warehouses.

You have, besides, inherited a trust which shades with sober sentiment your obligation to your country and your fellow-citizens. With the birth of American trade there arose on the spot merchants of strong sense and enlightened enterprise, chiefs among their fellows, independent and self-reliant, willing to chance their success upon their own effort and foresight, inflexibly honest and intensely jealous of their commercial honor. Upon your wharves and in your counting rooms they wrought out their well-earned fortunes. Their ships were found in every ocean-path, and they made their country known in the trade transactions of the world. Abroad they gained willing confidence and credit by their commercial integrity and probity, and at home they were the pride of their countrymen.

These were the old Boston merchants. You, their business heirs and successors, will pardon me if I remind you to-night that the commanding influence of these men did not rest upon immense fortunes, made in a day; but resulted from their well-known honor and scrupulous good faith, which led them to concede to all even the uttermost fraction of right. Nor did they forget their duties of citizenship. They jealously watched the operations of their government, and exacted from it only economy and honesty and a just measure of care and security for themselves and the interests they had in charge.

The Boston merchant of to-day has not less integrity and virtue than his predecessor; but surely we are not called

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

upon, by the fear of controversy, to close our eyes to the fact that his environment is vastly different. There is among our people less of meaning embodied in the sentiment that the government upon which we have staked all our hopes and aspirations, requires, for its successful maintenance, a patriotic regard for the aggregate of the happiness and prosperity of all our people and a willing consent to a fair distribution of the benefits of our free institutions.

Equal rights and impartial justice are stipulations of the compact we have entered into with each other as American citizens; and so nicely adjusted is this plan of our political association, that favoritism for the sole advantage of any section of our membership inevitably results in an encroachment upon the benefits justly due to others. But these things sit so lightly upon the consciences of many that a spirit of selfishness is abroad in the land, which has bred the habit of clamorous importunity for government aid in behalf of special interests—imperfectly disguised under the cloak of solicitude for the public good.

Can we see no contrast between the sturdy self-reliance of the Boston merchant in the days that are past, and the attitude you are invited to assume as dependents upon the favor of the government and beneficiaries under its taxing power? Is there not a difference between the ideas that formerly prevailed concerning the just and wholesome relations which should exist between the government and the business of the country, and the present tendency toward a government partnership in trade? And was there a hint in former days that especial advantages thus once secured, constituted a vested right which in no event should in the least be disturbed?

Political selfishness cheapens in the minds of the people their apprehension of the character and functions of the government; it distorts every conception of the duty of good citizenship, and creates an atmosphere in which iniquitous

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

purposes and designs lose their odious features. It begins when a perverted judgment is won to the theory that political action may be used solely for private gain and advantage, and when a tender conscience is quieted by the ingenious argument that such gain and advantage are identical with the public welfare. This stage having been reached, and self-interest being now fully aroused, agencies are used and practices permitted in the accomplishment of its purposes, which, seen in the pure light of disinterested patriotism, are viewed with fear and hatred. The independent thought, and free political preference of those whom Fate has made dependent upon daily toil for hard-earned bread, are strangled and destroyed by intimidation and the fear of loss of employment. Vile, unsavory forms rise to the surface of our agitated political waters, and gleefully anticipate, in the anxiety of selfish interest, their opportunity to fatten upon corruption and debauched suffrage.

This train of thought leads us to consider the imminent danger which threatens us from the intimidation and corruption of our voters.

It is too late to temporize with these evils, or to speak of them otherwise than in the plainest terms. We are spared the labor of proving their existence, for all admit it. That they are terribly on the increase all must concede.

Manifestly, if the motives of all our citizens were unselfish and patriotic, and if they sought in political action only their share of the advantage accruing from the advance of our country at all points toward her grand destiny, there would be no place or occasion for the perversion of our suffrage. Thus the inauguration of the intimidation and corruption of our voters may be justly charged to selfish schemes seeking success through political action. But these evils have been neglected by honest men, disgusted with all political endeavor; they have been tolerated by respectable men who, in weakness of patriotic sentiment, have regarded

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

them as only phases of shrewd political management, and they have been actually encouraged by the honors which have been bestowed upon those who boast of their use of such agencies in aid of party supremacy.

Many of us, therefore, may take to ourselves a share of blame, when we find confronting us these perils which threaten the existence of our free institutions, the preservation of our national honor, and the perpetuity of our country. The condition annexed to the founding of our government upon the suffrage of the people was that the suffrage should be free and pure. We consented to abide by the honest preponderance of political opinion, but we did not consent that a free vote, expressing the intelligent and thoughtful sentiment of the voter, should be balanced by a vote of intimidation and fear, or by an unclean, corrupt vote disgracefully bought and treacherously sold.

Let us look with a degree of pity and charity upon those who yield to fear and intimidation in the exercise of their right of suffrage. Though they ought not thus to yield, we cannot forget that, as against their free ballot, they see in the scale their continued employment, the comforts of their homes, and the maintenance of their families. We need not stifle our scorn and contempt for the wretch who basely sells his vote, and who for a bribe betrays his trust of citizenship. And yet the thought will intrude itself that he but follows, in a low and vulgar fashion, the example of those who proceed upon the theory that political action may be turned to private gain.

But whether we pity or whether we hate, our betrayal is none the less complete; nor will either pity or hate restore our birthright. But we know that when political selfishness is destroyed our dangers will disappear; and though the way to its stronghold may be long and weary, we will follow it—fighting as we go. There will be no surrender, nor will there be desertions from our ranks. Selfishness

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

and corruption have not yet achieved a lasting triumph, and their bold defiance will but hasten the day of their destruction.

As we struggle on, and confidently invite a direct conflict with these intrenched foes of our political safety, we have not failed to see another hope, which has manifested itself to all the honest people of the land. It teaches them that though they may not immediately destroy at their source the evils which afflict them, they may check their malign influence and guard themselves against their baneful results. It assures them, that, if political virtue and rectitude cannot at once be thoroughly restored to the public, the activity of baser elements may be discouraged. It inspires them with vigilant watchfulness and a determination to prevent as far as possible their treacherous betrayal by those who are false to their obligations of citizenship.

This hope, risen like the Star in the East, has fixed the gaze of our patriotic fellow-countrymen; and everywhere—in our busy marts of trade and on our farms, in our cities and in our villages, in the dwellings of the rich and in the homes of the poor, in our universities and in our workshops, in our banking houses and in the ranks of inexorable toil—they greet with enthusiastic acclaim the advent of ballot reform.

There are no leaders in this cause. Those who seem to lead the movement are but swept to the front by the surging force of patriotic sentiment. It rises far above partisanship; and only the heedless, the sordid, and the depraved refuse to join in the crusade.

This reform is predicated upon the cool deliberation of political selfishness in its endeavor to prostitute our suffrage to the purposes of private gain. It is rightly supposed that corruption of the voter is entered upon with such business calculation that the corrupter will only pay a bribe when he has ocular proof that the suffrage he has bargained for

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

is cast in his interest. So, too, it is reasonably expected that if the employee or laborer is at the time of casting his ballot removed from the immediate control of his employer, the futility of fear and intimidation will lead to their abandonment.

The change demanded by this reform in the formalities surrounding the exercise of the privilege of suffrage has given rise to real or pretended solicitude for the rights of our voters; and the fear has been expressed that inability on the part of electors to conform to the requirements of the proposed change might produce great inconvenience, and in some cases result in disfranchisement. It has even been suggested that the inauguration of the new plan might encroach upon constitutional guarantees.

It will not do to accuse of hostility to the reform all those who present these objections; but it is not amiss to inspect their ranks for enemies in disguise. Though the emergency which is upon us is full of danger, and though we sadly need relief, all rights should be scrupulously preserved. But there should be no shuffling, and no frivolous objections should be tolerated. When a dwelling is in flames we use no set phrase of speech to warn its inmates, and no polite and courtly touch to effect their rescue. Experience has often demonstrated how quickly obstacles, which seemed plausible if not convincing when urged against a measure of reform, are dissipated by the test of trial, and how readily a new order of things adjusts itself to successful use.

I remember the inauguration of another reform; and I have seen it grow and extend, until it has become firmly established in our laws and practice. It is to-day our greatest safeguard against the complete and disgraceful degradation of our public service. It had its enemies, and all of them are not yet silenced. Those openly and secretly unfriendly said in the beginning that the scheme was impracticable and unnecessary; that it created an office-holding

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

class; that it established burdensome and delusive tests for entry in the public service which should be open to all; that it put in the place of real merit and efficiency, scholastic acquirements; that it limited the discretion of those charged with the selection of public employees, and that it was unconstitutional. But its victory came,—wrought by the force of enlightened public sentiment,—and upon its trial every objection which had been urged against it was completely discredited.

As it has been with civil service reform, so will it be with ballot reform, except that the coming victory will be more speedily achieved and will be more complete.

And as the grand old State of Massachusetts was foremost to adopt and demonstrate the practicability and usefulness of civil service reform, so has she been first to adopt a thorough scheme of ballot reform and to prove in practice its value and the invalidity of the objections made against it. We thank Massachusetts to-night for all that she has done for these reforms; and we of New York hope that our Empire State will soon be keeping step with her sister States in the enforcement of an effective and honest measure of ballot reform.

In conclusion let me say that good men have no cause for discouragement. Though there are dangers which threaten our welfare and safety, the virtue and patriotism of the American people are not lost, and we shall find them sufficient for us. If in too great confidence they slumber, they will not always sleep. Let them but be aroused from lethargy and indifference by the consciousness of peril, and they will burst the bonds of political selfishness, revive their political freedom, and restore the purity of their suffrage.

Thus will they discharge the sacred trust committed to their keeping; thus will they still proudly present to the world proof of the value of free institutions; thus will they demonstrate the strength and perpetuity of a government by

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the people; thus will they establish American patriotism throughout the length and breadth of our land; and thus will they preserve for themselves and for posterity their God-given inheritance of freedom and justice and peace and happiness.

[Address at the Cornell Alumni Society Meeting, December 21, 1889.]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I am confident that however well a man may think he has computed the factors which fix his status among his fellows, and however closely he may have inventoried his social assets and the claims he may hold to dignity and consideration, an item is quite likely now and then to escape his scrutiny. As a result he is liable to awaken some morning and find himself, if not famous, at least entitled to some distinction or consideration which had not before entered into his calculation.

If I am not the inventor of this weighty proposition I may safely claim to be a striking and convincing illustration of its truth.

When a committee having the arrangements for this occasion in charge came to me with an invitation to be present, I listened to their proposition with that placid fortitude which one acquires in encounters with those anxious to demonstrate their unselfish patriotism by accepting office in the Federal service. I confess that the impressive representation made by the committee of the importance of the occasion, which in these days I hear so often, had little or no effect upon me, and that the thought I was giving to the subject was solely directed to determining the manner in which I might most courteously announce my declination. At this juncture one of my visitors mentioned the fact that I had been the only Governor of the State of New York,

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

who, during his incumbency, had attended a meeting of the Trustees of Cornell University as *ex officio* a member of that body.

This was an entirely unexpected announcement. I need hardly say that conditions changed in an instant, when I understood that I had done an important thing, entirely proper and creditable, which my gubernatorial predecessors had not done. Somewhat puffed up by this newly found superiority, and by the additional importance which I imagined it gave me, I was ready to acknowledge the character of the obligation which was imposed by my relations thus established to an important institution of learning, and the duty I owed to those who ate and drank in its honor.

So I came here to insist upon a proper recognition of my kinship to you all, and, I fear, with some idea of exploiting, in rather a patronizing way, my importance in that relationship.

But I am entirely cured of all this; for when I see here the alumni of Cornell and others connected with her, and when I recall the pride which the people of New York have in her success and achievements, and when I remember the interest and inspiration aroused by my visit to her home more than six years ago, I am quite willing to rest the satisfaction I experience from the privilege of being with you to-night, upon the interest which every citizen of our country and our State ought to feel in an institution which has done so much, and which promises so much for the instruction and improvement of the people of the nation and the State.

As I speak of the nation in its relation to your university, I at once encounter a thing which seems not only to underlie the establishment of the institution, but which presents a feature full of gratification and congratulation. In the grant of aid made by the general government, which did so much toward the founding of the university, I find it provided

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

that the institutions which sought the benefit of its benefaction must "teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life."

When we consider the relations of the State to the university, we find the charter giving her a corporate existence upon the same condition contained in the Federal grant. We find, too, that the State guided in her direction the benefits of that grant, and at the same time permitted her to extend, to additional branches of science and learning, her plan of instruction. Nor should we overlook the fact that in her charter the State required her several departments of study to be open to applicants for admission at the lowest rate of expense consistent with her welfare and efficiency, and without distinction as to rank, class, previous occupation, or locality.

To my mind these things mean a great deal. They mean that both the nation and the State deemed the instruction of the people in agriculture and the mechanical arts as a fit subject for governmental care. This seems natural enough when we consider the broad area of our country, with its variety of soil and climate, waiting the magic transformation of agriculture, and when we remember that the American people surpass all others in ingenuity and mechanical faculty. They mean, too, the recognition of the fact that the good of the nation and the State is subserved by the education of all the people without distinction of rank or class, thus keeping in view the principle, upon which our institutions rest, that the people are the rulers of the land, and that their intelligence and education are the surest safeguards of our perpetuity, our prosperity, and our progress. They mean, also, that our nation and our State have made an offer of educational facilities and have exacted from their beneficiaries a compensating return of good citizenship.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

These thoughts immediately suggest that those who close with this offer and accept its benefits incur an obligation to the nation and State which cannot be avoided or compromised. It is an obligation to realize thoughtfully and carefully the trust they hold as citizens, to interest themselves in public questions and to discharge their political duties with a patriotic intent and purpose of securing and protecting the welfare of their entire country. No man has a right to be heedless and listless under the responsibility he bears as an American citizen. An educated man has certainly no excuse for indifference; and most of all, the man is derelict to his obligation who calls your university his Alma Mater and yet fails to discharge his full duty of citizenship. His graduation is proof that he has worthily earned the honors which your university can bestow; but, wherever he may go and whatever may be his way of life, his diploma is evidence that he owes service to the nation.

Of this service he should at all times be proud. He is everywhere, if he is true to his duty, in the ranks of those who are engaged in the noble work of aiding to reach its grand and ultimate destiny, the best and freest nation the world has ever seen. If he retains his allegiance to the Empire State of New York, his pride should be enhanced; because, if he is faithful to his pledge, he is striving to advance the interest of the greatest commonwealth which the government of the United States numbers among its jewels.

Thus in the nation and in the State he wears the badge of his obligation to good citizenship placed upon him within the walls of Cornell University. Happy and dutiful are her graduates, if, for the welfare of their country, for the honor of their university, and for the vindication of their own rectitude and good faith they respond patriotically to this obligation.

Concerning the debt of affection due from you to the university herself, I hardly need say, in this company, that all

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the alumni of Cornell, wherever in this broad land they may be, should love and revere their Alma Mater, beneath whose sheltering roof they have been fitted for usefulness and well equipped for the conflict of life. Their loyalty to her should never fail, and when the student life of their sons makes their fathers' names again familiar in the old university and upon her rolls, the sons should come to her halls laden with a father's devotion to her welfare, and they should be spurred to their best endeavor by a father's appreciation of her benefits and advantages.

Let me, in closing, leave the alumni of Cornell University the thought that they cannot honor their Alma Mater more, nor illustrate her value and usefulness better, than by keeping alive and active at all times a sober apprehension of the duty they owe to "the Nation, the State, and the University."

[Address at the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Actors' Fund of America, New York City, January 3, 1890.]

Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen: If my appearance here to-day serves no other purpose, I hope I may say, without offense to anyone, that it illustrates the progress of our time in toleration and liberality of sentiment.

I was reared and taught in the strictest school of Presbyterianism. I remember well the precious precepts and examples of my early days, and I acknowledge that to them I owe every faculty of usefulness I possess, and every just apprehension of the duties and obligations of life. But though still clinging to these with unabated faith and steadfastness, I meet and congratulate you on this occasion, not only without the least vestige of moral compunction, but with great pleasure and satisfaction.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

It is not necessary to remind this audience that, whether right or wrong, such a condition could not always be anticipated, for the time is within the remembrance of us all when, in many quarters of our country, very little good was acknowledged to exist in the dramatic profession. We are certain there has been a change in the relation your profession bears to the people at large; and, while much of this change is undoubtedly due to the growth of more liberal ideas, it will not do to overlook the fact that you yourselves have, by a constant regard to the ethics of your calling, contributed perhaps in a greater degree to the breaking down of old prejudices and misconceptions. At all events, we, as laymen, know that we are freer from bigoted intolerance; and you, as members of the dramatic profession, must feel that you are greatly relieved from unjust suspicions.

We all see less and less reason why our ministers should quote Shakspeare from their pulpits and we be prohibited from seeing and hearing his works better interpreted on the stage. We see still less consistency in permitting the perusal of books of fiction, which only sometimes teach wholesome moral lessons, and at the same time prohibiting attendance upon the well-regulated and conventional play, where virtue is always triumphant and villainy is always circumvented.

But while I can say that I am not at all perplexed at this moment by my Presbyterianism, I cannot claim that my position before such an audience as this is entirely free from embarrassment. I have been told by one of my best friends, and, at the same time, one of the best actors I ever saw, that at a play an audience of actors are critical, but kind and patient. This reflection is, of course, reassuring as far as it goes. But, since I agreed to meet you here to-day, it has often occurred to me that I had no guarantee of your kindness and patience except at a play; and that perhaps when you see your places on the stage occupied by those not of your brotherhood, you may still be critical, but neither kind

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

nor patient. In these circumstances, I may as well confess now and here, that, in strict accordance with the promptings of weak and unamiable human nature, I have stifled all misgivings as to what I may inflict upon you—if I have not rid myself of anxiety—by the reflection that, however much I may fall short of your approbation, I cannot possibly take of you excessive reprisals for the dreary speaking and acting that have at times been inflicted upon me when some of your profession have been upon the stage and I in the audience.

It is very doubtful whether there is much appropriateness in the ideas I have thus far presented, in the light of the fact that we have met to review the work of a noble charity; for, though this particular enterprise has its rise within the limits of the dramatic profession, surely, in the things which pertain to the relief of the sick and suffering, and to the aid and comfort of the unfortunate and afflicted, all who are charitably inclined belong to one fraternity. The sentiment of charity arouses all that is worth having in human nature, and in its work it weaves the bands which hold mankind in gentle kinship.

I cannot refrain from speaking of one characteristic of the charity you have in charge, which to me is especially gratifying. Necessarily, in the administration of many benevolent enterprises, the conditions of participation in their benefits are so exacting and the investigations practiced are so searching and unsparing, that humiliation and sadness often accompany relief. It is a most happy arrangement of the work of your organization that it is done directly, promptly, and without humiliating incidents; that your relief is extended to all in any way related to your profession, from the highest to the lowest grade; and that they require no other certificate than their needy condition. Thus there is given to your charitable efforts a sort of cordiality and heartiness which makes your assistance doubly welcome.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

I remember well how impressed I was by this feature of your charity, when, six or seven years ago, I first knew of the existence of your organization, and was urged, as Governor of the State, to attend an entertainment to be given for its benefit; and how it determined me to set aside my objections and accept the invitation which was so cordially and persuasively presented. I have always felt grateful to those who tendered that invitation, not only for the enjoyment which the entertainment afforded, but also because I was thus introduced to a charity in which I have ever since taken a lively interest. You at that time placed my name upon your roll of honorary membership, and I am very proud of it—all the more so because if not the first, it was among the first, there recorded.

I feel, then, that I am nearly enough related to you and your active membership to join in your felicitations upon the good you have already accomplished and upon the promise of extended usefulness in the future. The record of charitable accomplishments which has been presented by your president must be full of satisfaction, and must, of necessity, bring home to you the feeling that you have been amply paid for all you have done for this beneficent organization, by the consciousness that you have in this way aided in alleviating the sorrow and the distress of your "forlorn and shipwrecked" brethren.

The highest and best development of your charity, and the most important purpose of your Fund, will be reached when you are able to provide a home for those in your profession who, through age, sickness, or infirmity, are unfitted longer to work and struggle. It must be perfectly apparent that in such a retreat, managed and superintended by those who, from professional experience and sympathy, are conversant with the history and peculiar needs of those whom it shelters, poverty would lose much of its humiliation, and disability need not rob the unfortunate of self-respect. I

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

hope the day is not far distant when this important instrumentality will be added to your means of usefulness.

You will not, I trust, deem it amiss if, in conclusion, I present a thought which is apt to be prominent in my mind on occasions like this.

Considering, as I do, the dramatic profession as furnishing favorable conditions for the development of thoughtful men, I am not fully satisfied that its members appreciate, as soberly as they ought, their duty to our country. You must yourselves confess that the tendency of your occupation is somewhat in the direction of isolation, and a separation from familiar contact with the ordinary affairs of life. These lead not only to your being misunderstood by many of your fellow-citizens, but to the loss of the advantage which your intelligence might contribute to the common welfare. You are patriotic in sentiment, but you are too apt to think that you perform your full duty when you do well your professional work and when you keep the peace and obey the laws. Pardon me if I say to you that all these things, and all your readily acknowledged charitable undertakings, will not atone for a neglect to discharge your duty as it is related to the affairs of your country. This government of ours is constructed upon the theory that every thoughtful, intelligent, and honest citizen will directly interest himself in its operation; and unless this is forthcoming, its best objects and purposes will not be accomplished.

As the welfare of your country is dear to you, as you desire an honest and wise administration of your government, and as your interests and prosperity, in common with those of your fellow-citizens, are bound up in the maintenance of our free institutions, do not forget that these things can only be secured by conscientious political thought and careful political action.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Address at the Celebration of the Organization of the Supreme Court, February 4, 1890.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen: We are accustomed to express, on every fit occasion, our reverence for the virtue and patriotism in which the foundations of our republic were laid, and to rejoice in the blessings vouchsafed to us under free institutions. Thus we have lately celebrated, with becoming enthusiasm, the centennial of the completion of our Constitution and the inauguration of our first President.

To-day we have assembled to commemorate an event connected with our beginning as a people, which, more than any other, gave safety and the promise of perpetuity to the American plan of government, and which, more than any other, happily illustrated the wisdom and enlightened foresight of those who designed our national structure.

In the work of creating our nation, the elements of a free government were supplied by concessions of sovereign States, by surrender of accustomed rights, and by the inspiration of pure and disinterested patriotism. If, from these elements, there had not been evolved that feature in our Federal system which is our theme to-day, the structure might have been fair to look upon and might have presented a semblance of solidity and strength; but it would have been only a semblance; and the completed edifice would have had within its foundations the infirmity of decay and ruin.

It must be admitted that it is hardly within the power of human language so to compass diverse interests and claims, within the lines of a written constitution, as to free it entirely from disputes of construction; and certainly diverse constructions were apt to lurk in the diction of a constitution declared by the president of the convention which for-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

mulated it, to be "the result of a spirit of amity and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."

It is fairly plain and palpable, both from reason and a review of events in our history, that without an arbiter to determine, finally and conclusively, the rights and duties embraced in the language of the Constitution, the union of States and the life of the American nation must have been precarious and disappointing. Indeed, there could hardly have been a well-grounded hope that they would long survive the interpretation of the national compact by every party upon whom it rested, and the insistence of each, to the last extremity, upon such an interpretation as would secure coveted rights and benefits, and absolve from irksome duties and obligations.

In the creation of the world, the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, until God said: "Let there be light, and there was light."

In the creation of our new nation, our free institutions were without the form and symmetry of strength, and the darkness of hopelessness brooded over the aspirations of our people, until a light in the temple of Justice and Law, gathered from the Divine fountain of light, illumined the work of the fathers of our republic.

On this centennial day we will devoutly thank Heaven for the revelation, to those who formed our government, of this source of strength and light, and for the inspiration of disinterested patriotism and consecrated devotion which established the tribunal which we to-day commemorate.

Our fathers had sacrificed much to be free. Above all things they desired freedom to be absolutely secured to themselves and their posterity. And yet, with all their enthusiasm for this sentiment, they were willing to refer to the tribunal which they devised all questions arising under their newly formed Constitution, affecting the freedom and

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

the protection and safety of the citizen. Though bitter experience had taught them that the instrumentalities of government might trespass upon freedom, and though they had learned in a hard school the cost of the struggle to wrest liberty from the grasp of power, they refused, in the solemn work they had in hand, to take counsel of undue fear or distracting perturbation; and they calmly and deliberately established, as a function of their government, a check upon unauthorized freedom and a restraint upon dangerous liberty. Their attachment and allegiance to the sovereignty of their States were warm and unfaltering; but these did not prevent them from contributing a fraction of that sovereignty to the creation of a Court which should guard and protect their new nation, and save and perpetuate a government which should, in all time to come, bless an independent people.

I deem myself highly honored by the part assigned to me in these commemorative exercises. As in eloquent and fitting terms we shall be led, by those chosen to address us, to the contemplation of the history of that august tribunal organized one hundred years ago; as the lives and services of those who in the past have presided over its councils are rehearsed to us; as our love and veneration for our fellow-countrymen who now fill its high and sacred places are quickened; and as we are reminded of the manner in which our national Court has at all times illustrated the strength and beneficence of free institutions, let us be glad in the possession of this rich heritage of American citizenship, and gratefully appreciate the wisdom and patriotism of those who gave to us the Supreme Court of the United States.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*Letter to E. Ellery Anderson, Chairman of the Reform Club Meeting, New York, February 10, 1891.*]

Dear Sir: I have this afternoon received your note inviting me to attend to-morrow evening the meeting called for the purpose of voicing the opposition of the business men of our city to "the free coinage of silver in the United States."

I shall not be able to attend and address the meeting as you request, but I am glad that the business interests of New York are at last to be heard on this subject. It surely cannot be necessary for me to make a formal expression of my agreement with those who believe that the greatest peril would be invited by the adoption of the scheme, embraced in the measure now pending in Congress, for the unlimited coinage of silver at our mints.

If we have developed an unexpected capacity for the assimilation of a largely increased volume of this currency, and even if we have demonstrated the usefulness of such an increase, these conditions fall far short of insuring us against disaster if, in the present situation, we enter upon the dangerous and reckless experiment of free, unlimited, and independent silver coinage.

[*Letter to Edgar A. Brown, Esq., President of the Indiana Tariff Reform League, New York, February 15, 1890.*]

My Dear Sir: Though my letters to Democratic and tariff reform assemblages have lately been very frequent, I cannot deny your request to say a word of encouragement to the

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

tariff reformers who will meet at the first annual convention of the Indiana Tariff Reform League on the 4th of March.

I am very much pleased with the plan upon which your league seems to be organized. It conveys a suggestion of practical work in the field of information and enlightenment. This, if persistently carried out, cannot fail of success. Of course, we do not approach the American people, assuming that they are ignorant or unpatriotic. But we know that they are busy people and apt to neglect the study of public questions. In the engrossment of their daily avocations, they are too ready to rely upon the judgment and avowed principles of the party with which they have affiliated as guides to their political actions. In this way they have become slow to examine for themselves the questions of tariff reform. If, in the lights of reasonable and simple arguments and of such object-lessons as are being constantly placed before them, our people can be induced to investigate the subjects, there need be no fear as to their conclusion.

The Democratic party—as the party of the people, opposed to selfish schemes, which ignore the public good, and pledged to the interests of all their countrymen instead of furtherance of the interests of the few who seek to pervert governmental powers for their enrichment—was never nearer to its fundamental principles than it was in its contests for tariff reform.

It certainly adds to the satisfaction with which we labor in this cause to be assured that in our efforts we not only serve our party, but all the people of the land.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

*[Address before the Medical Alumni Association
of New York City, February 15, 1890.]*

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I feel that I ought, first of all, to acknowledge the courtesy which affords me the opportunity of pleasantly meeting this evening so many of the medical fraternity. I hasten to follow this by the expression of my thanks for the permission to say the few words which I suppose are expected of me thus early in the speech-making stage of this entertainment. I recognize in this favor the utmost kindness, based, I have no doubt, upon your knowledge of physical and mental conditions. You evidently know as well as I do that of all congested, distended and flatulent conditions, the worst and most painful arise from the combination of a stomach full of good things to eat and drink, held in uncomfortable solution by an undigested speech.

I interpret my invitation to be here to-night as a recognition of the relationship which exists between the professions of medicine and law. At any rate I am quite proud in the assumption that I am entitled, in a fashion, to represent the law side of this professional reunion.

There are many things which we have in common, and many points where we diverge in our professional ways. We, with the clergy, enjoy the distinction of belonging to the learned professions. This has a pleasant sound and conveys to us an idea calculated to inspire the greatest self-satisfaction and to fill us with a feeling of arrogant superiority. These sentiments are, however, at once much tempered, or are destroyed, by the reflection that we are all obliged to recognize as professional brethren those who demonstrate by their conduct that mere membership in our brotherhoods will not, of itself, raise us above the ordinary scale of moral-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

ity, or exalt us above the plane of everyday human nature. Neither you nor I can deny that both of our professions have at this moment representatives not engaged in active practice, but resting in retirement and seclusion within the walls of certain penal institutions scattered throughout the land. And I will concede, if you will, that there are others now at large, in both professions, who are entitled to the same retirement and seclusion.

Perhaps, in passing, I might also say with bated breath that it is sometimes broadly hinted that even the clergy occasionally do things which better befit the unregenerate.

I do not indulge in these reflections for the sake of saying unpleasant things, but rather to suggest humility and modesty, and to introduce the declaration that I am prepared now and here to disavow with you the claim of any special goodness or greatness for our profession, except such as grows out of active sympathy with everything which helps and benefits our fellow-men, and except such as result from a conscientious and honest discharge of professional duty.

We occupy common ground in the similarity of the treatment we receive at the hands of the outside world, and in the opportunity we have to make things even with those who despitefully use us.

I have no doubt that it is very funny for people to caricature doctors as playing into the hands of undertakers, and to represent lawyers as being on such good terms with the evil one as to preclude the least chance of their salvation. Those who indulge in this sort of merriment are well people and people who have no lawsuits on hand. They grow very serious when their time comes and they grow sick or are caught in the meshes of the law. Then they are very respectful and very appreciative of our skill and learning. If sick they would fain have the doctor by their side day and night; and if they are troubled with a lawsuit they sit like Mordecai at the lawyer's gate and are unwilling that he

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

should attend to any business but theirs. They are ready to lay their fortunes at our feet and to give and promise all things if they can but recover their health or win their suit. These are the days in which the lawyer, if he is wise, will suggest to his clients the payment of a round retainer or a fee in advance. I mention this as indicating a difference at this time in our situations in favor of the lawyer which gives him a slight advantage over his medical brother.

When the patient recovers, or the client has succeeded in his suit, the old hardihood and impetuosity return. The patient insists that his strong constitution carried him through, and the client declares that he always knew there was nothing in the case of his adversary. They haggle over our bills and wonder how we can charge so much for so little work.

But sometimes the life or the lawsuit cannot be saved. In such a case we must not overlook a difference in our situations, with features in favor of the doctor. The defeated client is left in a vigorous and active condition, not only in the complete enjoyment of his ancient privilege of swearing at the Court, but also with full capacity to swear at his lawyer. The defeated patient, on the contrary, is very quiet indeed and can only swear at his doctor if he has left his profanity in a phonograph to be ground out by his executor.

A point of resemblance between us is found in the fact that in neither profession do we manage well in treating our own cases. Doctors solemnly advise their patients that it is dangerous to eat this or drink that, or do many other things which make existence pleasant; and after marking out a course for their poor patients which, if followed, robs life of all which makes it worth living, they hasten away to tempt instant death, according to their own teachings, by filling themselves with all the good things and indulgence within the reach of their desires. So the lawyer, safe and

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

wise when he counsels others, deals so poorly with his own legal affairs as to have originated the saying that a lawyer who tries his own case has a fool for a client; and it seems almost impossible for a lawyer to draw his own will in such manner as not to yield a passage through it for a coach and four.

Another point of resemblance between the two professions consists in the disposition of the members of both to quarrel with each other. I am bound to say, however, that a difference is to be noted in this matter in favor of the amiability of the Bar. Our quarrels are mostly of the Pickwickian sort and strictly in the line of business. They keep us in fighting trim and serve a very good purpose in impressing our clients with our zeal and devotion to their interest. Our asseveration of the rectitude and justice of their side of the cause in hand, and our demonstration of contempt and indignation for the baseless pretenses of their antagonist and for that prostitution of professional effort which advocates such pretenses, is a part of our trade. At the same time I suppose our clients would suspect us of bad faith and disloyalty if they knew how temporary and free from bitterness our quarrels are. Of course, I personally know but little of the quarrels of doctors, except that they are constant and well sustained. I am not to be blamed, however, if I share in the common belief of those outside of the profession, that you are very belligerent and quarrel a great deal for the sake of quarreling. You seem to quarrel in squads, in sections, in schools and in colleges. You certainly have not, as we have, the excuse that your warfare pleases and exhilarates your patients; for neither they nor anyone else know what you are quarreling about.

It is extremely pleasant to turn from these things to the acknowledgment of certain obligations we, as lawyers, often owe to the medical fraternity. When, burdened with a troublesome case, we feel that the facts are against us; when we

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

languish in the chill darkness of adverse legal principles; and when discouragement broods over our efforts, if we can bring from afar and inject into our cause some question of medical science, our drooping lawsuit immediately becomes animated and interesting, for we know that whatever our theory may be concerning this medical question, we shall find generous and considerate doctors who will support it. Of course fully as many will dispute and denounce it; but with a jury in the box who have not the slightest idea of what the doctors are talking about, neither litigant need feel discouraged.

You are not, I trust, unprepared for the distinct expression in conclusion, that nothing is more noble or useful than worthy membership in our professions. In both are found that culture and enlightened education which make them learned professions; and in both are found that dignity, integrity, and devotion which entitle them to be called honorable professions. Our membership should lead us to acknowledge the responsibilities to our fellow-men, which our situations impose, and our obligation to our country, which we cannot innocently evade. May I not suggest that our entire duty is not done if we never look beyond our professional routine, and if we limit our endeavor to strictly professional labor? If our positions give us influence, that influence should be exerted in every direction for the good of our fellow-countrymen. There are also maladies and evils afflicting the body politic which require remedies and corrections; and there are suits to be tried before the tribunal of public opinion in which the anxious suitors are a free, generous, and confiding people.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[Address before the Southern Society of New York, February 22, 1890, in response to the toast "The Birthday of George Washington."]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: It is sometimes said of us that we have too few holidays, and this perhaps is true. We do not boast the antiquity nor the long history which accumulates numerous days of national civic observance; and the rush and activity of our people's life are not favorable to that conservative and deliberate sentiment which creates and establishes holidays. So far as such days might commemorate the existence or achievements of some conspicuous personage, their infrequency may be largely attributed to our democratic spirit and the presumption arising from our institutions. In this land of ours—owned, possessed, and governed by the people—we, in theory at least, demand and expect that every man will, in his sphere, be a patriot, and that every faculty of greatness and usefulness with which he is endowed will be devoted to his country and his fellow-men. We have had no dearth of distinguished men, and no better heroism has anywhere been seen than here. But they belong so naturally to us, that we usually deem them sufficiently noticed and commemorated when they are acknowledged as contributions to the common fund of our national pride and glory.

Thus it happens that in this country but two birthdays are publicly celebrated. We reverently speak of one as the day when the Redeemer of Mankind appeared among men. On the other the man was born whose mission it was to redeem the American people from bondage and dependence and to

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

display to the world the possibility of popular self-government.

It would be strange, indeed, if this day should ever be neglected by our fellow-countrymen. It would be like a nation's blotting out the history which cements its governmental edifice, or expunging its traditions from which flow that patriotic love and devotion of its people which are the best guarantees of peaceful rule and popular contentment.

We certainly need at least one day which shall recall to our minds the truth that the price of our country was unselfish labor and sacrifice, that men fought and suffered that we might be free, and that love and American brotherhood are necessary elements to the full and continued enjoyment of American freedom, prosperity, and happiness.

We are apt to forget these things in our engrossment with the activities which attend the development of our country and in the impetuous race after wealth which has become a characteristic of our people. There is danger that we may grow heedless of the fact that our institutions are a precious legacy which, for their own sake, should be jealously watched and guarded, and there is danger that this condition may induce selfishness and sordidness, followed by the idea that patriotism and morality have no place in statecraft, and that a political career may be entered upon like any other trade for private profit and advantage.

This is a frightful departure from the doctrines upon which our institutions rest, and surely it is the extreme of folly to hope that our scheme of government will effect its purpose and intent when every condition of its birth and life is neglected.

Point to your immense fortunes, if you will; point to your national growth and prosperity; boast of the day of practical politics, and discard as obsolete all sentiment and all conception of morality and patriotism in public life, but do not for a moment delude yourselves into the belief that you are navi-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

gating in the safe course marked out by those who launched and blessed the Ship of State.

Is Washington accused even in these days of being a sentimentalist? Listen to the admonition he addressed "as an old and affectionate friend" to his fellow-countrymen, whom he loved so well and for whom he had labored so long, as he retired from their service:

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion, and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them.

And all is summed up and applied directly to our situation when he adds:

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government.

When did we outgrow these sentiments? When did we advance so far in knowledge above our fathers as safely to cast aside these beliefs? Let us be sober and thoughtful, and if we find that these things have lost their hold on our minds and hearts, let us take soundings, for the rocks are near.

We need in our public and private life such pure and chastened sentiments as result from the sincere and heartfelt observance of days like this, and we need such quickening of our patriotism as the sedate contemplation of the life and character of Washington creates.

Most of all, because it includes all, we need a better appreciation of true American citizenship. I do not mean by this, that thoughtless pride of country which is everywhere assumed sometimes without sincerity, nor the sordid attachment born of benefits received or favors expected, but that

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

deep and sentimental love for our citizenship which flows from the consciousness that the blessing of Heaven was invoked at its birth; that it was nurtured in the faith of God; and that it grew strong in the self-denying patriotism of our fathers and in their love of mankind.

Such an apprehension of American citizenship will consecrate us all to the disinterested service of our country and incite us to drive from the temple of our liberties the money changers and they who buy and sell.

Washington was the most thorough American that ever lived. His sword was drawn to carve out American citizenship, and his every act and public service was directed to its establishment. He contemptuously spurned the offer of kingly power, and never faltered in his hope to make most honorable the man who could justly call himself an American.

In the most solemn manner he warned his countrymen against any attack upon the unity of the government, and called upon them to frown indignantly upon any attempt to alienate any portion of the country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties that linked together the various parts.

His admonition reached the climax of its power and force when he said:

Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of "American," which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from any local discriminations.

In an evil hour, and amid rage and resentment, the warning of Washington was disregarded and the unity of our government was attacked. In blood and devastation it was saved, and the name of "American," which belonged to all of us, was rescued. From the gloom of desolation and estrangement all our countrymen were drawn again to their

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

places by the mystic bond of American citizenship which, for all time to come, shall hold and ennoble them as hearty co-workers in accomplishing the national destiny which to the day of his death inspired the faith and hope of Washington.

As we commemorate his birth to-night, we will invoke his precious influence and renew our patriotic and disinterested love of country. Let us thank God that he has lived, and that he has given to us the highest and best example of American citizenship. And let us especially be grateful that we have this sacred memory, which spanning time, vicissitude, and unhappy alienation, calls us together in sincere fellowship and brotherly love on "The birthday of George Washington."

*[Address to a Meeting for Promoting the Free
Library Movement, New York, March 6,
1890.]*

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen: The few words I shall speak on this occasion, I intend rather as a pledge of my adherence to the cause in which you are enlisted, than an attempt to say anything new or instructive. I gladly join, with the enthusiasm of a new convert, in the felicitations of those who have done noble and effective work in the establishment and maintenance in our city of a free circulating library; and it seems to me they have abundant cause for congratulation in a review of the good which has already been accomplished through their efforts, and in the contemplation of the further usefulness which awaits their continued endeavor.

In every enlightened country the value of popular education is fully recognized, not only as a direct benefit to its

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

recipients, but as an element of strength and safety in organized society. Considered in these aspects, it should nowhere be better appreciated than in this land of free institutions, consecrated to the welfare and happiness of its citizens, and deriving its sanction and its power from the people. Here the character of the people is inevitably impressed upon the government, and here our public life can no more be higher and purer than the life of the people, than a stream can rise above its fountain or be purer than the spring in which it has its source.

That we have not failed to realize these conditions is demonstrated by the establishment of free public schools on every side, where children are not only invited but often obliged to submit themselves to such instruction as will better their situation in life and fit them to take part intelligently in the conduct of the government.

Thus in our schools the young are taught to read, and in this manner the seed is sown from which we expect a profitable return to the state, when its beneficiaries shall repay the educational advances made to them by an intelligent and patriotic performance of their social and political duties.

And yet, if we are to create good citizenship, which is the object of popular education, and if we are to insure to the country the full benefit of public instruction, we can by no means consider the work as completely done in the school-room. While the young gathered there are fitting themselves to assume in the future their political obligations, there are others upon whom these obligations already rest, and who now have the welfare and safety of the country in their keeping. Our work is badly done if these are neglected. They have passed the school age, and have perhaps availed themselves of free instruction; but they, as well as those still in school, should, nevertheless, have within their reach the means of further mental improvement and the opportunity of gaining that additional knowledge and informa-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

tion which can only be secured by access to useful and instructive books.

The husbandman who expects to gain a profitable return from his orchards not only carefully tends and cultivates the young trees in his nurseries as they grow to maturity, but he generously enriches and cares for those already in bearing and upon which he must rely for ripened fruit.

Teaching the children of our land to read is but the first step in the scheme of creating good citizens by means of free instruction. We teach the young to read so that, both as children and as men and women, they may read. Our teaching must lead to the habit and the desire of reading, to be useful; and only as this result is reached, can the work in our free schools be logically supplemented and made valuable.

Therefore, the same wise policy and intent which open the doors of our free schools to our young also suggest the completion of the plan thus entered upon, by placing books in the hands of those who, in our schools, have been taught to read.

A man or woman who never reads and is abandoned to unthinking torpor, or who allows the entire mental life to be bounded by the narrow lines of a daily recurring routine of effort for mere existence, cannot escape a condition of barrenness of mind which not only causes the decay of individual contentment and happiness, but which fails to yield to the state its justly expected return of usefulness in valuable service and wholesome political action.

Another branch of this question should not be overlooked. It is not only of great importance that our youth and our men and women should have the ability, the desire, and the opportunity to read, but the kind of books they read is no less important. Without guidance and without the invitation and encouragement to read publications which will improve as well as interest, there is danger that our people

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

will have in their hands books whose influence and tendency are of a negative sort, if not positively bad and mischievous. Like other good things, the ability and opportunity to read may be so used as to defeat their beneficent purposes.

The boy who greedily devours the vicious tales of imaginary daring and blood-curdling adventure, which in these days are far too accessible to the young, will have his brain filled with notions of life and standards of manliness which, if they do not make him a menace to peace and good order, will certainly not tend to make him a useful member of society.

The man who devotes himself to the flash literature now much too common will, instead of increasing his value as a citizen, almost surely degenerate in his ideas of public duty and grow dull in his appreciation of the obligations he owes his country.

In both these cases there will be a loss to the state. There is danger also that a positive and aggressive injury to the community will result; and such readers will certainly suffer deprivation of the happiness and contentment which are the fruits of improving study and well-regulated thought.

So, too, the young woman who seeks recreation and entertainment in reading silly and frivolous books, often of doubtful moral tendency, is herself in the way of becoming frivolous and silly, if not of weak morality. If she escapes this latter condition, she is almost certain to become utterly unfitted to bear patiently the burden of self-support, or to assume the sacred duties of wife and mother.

Contemplating these truths, no one can doubt the importance of securing for those who read, as far as it is in our power, facilities for the study and reading of such books as will instruct and innocently entertain, and which will, at the same time, improve and correct the tastes and desires.

There is another thought somewhat in advance of those already suggested, which should not pass unnoticed.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

As an outgrowth of the inventive and progressive spirit of our people, we have among us legions of men, and women too, who restlessly desire to increase their knowledge of the new forces and agencies, which, at this time, are being constantly dragged from their lurking-places and subjected to the use of man. These earnest inquirers should all be given a chance and have put within their reach such books as will guide and inspire their efforts. If, by this means, the country shall gain to itself a new inventor, or be the patron of endeavor which shall add new elements to the sum of human happiness and comfort, its intervention will be well repaid.

These considerations, and the fact that many among us having the ability and inclination to read are unable to furnish themselves with profitable and wholesome books, amply justify the beneficent mission of our Free Circulating Library. Its plan and operation, so exactly adjusted to meet a situation which cannot safely be ignored and to wants which ought not to be neglected, establish its claim upon the encouragement and reasonable aid of the public authorities and commend it most fully to the support and generosity of private benefaction.

The development which this good work has already reached in our city has exhibited the broad field yet remaining untouched, and the inadequacy of present operations. It has brought to view also instances of noble individual philanthropy and disinterested private effort and contribution.

But it certainly seems that the time and money directed to this object are confined to a circle of persons far too narrow, and that the public encouragement and aid have been greatly disproportioned to private endeavor.

The city of New York has never shown herself willing to be behind other cities in such work as is done by our Free Circulating Library, and, while her people are much engrossed in business activity and enterprise, they have never

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

yet turned away from a cause once demonstrated to them to be so worthy and useful as this.

The demonstration is at hand. Let it be pressed upon our fellow-citizens, and let them be shown the practical operation of the project you have in hand and the good it has accomplished, and the further good of which it is capable through their increased liberality, and it will be strange if they fail to respond generously to your appeal to put the city of New York in the front rank of the cities which have recognized the usefulness of free circulating libraries.

[Letter to J. A. Hill, Esq., Corresponding Secretary of the Steubenville (O.) Lodge of the Farmers' Alliance, New York, March 24, 1890.]

Dear Sir: I have received your letter, accompanied by a copy of the declaration of principles of the Farmers' Alliance.

I see nothing in this declaration that cannot be fully indorsed by any man who loves his country, who believes that the object of our government should be the freedom, prosperity, and happiness of all our people, and who believes that justice and fairness to all are necessary conditions to its useful administration.

It has always seemed to me that the farmers of the country were especially interested in an equitable adjustment of our tariff system. The indifference they have shown to that question, and the ease with which they have been led away from a sober consideration of their needs and their rights as related to this subject, have excited my surprise.

Struggle as they may, our farmers must continue to be purchasers and consumers of numberless things enhanced

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

in cost by tariff regulations. Surely they have the right to insist that this cost shall not be increased for the purpose of collecting unnecessary revenue or to give undue advantage to domestic manufactures. The plea that our infant industries need the protection which thus impoverishes the farmer and consumer is, in view of our natural advantages and the skill and ingenuity of our people, a hollow pretext.

Struggle as they may, our farmers cannot escape the conditions which fix the price of what they produce and sell, according to the rates which prevail in foreign markets flooded with the competition of countries enjoying freer exchange of trade than we. The plausible presentation of the blessings of a home market should not deceive our depressed and impoverished agriculturists. There is no home market for them which does not take its instructions from the seaboard, and the seaboard transmits the word of the foreign markets.

Because my conviction that there should be a modification of our tariff laws arose principally from an appreciation of the wants of the vast army of consumers, comprising our farmers, our artisans, and our workingmen, and because their condition has led me to protest against present impositions, I am especially glad to see these sections of my fellow-countrymen arousing themselves to the importance of tariff reform.

[Address at the Piano and Organ Manufacturers' Banquet, New York, April 24, 1890.]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: The words of the toast to which I am to respond may just at this time appear to have a somewhat threatening sound. In the midst of unusual thought and discussion among our fellow-citizens upon economic subjects, the phrase "our American industries"

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

is very commonly used; and the furtherance of these industries is claimed to be the patriotic purpose of those in both political parties who lead in such thought and discussion.

Thus it happens that the announcement of "Our American Industries," as a topic of discourse, has almost come to be a signal for combat between those not at all loath to fly at each other in wordy warfare over the subject of tariff reform. But if there are any persons here who now feel an inclination to gird up their loins for the fray, I hasten to assure them that, though I have been suspected of having some opinions on that question, I am sure that at this particular time the toast I have in charge is not loaded, and that there will be no explosion.

And yet, while I think I can keep the peace and mention my subject without any warlike sensation, I cannot avoid feeling the weight and impediment of another difficulty, which is calculated to appall and discourage me. This is the vastness of my subject. It embraces the toil of the pioneer in the far West, the most delicate operations of manufacture, the most pronounced triumphs of art, and the most startling results of inventive genius.

How can I compass these things within the limits allotted to me on this occasion, and where shall I begin, as I stand before this assemblage of American citizens and am confronted with the ideas which "Our American Industries" suggests?

I can do little more than to speak of the present condition of these industries as indicating the greatest and swiftest national growth and advancement the world has ever seen. We have only one hundred years of history; but in all that time American ingenuity and investigation have been active and restless. We have begrudged to Nature everything she seeks to hide, and have laid in wait to learn the secret of her processes. We have not believed that the greatest advance

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

yet reached in mechanical skill and art has exhausted American invention, and when other nations have started first in any field of progress, we have resolutely given chase and struggled for the lead.

We now invite the old nations of Europe to see our steam plows turning furrows in wheatfields as large as some of their principalities. We astonish them with the number and the length of our railroads, and the volume and speed of our transportation. With odds against us, for which American skill and industry are in no wise to blame, we force our products and manufactures into their markets. Our Edison lighted the Eiffel Tower, and by his display of the wonders of electricity lent success to the American exhibits at the Paris Exposition.

It appears that some of our industries suit the people of foreign lands so well that they desire to own them; and daily we hear of English syndicates purchasing our manufacturing establishments. Our people seem to endure this raid upon them with wonderful complacency, though we cannot forget that, less than two years ago, they were very solemnly warned against the dangers and seductions of British gold.

I hope I am not too late in expressing my thanks for the privilege of meeting on this occasion an assemblage representing one of our industries which, so far as I know, is not infected by the wholesale influence of British gold, and which embraces only such manufactures as are honestly and fairly American.

This means a great deal; and I do not envy the American citizen who has no pride in what you have accomplished. Of course, we do not forget that many who have contributed to our glory in this direction bear names which betray their foreign lineage. But we claim them all as Americans; and I believe that you will, in the enthusiasm and vigor of true American sentiment and independence, stubbornly hold the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

place which has been won by you and others of your guild, under the banner of "A fair field and no favor."

I have within the last few days received as a gift—perhaps suggested by my contemplated presence here—a book entitled "A History of the American Pianoforte," which I shall read with much interest.

In glancing through it my eye fell upon a passage which arrested my attention, as furnishing a slight set-off against the indebtedness we owe to those of foreign birth among our piano and organ manufacturers. I know you will permit me to quote it, as evidence of the share our free institutions may claim in the success of your industry. The writer, claiming priority for the United States for some particular things done in the progress of piano manufacturing by two certain makers, who, though manufacturing in this country, were, as he says, "originally Britons, one English and the other evidently Scotch," clinches the argument in our favor, as follows:

Notwithstanding this circumstance, America is entitled to the honor of the achievements pointed out, because it is a well demonstrated fact, although, perhaps, a subtlety, that the social and governmental institutions of this country, in so far as they promote mental freedom, have a stimulating and immediate influence upon the inventive faculties of persons brought up in Europe and settling here.

I cannot forbear, in conclusion, a reference to the manner in which your busy manufactories and the salesrooms of your wares are related to the love and joy and hopes and sadness and grief and the worship of God which sanctify the American family circle.

In many a humble home throughout our land, the piano has gathered about it the most sacred and tender associations. For it, the daughters of the household longed by day and prayed in dreams at night. For it fond parents saved and economized at every point and planned in loving secrecy.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

For it, a certain Christmas Day, on which the arrival of the piano gave a glad surprise, was marked as a red-letter day in the annals of the household.

With its music and with simple song each daughter in her turn touched with love the heart of her future husband. With it, the sacred hymn and the family prayer are joined in chastened memory. With it, closed and silent, are tenderly remembered the days of sickness, the time of death, and the funeral's solemn hush.

When the family circle is broken and its members are scattered, happy is the son or daughter who can place among his or her household goods the old piano.

[Letter to F. A. Herwig, President of the Kensington Reform Club of Philadelphia, New York, May 9, 1890.]

My Dear Sir: I desire through you to thank the Kensington Reform Club, formerly known as the Workingmen's Tariff Reform Association, for the courteous invitation I have received to attend a mass meeting on the evening of the 3d of June.

The terms in which the invitation is expressed convince me that the question of tariff reform is receiving the attention it deserves from those most vitally interested in its just and fair solution. I know that, with the feeling now abroad in our land and with the intense existence and activity of such clubs as yours, the claim, presumptuously made, that the people at the last election finally passed upon the subject of tariff adjustment will be emphatically denied; that our workingmen and our farmers will continue to agitate this and all other questions involving their welfare with increased zeal, and in the light of increased knowledge and

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

experience, until they are determined finally and in accordance with the American sentiment of fair play.

I use no idle form of words when I say that I regret my engagements and professional occupations will not permit me to meet the members of your club on the occasion of their mass meeting. I hope that those who are fortunate enough to participate will find it to their profit, and that the meeting will in all respects be a great success.

[*Letter to John A. Holman, Indianapolis, Secretary of the Monument Committee, Marion, Mass., June 18, 1890.*]

Dear Sir: I acknowledge with thanks the invitation I have just received to be present at the unveiling of the monument to the memory of the late Thomas A. Hendricks, on the 1st day of July next.

It is useless, I hope, to assure you of the satisfaction it would afford me to testify my respect and affection for your distinguished fellow-townsmen by joining those who will gather to honor his memory on the occasion you contemplate. His eminent public service, and his faithful discharge of many and important official duties, render the commemoration of his public and private virtues most fitting and proper. I sincerely regret that a positive engagement, for the day appointed for the unveiling of the monument erected to his memory, makes it impossible for me to accept your invitation.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Letter to Abraham B. Tappan, Grand Sachem
of the Tammany Society, Marion, Mass.,
June 30, 1890.*]

Dear Sir: My absence from the city of New York, and plans which I have already made, prevent my acceptance of the courteous invitation which I have received to attend the celebration by the Tammany Society of the one hundred and fourteenth anniversary of American independence.

The celebration contemplated by your ancient and time-honored organization will, it seems to me, fall short in the impressiveness due to the occasion if it does not persistently present and emphasize the idea that the Declaration of Independence was the protest of honest and sturdy men against the wrongs and oppressions of misgovernment. The reasons and justification for their revolt are exhibited in their recital of a long list of grievous instances of maladministration. They complained that their interests had been so neglected, and their rights as lawful subjects so violated, under British rule, that they were absolved from further fealty.

Our fathers, in establishing a new government upon the will of the people and consecrated to their care and just protection, could not prescribe limitations which would deny to political parties its conduct and administration. The opportunities and the temptations, thus necessarily presented to partisanship, have brought us to a time when party control is far too arrogant and bitter, and when, in public place, the true interests of the country are too lightly considered.

In this predicament, those who love their country may well remember, with comfort and satisfaction, on Independence Day, that the disposition of the American people to revolt against maladministration still remains to them, and is the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

badge of their freedom and independence, as well as their security for continued prosperity and happiness.

They will not revolt against their plan of government, for its protection and preservation supply every inspiration of true Americanism. But because they are free and independent American citizens, they will, as long as their love and veneration for their government shall last, revolt against the domination of any political party which, intrusted with power, sordidly seeks only its continuance, and which, faithlessly violating its plain and simple duty to the people, insults them with professions of disinterested solicitude while it eats out their substance.

And yet, with all this, we should not in blind security deny the existence of danger. The masses of our countrymen are brave and therefore generous; they are strong and therefore confident, and they are honest and therefore unsuspecting. Our peril lies in the ease with which they may be deluded and cajoled by those who would traffic with their interests.

No occasion is more opportune than the celebration of the one hundred and fourteenth anniversary of American independence to warn the American people of the present necessity on their part of a vigilant watchfulness of their rights and a jealous exaction of honest and unselfish performance of public duty.

*[Address on being Received into Fellowship by
his Neighbors, at Sandwich, Mass., July 25,
1891.]*

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen: More than eighteen hundred years ago a lawyer pertly asked the Divine Teacher, "And who is my neighbor?" The answer given

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

to this question is quite familiar to us, and is embodied in the parable of the Good Samaritan. I hasten to assure you that this parable is here introduced for the lesson it teaches rather than for the purpose of suggesting that its incidents have any appropriateness to this occasion or its surroundings. I see no similarity between my situation and that of the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves.

Whatever unfavorable impression may be prevalent concerning dog-day politics and politicians, which I left behind me, I am convinced that if there were a chapter written about the thieves of Cape Cod, it would be as short and as much to the point as the chapter on the snakes of Ireland, which began and ended in the single sentence, "There are no snakes in Ireland." I confess I have occasionally in my journeying seen a Levite pass by on the other side, but that was before I reached Barnstable County, and at a time when I cared but little whether he came on my side of the road or the other. But in the parable only one Good Samaritan is mentioned as having compassion on the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, while the man who came down from New York to Cape Cod and Barnstable County has been surrounded by them ever since he started.

I suppose that when you greet me as your neighbor, to-day, you have in mind the fact that I have come among you to spend at least a large part of each year, and that I intend to maintain this sort of residence here as long as the expense of farming and fishing enables me, from a slender purse, to meet your rate of taxation and the cost of provisions. In the meantime I declare my intention to be a good neighbor. No quarrels can arise over my line fences, for I have none. I keep no chickens, and my cattle do not run at large. I suppose I have pretty decided political opinions, and I judge from the election returns of this county that they are not such as have heretofore received the utmost sympathy and

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

encouragement in this particular locality. Notwithstanding, however, my positive knowledge that the large majority of my new neighbors are in a sad state of delusion politically, I shall not quarrel with them on this subject, nor permit myself to become a political scold. I must be peaceful and neighborly, even if I see my neighbors go to political destruction before my eyes. Besides, I think there are prudential reasons why I should, in present circumstances, be politically docile. To be sure I have not, like the man who started for Jericho, fallen among thieves; but I know perfectly well that I have politically fallen among those who are too many for me, and that only my own peacefulness or many conversions to my side in Barnstable County can secure my immunity from being stripped of my political raiment and wounded and left half dead, as was the case with the man from Jerusalem. While I do not want to tempt such a fate, I confess that my political convictions are so fixed that I can hardly avoid dwelling upon them even here. Some things we can certainly do safely and properly. We can be tolerant of one another. We can constantly test our political beliefs by the light of patriotism, good citizenship, and true Americanism, and we can be brave enough and honest enough to follow where they lead. We shall thus elevate our political efforts and find incentives to activity in a determination to aid in making our country as great as it ought to be, and in securing to ourselves and our fellow-countrymen the happiness and prosperity due to all of us under a free government by the people. If our political endeavor is thus directed, we shall rid ourselves of the blindness and bigotry which accept unreasoning party association as a sufficient guide to political action, and which count the spoils of partisan success the sole object of political struggle. So, though we may differ in party affiliation, if we thoughtfully and sincerely believe and act, we may still be the best of neighbors, bound together by an unselfish willing-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

ness to forego special advantages which can only be gained at the expense of our fellows, and all engage, with hearty cooperation, in the achievement of our country's high destiny.

I am inclined at this point to suggest to you the lesson of the parable with which I began. It teaches that a neighbor is not necessarily one whose residence is near, and that kindness and consideration make men neighbors. The Samaritan was the neighbor of his robbed and wounded fellow-man, not because he lived near him, but because in his need he had compassion on him and bound up his wounds and cared for him. Indeed, we all know that the worst quarrels often arise and the most bitter malice and resentment often rage, among those whose homes are adjoining. These are sometimes called bad neighbors; but in my opinion they ought not to be called neighbors at all.

You are by no means to suppose, from what has been said, that I in the least fail to appreciate my good fortune in being an almost fully fledged resident of Cape Cod and Barnstable County. I prize my home here so much that I actually look forward, with trepidation, to the time when I shall temporarily leave it, fearing that in my absence some envious mortal from a distant and benighted quarter may, in some manner, rob me of it. The wonder is that the entire American people do not flock hither and attempt to take possession of all our domain in true Oklahoma style. Let us look for a moment at some of our suburbs and surroundings. We have located Boston just far enough away to be a convenient trading-place, and yet not near enough to annoy us with its noise and dirt, nor to permit its children to damage our cranberry bogs. Though we know that the Pilgrims landed in Barnstable County, we see fit to maintain Plymouth Rock just far enough outside to serve as a stimulus to our patriotism without being bothered by the strangers who visit the spot. We keep the waters of Buzzard's Bay clean and pure for fishing purposes, and do not propose to have

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

our preserve stirred up and contaminated by the inflow of other waters through the Cape Cod Canal.

We pity the deluded men and women who know nothing of Barnstable County, and who have doubts regarding the fertility and productiveness of our soil. Cape Cod never fails to respond to intelligent husbandry, though we do not expect immunity from the depression in farming occupations which afflicts our agricultural brethren in other localities. We make no complaint at such times, for it is easy to beat our plow-shares into fishing-hooks, and we know that when farming does not pay, neither drouth nor destructive insects will prevent the fish from biting. The delightful healthfulness of our climate is so perfect that the practice of medicine is the one occupation which never thrives. Recreation in every sensible and wholesome variety crowds upon us, and, free from vain and distracting care, we enjoy with thankfulness the peace and quietude which here have their abiding-place.

With a heart full of gratitude for the cordiality and consideration which you have at all times extended to me, I have, with the utmost sincerity, attempted to demonstrate my appreciation of all I enjoy among you, and to approve myself in your sight as worthy to be admitted to free fellowship in the Cape Cod community. If more is needed to prove my complete devotion to the guild, let me remind you of the saying, "A man is known by the company he keeps." If he is born and reared amid certain conditions he may, from habit and association and without severe condemnation, be content with them and the companionship which they impose, though such companionship be undesirable. But when, after mature deliberation and in full view of the importance and significance of his choice of neighbors, he chooses an abode with complete knowledge of those by whom he is to be surrounded, the adage I have quoted should be applied to him with the utmost strictness. I have only to

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

add that so far as my case is related to the people of Barnstable County, I am entirely content to be thus judged.

I must remember that you have not only kindly spoken of me as your neighbor, but have also referred to me as an ex-President. I have never failed to be profoundly sensible of the generosity and confidence of my countrymen in making me the recipient of the greatest honor that can be bestowed upon any man; but what I remember most vividly in connection with the great office of President is its responsibilities and the labor and anxiety attending an attempt to do the work which the people had intrusted to me. The impress made upon the mind and heart of one who stands daily face to face with the American people, charged with the protection of their rights and the advancement of their varied interests, can never be effaced, and scarcely gives room for the gratification naturally supposed to attach to high and exalted place. I am led to mention in this connection, as a spur to official labor and as a sign of political health, the watchfulness of the people and their exactions from their chosen representative to whom they have confided their highest trust. If they are exacting and critical, sometimes almost to the point of injustice, this is better than popular heedlessness and indifference concerning the conduct of public servants.

It has always seemed to me that, beyond the greatness of the office and the supreme importance of its duties and responsibilities, the most impressive thing connected with the Presidency is the fact that after its honor has been relinquished, and after its labor and responsibility are past, we simply see that a citizen whom the people had selected from their ranks to do their bidding for a time and to be their agent in the discharge of public duty, has laid aside the honor and the work of the highest office in the world and has returned again to the people, to resume at their side the ordinary duties which pertain to everyday citizenship.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

Here, he is, or should be, subject to the same rules of behavior which apply to his fellow-countrymen, and should be accorded the same fair and decent treatment, unless he has in some way forfeited it.

But it must be admitted that our people are by no means united in their ideas concerning the place which our ex-Presidents ought to occupy, or the disposition which should be made of them. Of course the subject would be relieved of all uncertainty and embarrassment if every President would die at the end of his term. This does not seem, however, to meet the views of those who under such an arrangement would be called on to do the dying; and so some of them continue to live, and thus perpetuate the perplexity of those who burden themselves with plans for their utilization or disposition.

A very amusing class among these anxious souls make us useful by laying upon our shoulders all sorts of political conspiracies. If they are to be believed, we are constantly engaged in plotting for our own benefit and advancement, and are quite willing, for the sake of reaching our ends, not only to destroy the party to which we belong, but to subvert popular liberty and utterly uproot our free American institutions. Others seem of the opinion that we should be utilized as orators at county fairs and other occasions of all sorts and at all sorts of places. Some think we should interfere in every political contest, and should be constantly in readiness to express an opinion on every subject of a political character that anybody has the ingenuity to suggest. Others still regard it as simply dreadful for us to do these things, and are greatly disturbed every time an ex-President ventures to express an opinion on any subject. Not a few appear to think we should simply exist and be blind, deaf, and dumb the remainder of our days.

In the midst of all this a vast majority of the plain American people are, as usual, sound and sensible. They are self-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

respecting enough and have dignity enough to appreciate the fact that their respect and confidence as neighbors is something which an ex-President may well covet, and which, like any other man, he ought to earn. They will measure the regard and consideration due to him by his usefulness and worth as a private citizen. They will not agree that the fact of his having been President gives him any license for bad behavior, nor that it burdens him with an unfavorable presumption. These are sentiments which we, on the side of the ex-Presidents, will gladly adopt, and these conditions we can well afford to accept. In conclusion I desire to express the confident opinion, based upon a short experience, and supplemented by the kindness which characterizes this occasion, that no better place can be found as a retreat for ex-Presidents than Barnstable County. They are sure to receive here all the Cape Cod hospitality and friendly treatment they deserve, with a great many other things thrown in.

From the bottom of my heart I say to you, that while I do not mean in the least to detract from the honor arising from the incumbency of high official place, nor undervalue the designation of ex-President, the pleasure which this occasion affords me chiefly consists in the cordiality with which you have greeted me as your neighbor.

*[Letter to John P. Adams, Brooklyn, N. Y.,
September 12, 1890.]*

Dear Sir: It seems but a very short time ago that I participated in the laying of the corner stone of the building now ready for occupancy, and I recognize in the vigor with which it has been pushed to completion the most gratifying evidence of the zeal and sturdiness of your Democratic organization.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

The Kings County Democracy should certainly be congratulated upon the possession of such beautiful headquarters in a building whose name suggests the true Democratic faith. In the Thomas Jefferson there should be found no room for counsels in the least regardless of the value of pure and honest government, or lacking in sympathy with the highest and greatest good of the people.

I feel that I can wish nothing better for your association than that their new home may be long continued to them, and that they may take with them there and always maintain those principles of Jeffersonian Democracy, as old as the Nation, which, if steadfastly upheld and honestly applied, are certain to insure the felicity and prosperity of our country.

[Address as Chairman of the Democratic Ratification Meeting in the Cooper Union, New York, October 9, 1891.]

My Fellow-Citizens: I acknowledge with much satisfaction the compliment paid me by my selection as your presiding officer to-night. I am glad to meet an assemblage of my fellow-townsmen on an occasion when their thoughts turn to the political situation which confronts them and at a time when their duty as citizens, as well as members of a grand political organization, should be subject to their serious consideration.

If I may be indulged a few moments I shall occupy that much of your time in presenting some suggestions touching the condition and responsibilities of the Democracy to the people of the country, and the obligations and duty at this particular time of the Democracy of our State.

The Democratic party has been at all times by profes-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

sion and by tradition, the party of the people. I say by profession and tradition, but I by no means intend to hint, in the use of this expression, that, in its conduct and action, it has failed to justify its profession or been recreant to its traditions. It must, however, be admitted that we have had our seasons of revival, when the consciousness of what true Democracy really means has been especially awakened, and when we have been unusually aroused to a lively appreciation of the aggressiveness and activity which conscience exacts of those who profess the Democratic faith, and who are thus enlisted in the people's cause.

We contemplate to-night such a revival and the stupendous results which have thus far attended it. In view of these things we cannot be honest and sincere and fail to see that a stern and inexorable duty is now at our door.

We saw the money of the people unnecessarily extorted from them under the guise of taxation.

We saw that this was the result of a scheme perpetuated for the purpose of exacting tribute from the poor for the benefit of the rich.

We saw, growing out of this scheme, the wholesale debauchery and corruption of the people whom it impoverishd.

We saw a party, which advocated and defended this wrong, gaining and holding power in the government by the shameless appeal to selfishness which it invited.

We saw the people actually burnishing the bonds of misrepresentation and misconception which held them, and we saw sordidness and the perversion of all that constitutes good citizenship on every hand, and sturdy Americanism in jeopardy.

We saw a party planning to retain partisan ascendancy by throttling and destroying the freedom and integrity of the suffrage through the most radical and reckless legislation.

We saw waste and extravagance raiding the public treas-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

ury, and justified in official places, while economy in government expenditures was ridiculed by those who held in trust the people's money.

We saw the national assemblage of the people's representatives transformed to the mere semblance of a legislative assembly, by the brute force of a violently created majority and by unprecedented arbitrary rulings, while it was jeeringly declared, by those who usurped its functions, to be no longer a deliberative body.

Then it was that the Democratic party, standing forth to do determined battle against these abuses, which threatened the welfare and happiness of the people, called upon them to trust it, and promised them that the warfare should be relentless and uncompromising.

As results of the struggle then entered upon, never has the resistless force of the awakened thought of our countrymen been more completely demonstrated, and never has the irresistible strength of the principles of Democracy been more fully exemplified. From the West and from the East came tidings of victory. In the popular branch of the next Congress the party which lately impudently arrogated to itself the domination of that body, will fill hardly more than one-fourth of its seats. Democratic Governors occupy the enemy's strongholds in Iowa, Massachusetts, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Michigan. In Pennsylvania, the election of a Democratic Governor presented conclusive proof of Republican corruption exposed and Republican dishonesty detected.

But with all these results of a just and fearless Democratic policy, our work is not yet completely done; and I want to suggest to you that any relaxation of effort within the lines established by the National Democracy will be a violation of the pledges we gave the people when we invited their co-operation and undertook their cause.

I do not forget that we are gathered together to ratify

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

State nominations, and that we are immediately concerned with a State campaign. It seems to me, however, that, while national questions of the greatest import are yet unsettled, and when we are on the eve of a national campaign in which they must be again pressed upon the attention of the voters of the country, the Democracy of the great State of New York cannot and will not entirely ignore them. If we fail to retain ascendancy in the Empire State, no matter upon what issue it is lost, and no matter how much our opponents may seek to avoid great and important topics, it will be claimed as the verdict of our people against the principles and platform of the National Democracy.

It is evident that if our opponents are permitted to choose the line of battle they will avoid all national issues. Thus far this is plainly their policy. There is nothing strange in this, for they may well calculate that, whatever may be their fate in other fields, they have been decisively beaten in the discussion of national questions. It can hardly be expected that they will come to the field of Waterloo again, unless forced to do so.

I am very far from having any fear of the result of a full discussion of the subjects which pertain to State affairs. We have an abundance of reasons to furnish why on these issues alone we should be further trusted with the State government; but it does not follow that it is wise to regard matters of national concern as entirely foreign to the pending canvass, and especially to follow the enemy in their lead entirely away from the issues they most fear and which they have the best of reasons to dread. This very fear and dread give in this particular case strength and pertinency to the doctrine that a party should at all times and in all places be made to feel the consequences of their misdeeds as long as they have remaining any power for harm and as long as they justify and defend their wrongdoing.

Those who act with us merely because they approve the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

present position of the National Democracy and the reforms we have undertaken, and who oppose in national affairs Republican policy and methods, and who still think the State campaign we have in hand has no relation to the principles and policy which they approve, are in danger of falling into a grave error. Our opponents in the pending canvass, though now striving hard to hide their identity in a cloud of dust raised by their iteration of irrelevant things, constitute a large factor in the party which, still far from harmless, seeks to perpetuate all the wrongs and abuses of Republican rule in national affairs. Though they may strive to appear tame and tractable in a State campaign, they but dissemble to gain a new opportunity for harm.

In the present condition of affairs it is not to be supposed that any consistent and thoughtful member of the Democratic organization can fail to see it his duty to engage enthusiastically and zealously in the support of the ticket and platform which represent our party in this campaign. They are abundantly worthy and deserving of support on their own merits and for their own sake. We seek to place at the head of our State government a man of affairs, who, in a long business career, has earned the good opinion and respect of all his fellows, whose honesty and trustworthiness have never been impeached, and who, I am sure, will administer the great office, to which he will be called, independently, fearlessly, and for the good of all the people of the State. We seek further to secure the Empire State in her Democratic steadfastness, and we seek to win a victory which shall redeem the pledges we have made to regard constantly the interests of the people of the land, and which shall give hope and confidence to the National Democracy in the struggles yet to come.

With these incentives and with these purposes in view, I cannot believe that any Democrat can be guilty of lukewarmness or slothfulness.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

With a party united and zealous; with no avoidance of any legitimate issue; with a refusal to be diverted from the consideration of great national and State questions to the discussion of misleading things; and, with such a presentation of the issues involved as will prove our faith in the intelligence of the people of the State, the result cannot be doubtful.

[*Address at the Ratification Meeting, Brooklyn, N. Y., October 14, 1891.*]

My Fellow-Citizens: It does not need the cordial welcome you give me to-night to convince me that I am among friends. The good will and attachment of the people and the Democracy of Kings County have been in times past repeatedly manifested toward me and are remembered with constant gratitude. There was, therefore, a potent and palpable reason why I should not decline an invitation to be with you to-night.

Another reason not less strong why I am here is found in the fact that this is a gathering of my political friends in the interest of the Democratic cause and in token of their hearty support of Democratic principles and candidates. In such an assemblage I always feel at home.

My extreme interest in the State campaign now pending arises from a conception of its importance, which I do not believe is at all exaggerated. The fact that it immediately precedes a national campaign in which the vote of New York may be a controlling factor, is, of itself, sufficient to enlist the activity of every man entitled to claim a place in Democratic councils. Besides this, the failure on the part of the Democracy of the State to emphasize further its support of the reforms to which the National Democracy is pledged, we must all confess would be a party humiliation.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

There are, however, reasons beyond these, which are close at home and have relation to State interests, quite sufficient to arouse supreme Democratic efforts. There are dangers clearly imminent, and schemes almost unconcealed, which affect our State and which can only be avoided and defeated by the strong and determined protest of the united Democracy of New York.

The party we oppose, resting upon no fundamental principles, sustaining a precarious existence upon distorted sentiment, and depending for success upon the varying currents of selfish interests and popular misconception, cannot endure the sight of a community which is inclined to withstand its blandishments and which refuses to be led away by its misrepresentations. Thus, in its national management and methods it boldly seeks to thwart the intention of voters, if they are Democratic, and to stifle the voice of the people, if they speak in Democratic tones. I am sure it is not necessary to remind you in proof of this of the latest effort of our opponents at Washington in this direction, nor to speak of the Democratic congratulation which spread throughout the land when, by the defeat of the Force Bill, our boasted American freedom of suffrage was saved and constitutional rights preserved through the combined efforts of a Democratic Senatorial minority splendidly led and grandly sustained.

Is there a Democrat—nay, is there any man—so dull as to suppose that the Republican party in this State is not of the same disposition as the party in the nation? Do not the attitude and conduct of its representatives from this State in national affairs abundantly prove that the party in New York can be implicitly trusted to aid any scheme of this sort that promises partisan advantage? If further proof is desired that New York Republicans are thoroughly imbued with the proclivities that characterize the party in national affairs, it is readily found. Under the positive requirements

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

of our State Constitution an enumeration of the inhabitants of the State should have been made in 1885, and the Senatorial and Assembly districts newly adjusted in accordance with such an enumeration. This has not yet been done, though our opponents have had a majority in both branches of the legislature ever since that year, except that in the last session a Democratic majority appeared in the assembly. A Republican reason for the neglect of a plain duty in the matter of this enumeration is found in the fact that, under such a new arrangement, localities which have increased in population and at the same time in Democratic voters, would be entitled to a larger representation in the legislature than they now have, while the existing adjustment is a very comfortable one from a Republican standpoint. In the present condition, it is calculated that a Democratic majority in the State must reach at least 50,000 in order to give us a majority in the assembly. In 1885 we elected our State ticket by more than 11,000 majority, and yet but 50 Democratic members of assembly were elected, while the defeated party elected 78. In 1886 our majority was nearly 8000, but only 54 Democratic assemblymen were elected, to 74 Republicans. In 1887 a Democratic majority on our State ticket of more than 17,000 yielded only 56 Democratic assemblymen to 72 Republican. In 1888, though the State ticket was carried by a majority not much less, we had but 49 assemblymen to 79 for the defeated opposition. In 1889 with a majority of over 20,000 on our State ticket we elected but 57 assemblymen, while the defeated party secured 71. In 1890 we carried the State on the congressional vote by more than 75,000 majority, and yet elected but 68 members of assembly to 60 elected by the party so largely in the minority.

Whatever may be said about the quarrels between a Democratic Governor and a Republican Legislature over the manner in which a new enumeration should be made, there is no difficulty in finding enough, in Republican disposition and

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

practices, to justify the suspicion that any pretext was welcome, to the representatives of that party in the State, that would serve to perpetuate the present condition. There is no reason to hope for a better and more just representation of the political sentiments of the people of the State except through a complete dislodgment of those who have long profited by this injustice. Its continuance is directly involved in the present campaign, for not only a Governor, but a new senate and assembly are to be elected. No election will soon occur that will afford so good an opportunity to secure to our party the share in State legislation to which it is entitled, nor will the Democratic party soon have so good a chance to rectify a political wrong.

By way of further suggesting the importance of this campaign, I ask you not to forget that a new apportionment of representatives in Congress is to be made on the basis of the census just completed, and that it may devolve upon the next legislature to readjust the congressional districts of the State. Previous to 1883 these districts were so arranged that, though in 1880 our opponents carried the State by only about twenty-one thousand, they secured twenty congressmen to thirteen elected by the Democrats, while in 1882, though the Democratic candidate for Governor had a majority of more than one hundred and ninety thousand, there were elected but twenty-one Democratic congressmen, one being a citizen of Brooklyn, elected at large, while the party in the minority elected thirteen representatives. The change of congressional districts made in 1883, by a Democratic legislature and approved by a Democratic Governor, may well be referred to as an illustration of Democratic fairness. In the election of 1884, the first held under the new arrangement, our national ticket carried the State by a small majority, but the congressional delegation was equally divided between the parties. In both the elections of 1886 and 1888, though the Democratic State ticket was elected by moderate majorities,

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

our opponents elected nineteen congressmen, while only fifteen were secured by the party having the majority of votes in the State. It required a Democratic majority in the State of 75,000 to secure at the last election only three congressmen above the number elected by our opponents under the former adjustment, when their State ticket had not much more than one-fourth of that majority.

I am far from complaining of the present congressional adjustment. On the contrary, I am glad that my party was more than just and fair when it had the opportunity. But I want to put the inquiry whether, judging from the past conduct of our opponents in such matters, and from what seems to be their natural disposition, there is the least chance of their dealing fairly by the Democracy of the State if they have the control of the next arrangement of congressional districts.

I purposely refrain from detaining you with the presentation of other considerations which impress me with the importance at this time of Democratic activity, but I cannot avoid recalling the fact that I am in an atmosphere where the doctrine of home rule has especially flourished, and among a community where this Democratic doctrine has been unusually exemplified. Let me remind you that no Democratic locality can exist without attracting to it the wistful gaze of those who find an adherence to the doctrine of home rule and an attachment to the Democratic faith, obstacles to the political advantage they seek to gain without scruple as to their method of procedure.

I need not say that the safety of Democracy, in the State and here at your home, is only to be preserved by Democratic steadfastness. I do not forget how often and how effectively you have displayed that steadfastness in the past, nor do I forget your service to the State when you contributed to places of trust in its government and administration the intelligence, fidelity, and ability of your fellow-towns-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

man who soon retires from the chief magistracy of your city; and I will stifle my complaint that, in selecting his successor, you have recalled a recent and most valuable contribution to the cause of Democracy in national councils.

In your relation to the pending canvass, every Democrat who loves his country and his party must acknowledge the important service rendered by representatives of Kings County in aiding the formulation of a declaration of financial principles in the platform which the Democracy presents to the voters of the State, which leaves no room to doubt our insistence upon sound and honest money for all the people.

In conclusion, let me assure you that I have absolute confidence, based upon what you are and what you have done in the past, that in the campaign upon which we have entered, the Democrats of Kings County will more than ever exhibit their devotion to the Democratic cause.

[Address before the Business Men's Democratic Association in Madison Square Garden, New York, October 27, 1891.]

Fellow-Citizens: I am glad to have the opportunity to be present on this occasion, even though I am able to do but little more than speak a word of greeting to the representatives of our business interests who are here assembled.

You have heard much, and have doubtless reflected much, concerning the important results which depend upon the political action of the people of our State at the coming election, and I am glad to believe that the business men of the city of New York understand that this political campaign is not only important to them in common with all their fellow-citizens, but that there are features in it which especially concern them.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

It must be confessed that both here and in other parts of the country, those engaged in business pursuits have kept too much aloof from public affairs and have too generally acted upon the theory that neither their duty as citizens nor their personal interests required of them any habitual participation in political movements. This indifference and inactivity have resulted in a loss to our public service. I am firmly of the belief that, if a few business men could be substituted for professional men in official places, the people would positively gain by the exchange. And it is strange to me that our business men have not been quicker to see that their neglect of political duty is a constant danger to their personal and especial interests. They may labor and plan in their counting houses or in their Exchanges, but, in the meantime, laws may be passed by those ignorant of their business bearings, which, in their operation, will counteract all this labor and defeat all this planning.

I have expressed the belief that the business men of our city are aroused to the fact that there are questions involved in the campaign in this State which concern them and their welfare in an unusual way. This is indicated by awakened interest on every side and by this immense demonstration. And it is difficult to see how it could be otherwise.

The city of New York as the center of all that makes ours the Empire State, and as the great heart from which life-giving currents flow to all parts of the country, cannot be indifferent to the questions, both State and national, which have relation to the State campaign now nearly closed.

Much has been said about the topics which should be discussed in the prosecution of this campaign. It has been contended that the canvass should be confined to State issues, and it has been claimed that national issues should be most prominently considered. I conceive the truth to be that both are proper subjects of discussion at this time; and, in the presence of this assemblage, called together to consider the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

business features of the contest, I am impressed with the fact that the best test to employ, by way of discovering the legitimacy of any topic in the pending campaign, is to inquire whether it is connected with the good of the country and with the business of the city and State, and whether it will be at all influenced by the results of the canvass.

Can anyone doubt that the political verdict which the people of New York will give in November next, will affect her position in the general national engagement which will take place one year hence? In this view, the proper adjustment of the tariff, which concerns so materially not only all our people, but the commerce and the business of our city, should be discussed. This, and the question of sound currency, cannot be separated from the business interests of our State; and they should be put before our people now for the purpose of inviting their thought and settling their opinions.

Applying this same test, it is entirely plain that an economical administration of State affairs and the numerous other subjects having reference to a just, honest, and beneficent State government are, in a business sense, important and legitimate.

On all these questions the New York Democracy is right; and we are willing and anxious to discuss them in any place and at any time.

But our opponents, apparently seeking to avoid the discussion of subjects legitimate to the canvass and affecting the business of our city and State, and exhibiting such weakness and fear as certainly ought not to escape notice, are shrieking throughout the State the demerits and dangerous proclivities of a certain political organization whose members support the principles and candidates of the Democratic party. It would be quite easy to show that, even if all they allege against this organization were true, the perils our opponents present to the people are baseless and absurd.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

But it seems to me the argument of such a question belittles an important situation.

Every man knows, or ought to satisfy himself whether the principles and policy presented to the people by the Democratic party are such as he approves. If they are, certainly his duty as a citizen obliges him to indorse them. Every man ought to satisfy himself whether the candidates of the Democratic party are men of such character and ability that he is willing to trust them in the administration of his State government. If he believes they are, he should not withhold his support from them upon any frivolous and irrelevant pretext.

The exercise of the right of suffrage is a serious business; and a man's vote ought to express his opinion on the questions at issue. This it utterly fails to do if the voter listens to the ravings of our opponents, and allows his vote merely to record the extent to which he has yielded to the misleading and cunningly devised appeals to his prejudices, made in behalf of a desperate and discredited minority. Such a vote does not influence, in the least, the real settlement of any of the weighty matters of policy and principle upon which the people are called to pronounce judgment.

If enough such votes should be given to cause a false verdict in the State, those who should contribute to that result, and thus become disloyal to their beliefs, would find everything but satisfaction in their self-reproach, and in their sense of degradation which would follow the unconcealed contempt of those partisans who had duped them for the purpose of thus gaining a party advantage not otherwise possible.

In conclusion, I desire to disclaim any fear that the business men of New York can be thus deluded. They will not only apprehend the questions at issue, and see their duty and interest, in soberly passing upon them without prejudice or passion, but they will also appreciate the fact that the ticket

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

they are asked by the Democratic party to support expressly recognizes them. It is headed by a man of business, who is certainly entitled to their confidence, and who is so creditable as their representative, that I believe his business character has escaped attack during a campaign in which every attack having any pretext whatever has been made. I will not especially refer by name to the remainder of our candidates—some of whom are my old and near friends—because I think I ought not to detain you longer than to say that they are all entirely worthy of support, and that by the triumphant election of every one of them the verdict of the people of the State ought to be recorded in favor of good government and the advancement of business interests.

*[Address in Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass.,
October 31, 1891.]*

My Fellow-Citizens: I should be quite uncomfortable at this moment if I supposed you regarded me as a stranger in your State, and only concerned as a Democratic spectator of the political campaign which stirs the people of this Commonwealth. I hope it is not necessary to remind you that, by virtue of a sort of initiation which I have recently undergone, I have a right to claim a modified membership in the citizenship of Massachusetts; and though I am obliged to confess a limitation in the extent of this citizenship I am somewhat compensated by what seems to me to be its quality. So far as I have a residence among you, it is the place where, amid quiet and peaceful surroundings, I enjoy that home life I so much love, where relaxation from labor and from care restores health and vigor, and where recreation, in pleasing variety, teaches me the lesson that man's duty and mission are not only to do the work which his relations to his

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

fellow-men impose upon him, but to appreciate the things which the goodness of God supplies in nature for man's delight. While, therefore, no conditions could cause the least abatement in the pride I feel as a fully qualified citizen of the great State of New York, I cannot be insensible to the fact that my relationship to Massachusetts connects your State with the elements in my life which are full of delightful sentiment and with those enjoyments which enlarge and cultivate the heart and soul.

I have spent to-day at my Massachusetts home, and meet you here pursuant to a promise that, on my way out of the State, I would look in on this assemblage of those who are enlisted in a grand and noble cause.

It is but natural that my errand to your State, and the inspection of that part of its soil of which I am the self-satisfied owner, should arouse all the Massachusetts feeling to which this ownership entitles me, and should intensify that interest in the political behavior of the State which rightfully belongs to my semi-citizenship.

My relations to you are, perhaps, too new-fledged to shield me from an accusation of affectation if I should dwell, with the rapture others might more properly exhibit, upon the history, traditions, and achievements of Massachusetts. I am sure, however, that I may, with perfect propriety, remind you that the people of Massachusetts have in their keeping certain precious things which they hold in trust for all their countrymen. They can no more appropriate Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill than they can confine within the limits of their State the deeds, the example, and the fame of the men whom Massachusetts contributed to the public service of the Nation in the days when giants lived.

The influence of your State upon the politics of the country has by no means been limited to the actual share she and her representative men have taken in governmental management. Her stake in the creation and the development of our

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

country took form in its embryonic days; and this has given rise from the beginning to the interested discussion among her people of every public question, while the education and general information of her population have made such discussion intelligent and forceful. Her schools and her institutions of learning have sent to all parts of the land young and thoughtful men, imbued with sentiments and opinions not learned in their books. When her feeling has been most aroused she has challenged the respect of the country because, though uncompromising, she has been habitually just, and, though radical, she has been always great.

I cannot help recalling at this moment that you gave to the Senate of the United States the man who is remembered by all his countrymen as the best modern embodiment of American greatness; that Webster, though he loved freedom and hated slavery, never consented to the infringement of constitutional rights, even for the sake of freedom; that, though his love for Massachusetts was his consuming sentiment, he emphatically declared that in the discharge of public duty he would neither regard her especial interests nor her desires as against his conception of the general interests of the country, and that his patriotism and his love for the Union were so great that he constantly sought to check the first sign of estrangement among our people.

I recall the love of Massachusetts for the memory of Sumner—the great Senator who unhesitatingly braved Executive displeasure and party ostracism in loyalty to his sense of right; who surprised and alienated a sentiment, born of patriotic warmth, by advocating the obliteration of the reminders of the triumphs of American soldiers over American soldiers; and who, throughout a long public career, illustrated his belief that politics is but the application of moral principle to public affairs.

If, from the contemplation of these lofty precedents, you turn to the manner in which the sentiment and feeling of

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

Massachusetts have of late been represented in both houses of Congress, and if you thus find an unpleasing contrast, it is for you to say whether you are satisfied; but, if this feeling and sentiment, genuine and unperverted, ought to bear the fruits of conciliation and trust among our countrymen, the avoidance of unnecessary irritation, and the abandonment of schemes which promise no better result than party supremacy through forced and unnatural suffrage, there certainly seems to be ground for apprehension that there has lately been something awry in your Federal representation. At any rate, it seems to me that the people themselves, in the State of Massachusetts, are constantly giving proof that they are ready and willing, obedient to a generous instinct and for the good of the entire country, to aid in building up American fraternity based upon mutual faith and confidence, and in restoring and reviving that unity and heartiness of aim and purpose upon which alone our national hope can securely rest.

We have fallen upon a time when especial interest is aroused among our people in subjects which seem to be vital to the welfare of the country. Our consumers, those of moderate means and the poor of the land, are too much neglected in our national policy; their life is made too hard for them, and too much favor is shown to pampered manufacturers and rich monopolies. A condition of restlessness and irritation has grown up throughout the country, born of prevailing inequality and unfairness, which threatens an attack upon sound currency, and which awakens the fear and anxious solicitude of thoughtful and patriotic men; economy in public expenditure has almost become a byword and jest; and partisanship in power executes its will by methods unprecedented and ruthless.

I have believed that the Democratic party was right in its position on all these subjects; and I am willing to confess that my belief is confirmed by the verdict of the people

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

of Massachusetts. When I see the old Commonwealth break away from party trammels in aid of right and honesty, when I see a majority of her last elected representatives in Congress chosen to enforce the principles we profess, and when I see her put at the head of her State government one of her young sons, who stands for these principles in the truest, cleanest, and most vigorous way, I am prepared to see, following the lead of Massachusetts, such a revival of moral sentiment in politics as will insure the general acceptance, by our countrymen, of the truths we preach.

Any man who fails to appreciate the immense motive power of the conscience of Massachusetts has viewed to little purpose the movements which have made their impress on our country's history, and which have led our national destiny. On the splendid roster of those here enlisted in our cause, and among the thousands recorded there who have seen beyond party lines the morals of political questions, are found the names of Adams and Everett and Andrew and Quincy and Garrison and Higginson and Pierce and Eliot and Hoar and Codman and Williams—giving proof that the people's cause has touched the conscience of Massachusetts.

The hearts of patriotic men in many States are warmed with gratitude for the strong and able young men your Commonwealth has contributed to our public life in this time of her awakening.

Again, their eyes are turned to Massachusetts. Young and vigorous Americanism has watched with pride and enthusiasm its best representative at the head of your State government, and those who love true Democracy have rejoiced far and wide that one who embodies their principles so truly, and exemplifies them so wisely, has borne himself so nobly. They look to the people of Massachusetts to recognize the faithful services of their young Governor and the manner in which he has upheld the dignity and honor of

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

their State before their countrymen everywhere. They look to you, by his election and by the election of all the good men and true who, with him, bear the standard of your State Democracy, to demonstrate your steadfastness in the Democratic cause. They look to you to give to the national Democracy and the cause of the people, which it has in charge, the powerful aid of the still awakened conscience of Massachusetts.

Democrats of Massachusetts—men of Massachusetts—
which shall your response be?

[*Letter to John McConvill, Esq., New York,
November 11, 1891.*]

Dear Sir: I am a stanch believer in the doctrine of home rule, and have not failed to appreciate the labors in the cause, of the man whose services you propose to commemorate.

For what he accomplished and sought to accomplish for home rule, he deserves to be honored by all those who love a free and representative government, but his aim and purposes had their rise so completely in patriotism, and his unselfish love for his countrymen was so conspicuous and disinterested, that the reverence and devotion due to the memory of a patriot must always be associated with his name.

The influence of his example surely ought not to be lost upon those who take up his work, to which he so thoroughly consecrated all his efforts and aspirations.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

*[Address at the Thurman Birthday Banquet,
Columbus, O., November 13, 1890.]*

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I follow the promptings of a heart full of devotion and veneration, as I tender from the Democracy of the great State of New York her tribute of affection for the man whom we honor to-night. I am commissioned to claim for my State her full share of the glory which has been shed upon the American name and character by one whose career and example cannot be pre-empted, and whose renown cannot be limited in ownership to the neighbors and friends of any locality. We contest every exclusive pretension to his fame and greatness, because he is a neighbor to all the people of the land; because he is the friend of all who love their country; because his career splendidly illustrates the best and strongest elements of our national character; and because his example belongs to all his countrymen.

It is fitting that those who have faith in our destiny as a nation, who believe that there are noble things which belong distinctively to our character as a people, and who prize at its true worth pure American citizenship, should gather here to-night. It is given us to contemplate the highest statesmanship, the most unyielding and disinterested devotion to the interests of the people, and the most valuable achievements in the cause of our country's welfare, all of which have been stimulated and accomplished through the influence and impulse of true, unperverted, sturdy Americanism. We rejoice in the example afforded on this occasion of genuine American citizenship, revealed to us as a safe and infallible interpreter of duty in all the emergencies of a long and honorable public career, and as an unfailing guide to usefulness and fame.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

In this presence and in the atmosphere of these reflections, we should not miss the lesson they commend to us, nor fail to renew our appreciation of the value of this citizenship, and revive our apprehension of the sentiments and conditions in which it has its rise and growth.

And first of all we should be profoundly grateful that the elements which make up the strength and vigor of American citizenship are so naturally related to our situation and are so simple. The intrigues of monarchy which taint the individual character of the subject; the splendor which dazzles the popular eye and distracts the attention from abuses and stifles discontent; the schemes of conquest and selfish aggrandizement which make a selfish people, have no legitimate place in our national life. Here the plain people of the land are the rulers. Their investiture of power is only accompanied with the conditions that they should love their country, that they should jealously guard and protect its interests and fair fame, and that all the intelligence with which they are endowed should be devoted to an understanding of its needs and the promotion of its welfare.

These are the elements of American citizenship, and these are the conditions upon which our free institutions were intrusted to our people, in full reliance, at the beginning and for all time to come, upon American manhood, consecrated by the highest and purest patriotism.

A country, broad and new, to be subdued to the purposes of man's existence, and promising vast and independent resources, and a people intelligently understanding the value of a free nation and holding fast to an intense affection for its history and its heroes, have had much to do with molding our American character and giving it hardihood and vigor. But it should never be forgotten that the influence which, more than all other things, has made our people safe depositories of governmental power, and which has furnished the surest guarantee of the strength and perpetuity of the re-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

public, has its source in the American home. Here our patriotism is born and entwines itself with the growth of filial love, and here our children are taught the story of our freedom and independence. But above all, here in the bracing and wholesome atmosphere of uncomplaining frugality and economy, the mental and moral attributes of our people have been firmly knit and invigorated. Never could it be said of any country so truly as of ours, that the permanency of its institutions depends upon its homes.

I have spoken of frugality and economy as important factors in American life. I find no fault with the accumulation of wealth, and am glad to see energy and enterprise receive their fair reward. But I believe that our government, in its natural integrity, is exactly suited to a frugal and economical people, and I believe it is safest in the hands of those who have been made strong and self-reliant in their citizenship, by self-denial and by the surroundings of an enforced economy. Thrift and careful watchfulness of expenditure among the people tend to secure a thrifty government; and cheap and careful living on the part of individuals ought to enforce economy in the public expenditures.

When, therefore, men in high places of trust, charged with the responsibility of making and executing our laws, not only condemn but flippantly deride cheapness and economy within the homes of our people, and when the expenditures of the government are reckless and wasteful, we may be sure that something is wrong with us, and that a condition exists which calls for a vigorous and resentful defense of Americanism, by every man worthy to be called an American citizen.

Upon the question of cheapness and economy, whether it relates to individuals or to the operations of the government, the Democratic party, true to its creed and its traditions, will unalterably remain attached to our plain and frugal people. They are especially entitled to the watchful care and protec-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

tion of their government; and when they are borne down with burdens greater than they can bear, and are made the objects of scorn by hard taskmasters, we will not leave their side. As the great German Reformer, insisting upon his religious convictions, in the presence of his accusers, exclaimed, "I can do nought else. Here I stand. God help me," so, however much others may mock and deride cheapness and the poor and frugal men and women of our land, we will stand forth in defense of their simple Americanism, defiantly proclaiming, "We can do nought else. Here we stand."

Thus, when the question is raised whether our people shall have the necessaries of life at a cheaper rate, we are not ashamed to confess ourselves "in full sympathy with the demand for cheaper coats"; and we are not disturbed by the hint that this seems "necessarily to involve a cheaper man or woman under the coats."

When the promoter of a party measure which invades every home in the land with higher prices, declares that "cheap and nasty go together, and this whole system of cheap things is a badge of poverty; for cheap merchandise means cheap men, and cheap men mean a cheap country," we indignantly repudiate such an interpretation of American sentiment.

And when another one, high in party councils, who has become notorious as the advocate of a contrivance to perpetuate partisan supremacy by outrageous interference with the suffrage, announces that the "cry for cheapness is un-American," we scornfully reply that his speech does not indicate the slightest conception of true Americanism.

I will not refer to other utterances of like import from similar sources. I content myself with recalling the most prominent and significant. The wonder is that these things were addressed by Americans to Americans.

What was the occasion of these condemnations of cheap-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

ness, and what had honest American men and women done, or what were they likely to do, that they should be threatened with the epithets "cheap," "nasty," and "un-American?"

It is hard to speak patiently as we answer these questions. Step by step a vast number of our people had been led on, following blindly in the path of party. They had been filled with hate and sectional prejudice; they had been cajoled with misrepresentations and false promises; they had been corrupted with money and by appeals to their selfishness. All these things led up to their final betrayal to satisfy the demands of those who had supplied the fund for their corruption.

This betrayal was palpable; and it was impossible to deny or conceal the fact that the pretended relief tendered to the people in fulfilment of a promise to lighten the burden of their life, made by the party intrusted with the government, was but a scheme to pay the debt incurred by the purchase of party success, while it further increased the impoverishment of the masses.

The people were at last aroused and demanded an explanation. They had been taught for one hundred years that in the distribution of benefits their government should be administered with equality and justice. They had learned that wealth was not indispensable to respectability and that it did not entitle its possessors to especial governmental favors. Humble men with scanty incomes had been encouraged, by the influence and the spirit of our institutions, to practice economy and frugality to the end that they might enjoy to the utmost the reward of their toil. The influence of the American home was still about them. In their simplicity they knew nothing of a new dispensation which made cheapness disreputable, and they still loved the cheap coats of Lincoln and Garfield, and hundreds of their countrymen whom they held in veneration. And thus these unso-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

phisticated Americans, unconscious of their wrong-doing, demanded the redemption of party pledges and clamored for cheapness, in order that they might provide the necessaries and comforts of life for themselves and their families at the lowest possible cost.

The leaders of the party, which was caught in the act of robbery and which was arraigned by the people for a violation of its trust, were forced by their sad predicament to a desperate expedient. To attempt to reverse the current of true Americanism and discredit the most honorable sentiments belonging to American manhood, were the disgraceful tasks of those who insulted our people by the announcement of the doctrine that to desire cheapness was to love nastiness, and to practice economy and frugality was un-American.

Thus do we plainly see that when the path pointed out by patriotism and American citizenship is forsaken by a party in power for schemes of selfishness and for unscrupulous conspiracies for partisan success, its course inevitably leads to unjust favoritism, neglect of the interest of the masses, entire perversion of the mission of republican institutions, and, in some form, to the most impudent and outrageous insult to true American sentiment.

It cannot be denied that political events in the past have gone far toward encouraging arrogant party assumption. Every thoughtful and patriotic man has at times been disappointed and depressed by the apparent indifference and demoralization of the people.

But such reflections have no place in the felicitations of to-night. This is a time when faith in our countrymen should be fully re-established. The noise of a recent political revolution is still heard throughout the land; the people have just demonstrated that there is a point beyond which they cannot be led by blind partisanship, and that they are quite competent to examine and correctly decide political ques-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

tions concerning their rights and their welfare. They have unmercifully resented every attack upon true American manhood, and have taught party leaders that, though slow to anger, they take terrible revenges when betrayed. They permit us to forgive our honored guest for all the cheap coats he has ever worn, for they have declared them to be in fashion. They have also decreed that the Decalogue has a place in our politics, for they enforced the command, "Thou shalt not steal," and rendered an emphatic verdict against those who have borne false witness.

Nothing could so well accompany the honors we pay our distinguished guest as the celebration on his birthday of the victory which has just been achieved in vindication of American citizenship—for in him we honor the man who has best illustrated true American manhood. Our rejoicing and his are increased, as we also celebrate to-night the triumph of a Democratic principle for which he fought and fell but two short years ago; and to complete our joy and his, we are permitted to indulge in true Democratic enthusiasm over the steadfastness and devotion to its creed exhibited by our party, which, knowing no discouragement, has fought to victory in the people's cause.

Who can now doubt our countrymen's appreciation of that trait, so well illustrated in the character of Allen G. Thurman, which prompted him throughout his long career, at all times and in all circumstances, and without regard to personal consequences, to do the things which his conscience and judgment approved, and which seemed to him to be in the interests of his country and in accordance with the Democratic faith? Who can now doubt that conscience and courage point out the way to public duty?

If we entertain more solemn thoughts on this occasion, let them be concerning the responsibility which awaits us as our fellow-countrymen place in our keeping their hopes and their trust. We shall fail in our obligation to

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

them if we stifle conscience and duty by ignoble partisanship; but we shall meet every patriotic expectation if, in all we do, we follow the guidance of true and honest Democracy, illumined by the light of genuine American citizenship.

[*Address at the Chamber of Commerce Banquet,
New York, November 18, 1890.*]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: This volunteer business I did not calculate upon, and I think it would best befit me now only to thank you for the kindness which you have extended to me. I do not believe it would be fair for me to disturb the contentment which ought to remain to you after the delicious dinner which you have eaten; and I know that, after the oratory and the dinner speeches you have heard, it would ill become me to obtrude any random thoughts. I do not believe that when people are under the influence of sweet music, a boy around the edges ought to be shooting off a blunderbuss.

I shall go home to-night with some confused ideas in my mind; you are not to blame for them, but I suppose my condition and circumstances are to blame. We have heard about literature and business, about education and business, and about foreign commerce, and a good deal about reciprocity; and that is where my trouble comes in. We have been told that it would be a grand thing to have reciprocity with Spanish-speaking people. Now, if it is good for Spanish-speaking people, how would it do with the people who speak our own language?

We have heard that our breadstuffs go across the water, and that the people need them there. That means a market for them, doesn't it? I had an idea that a bird in the hand

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

is worth two in the bush, and that, perhaps, if you had a market, it might be well to cultivate it, instead of trying to manufacture another.

We have heard that England and France have within a few days rushed to our rescue in a financial way, prompted thereto by the noble sentiment of reciprocity. If they are so willing and glad to extend to us the hand of reciprocity in financial matters, how would it do to give them a chance in commercial and other matters?

Now, as I said, these difficulties of mine are entirely attributable to my own neglected education, and incidentally and indirectly, I think they are attributable to the fact that I am only an honorary member of this institution, instead of being an active one. This being the case, I have not that intimate familiarity with the subject which would probably clear up my doubts.

I have spoken of being an honorary member of this institution; and I have prized that distinction very highly indeed, but never more so than to-night, because I see there may be at some time a possibility of my attending a banquet of the Chamber of Commerce, without being called upon for a speech; that I may come here and enjoy the good things which you set before me, without that gloomy foreboding which an undigested and indigestible speech brings over a man. I have almost accomplished it to-night, and as progress is the order of the day, I have no doubt but that it will be finally arranged to my liking.

To-night I find myself facing this audience under circumstances which gave me no intimation that I was to make a speech. That was a mercy in itself, for I enjoyed my dinner before the collapse came. Therefore, as I speak of my association with this Chamber of Commerce, though my relations are not so intimate as to understand all questions which are, perhaps, easy to you, and though I have not reached that stage when I can confidently come here without being called

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

upon to make a speech, I am glad to believe that the promise is favorable.

I am very strongly tempted to say something in answer to some remarks which my friend Depew made, but everybody seems to have pitched on to him, and even Mr. Schurz, who promised to stand by him, did not do so at all; and although he is well able to stand up against any number of us, I do not know that I ought to make any reference to some things which he has said; and yet, when he spoke of the nomination my friend Springer made, I could not help but think that perhaps Springer had learned from him how to do it. Now, it was a very innocent thing that my friend Springer said. It amounted to nothing. But I can tell you a circumstance which involves in it modesty, accountability to the people of the country, and ambition, and, when I have done, I think you will agree with me, that perhaps Mr. Depew was more to blame before the eyes of the people than Mr. Springer was.

The first time I ever saw Mr. Depew in a public place was in Albany. I was then Governor of the State, and we had a banquet in commemoration of a certain military company, or something of that kind, and I was invited and went. I was to make a speech. I prepared myself most elaborately, and did the very best I could. Now, mind you, at that time I was a quiet, unambitious man, quite content with the situation I occupied, and happy with the delusion that I was doing something for the good of the State. Mr. Depew arose—I shall repeat only what he said—and congratulated those present that at last they had elected a Governor who could do that most difficult of all things, make an after-dinner speech. That made me very happy indeed. He spoke of some other traits, and of some other things which were very complimentary, and he then said, "Gentlemen, I know of nothing more proper, I know of nothing more in keeping with the services of this gentleman than that the party with

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

which he is affiliated should nominate him in the coming convention for the highest office in the gift of the people."

Now, the effect of that on a young man can be easily imagined, if not described. And then he went on and said: "When that is done, the party with which I am proud to be affiliated, I hope, will nominate as his competitor that noble citizen, that grand man and statesmen whose name I have no doubt rises to the lips of every man here present—though it does not to mine." Well, I did not know what to make of that then, nor why he did not mention the name of the citizen and statesmen, but subsequent events have made me rather suspicious that at that moment our friend was struck with a fit of extreme modesty. Doesn't that excuse Mr. Springer? I think so. There was an administration of the Federal Government with which I was connected, and with which I had something to do—at all events, I have been held to an accountability for all its shortcomings—and I long ago made up my mind, that when the opportunity came that I could do it without injuring myself, I might, perhaps, have something to say about Mr. Depew's candidacy for the Presidency. Now, see the selfishness of this thing. See the mean political selfishness of that idea. Not so with Mr. Depew. Why, within four weeks, I think, in his magnanimity, and in his generous heart, though at a festive board, where we are all apt to say kind and generous things, he said such complimentary things of me as visited upon him, I am informed, the condemnation of members of his party. Indeed, I hear that one enthusiastic adherent of his from the West, on account of those complimentary and courteous things, which he said regardless of Presidential consequences, while I was waiting for an opportunity when I could say a kind thing of him, without hurting myself, wrote to him: "While you have been for years my ideal of a man that has Presidential timber in him, and while I have been strongly your advocate for that office, after

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

seeing what you said of that miserable fellow Cleveland, I wouldn't vote for you for poundmaster."

Now this carries with it an acknowledgment of the kindness and goodness of Mr. Depew, and also a confession of my own disposition, for I confess to you that the time has not yet come when I have thought I could safely, and without harm to myself, launch out on that subject in regard to him; but I hope the time will come. I am watching for it.

Now, gentlemen, there seems nothing left to me but to thank you again for your hearty recognition of me, and to say of the Chamber of Commerce that I sincerely hope that it may long exist in the prosperity which has marked it for so many years, and that these banquets may constantly increase in pleasure to those who are fortunate enough to be their invited guests.

[Address at the Jewelers' Association Annual Dinner, New York, November 21, 1890.]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: The sentiment assigned to me suggests a theme so vast and so animating that I am embarrassed in my attempt to deal with it. You surely will not expect me on this occasion to voice all the thoughts and feelings which the mention of "Our Country" inspires. If I should do this, I should merely tax your time and patience by the expression of reflections which spontaneously fill your minds. Besides, if I should launch upon this subject in true American style, I know I could not avoid the guilt of making a Fourth of July speech late in the month of November.

I hasten to declare that I do not fight shy of my subject because I do not love it. On the contrary, I love it so well

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

that I am anxious to observe all the proprieties related to it; and I cannot rid myself of the idea that our American eagle soars higher and better in the warm days of July than in the cool atmosphere of the present season.

And yet, I am far from believing that at any time and in any assemblage of Americans the sentiment "Our Country" is not a proper one to propose; though I have sometimes thought that it speaks so eloquently for itself that it needs no interpreter. There seems absolutely to be no necessity for arousing enthusiasm on this topic, and there is not the slightest danger that any of us will forget what we have accomplished as a nation or what we propose to accomplish, or that we will fix too narrow a limit upon the progress, development, and greatness of our country. Sometimes those who, unfortunately, cannot claim this as their country accuse us of dwelling with some exaggeration upon these things, but every American is entirely certain that such imputations arise from ignorance of our achievements or from envy and disappointed rivalry. At any rate, it is a habit to glorify our country, and we propose to continue it. We all do it without prompting, and we like it. We can stand any amount of it without disturbance, and whether others like it or not, we know, and we propose to declare on every occasion, that America is the finest and the best and the greatest country on the face of the globe. That proposition is not original with me, but has been a settled fact in the American mind for many years.

Though this might be said to dispose of the subject by a short cut, and though I have declined to deal with it in all its aspects, the American disposition to glorify our country is strong with me; and I am disinclined to abandon my allotted sentiment in a manner quite so summary. If I am to retain it for a few moments, I know of no better way to deal with it than to divide it and consider one branch or part of my text, as is sometimes done with a long text in

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

the pulpit. I, therefore, propose to say something about the word "our" as related to the sentiment, "Our Country."

This is "our" country, because the people have established it, because they rule it, because they have developed it, because they have fought for it, and because they love it. And still each generation of Americans holds it only in trust for those who shall come after them, and they are charged with the obligation to transmit it as strong as it came to their hands. It is not ours to destroy, it is not ours to sell, and it is not ours to neglect and injure. It is ours as our families are ours, and as our churches and school are ours—to protect and defend, to foster and improve. As its strength and its fitness to reach its promised destiny depend upon its unity, one of our highest duties toward it is to cultivate and encourage kindliness among our people, to the end that all may heartily co-operate in performing the terms of our trust. As it exists for us all, so all should be accorded an equal share in its benefits. It is so constructed that its work is badly done and its operation perverted, when special and exclusive advantages are awarded to any particular class of our people. If we permit grasping selfishness to influence us in the care of our trust, we are untrue to our obligations and our covenants as Americans.

Our country is "ours" for the purpose of securing through its means justice, happiness, and prosperity to all—not for the purpose of permitting the selfish and designing to be enriched at the expense of their confiding fellow-countrymen. It is our duty, then, to defend and protect our country, while it remains in our hands, from that selfishness which, if permitted, will surely undermine it, as clearly as it is our duty to defend it against armed enemies.

Nor are we discharged from our obligations as trustees of our country if we merely preserve it in the same condition as when we received it. The march of progress and civiliza-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

tion throughout the world imposes on us the duty of improving the subject of our trust so that it may be transmitted to others in such an advanced condition of prosperity and growth as shall bear witness to our faithfulness and our devotion to its interests. He who hid his talent in a napkin and added nothing to it was condemned as unfaithful, when called upon to give an account of his stewardship.

Let us, then, rejoice in the greatness of "Our Country"; but let us remember that it will be our blame if it is not made greater; let us boast of the country which is ours, but let our boasting be tempered with the reflection that its possession is charged with a sacred trust; let us constantly bear in mind that while it is ours to use patriotically and transmit to coming generations, our relation to it is made more serious by the fact that, in its broadest and most solemn meaning, our country is something which, as an example and interpreter of freedom, belongs to the world, and which, in its blessed mission, belongs to humanity.

[Letter to the Young Men's Democratic Association of Canton, O., New York, November 25, 1890.]

Gentlemen: I thank you for the invitation I have just received to meet with the members of the Young Men's Democratic Club at Canton to rejoice over the late Democratic victory. I am sorry to say that it will be impossible for me to be present on the occasion you contemplate, but I hope that it will be full of enthusiasm and congratulation.

And yet may I not suggest one sober thought which should constantly be in our minds? Our late success is, of course, the triumph of Democratic principles, but that success was made possible by the co-operation of many who are

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

not to be considered as irrevocably and under all circumstances members of our party. They trusted us and allied themselves with us in the late struggle because they saw that those with whom they had acted politically were heedless of the interests of the country and untrue to the people.

We have still to convince them that Democracy means something more than mere management for party success and a partisan distribution of benefits after success. This can only be done by insisting that in the conduct of our party, principles touching the public welfare shall be placed above spoils, and this is the sentiment of the masses of the Democratic party to-day. They are disinterested and patriotic, and they should not be misrepresented by the tricks of those who would not scruple to use the party name for selfish purposes.

I do not say that there is danger of this; but I am convinced that our duty to those who have trusted us consists in pushing on, continually and vigorously, the principles in the advocacy of which we have triumphed, and thus superseding all that is ignoble and unworthy. In this way we shall place our party on solid ground and confirm the people in the hope that we strive for their welfare, and, following this course, we shall deserve and achieve further success.

[*Address in Response to the Toast, "The Campaign of Education," Delivered at the Reform Club Dinner, New York, December 23, 1890.*]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I suppose I have a correct understanding of what is meant by "The Campaign of Education." Assuming this to be so, I desire, before going further, to acknowledge the valiant services in this campaign

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

of the organization whose invitation brings us together to-night. I may be permitted, I hope, to make this acknowledgment as a citizen interested in all that promises the increased prosperity of the country; and I shall also venture to do so as a Democrat who recognizes, in the principle for which the campaign has thus far proceeded, a cardinal and vital doctrine of Democratic creed. If I thus acknowledge the useful services, in a Democratic cause, of any who have not claimed long affiliation with my party, I feel that my Democratic allegiance is strong enough to survive such an indulgence in fairness and decency. I am, too, at all times willing that the Democratic party should be enlarged; and, as tending in that direction, I am willing to accept and acknowledge in good faith honest help from any quarter when a struggle is pending for the supremacy of Democratic principles. Indeed, I have an idea that, in the campaign of education, it was deemed important to appeal to the reason and judgment of the American people, to the end that the Democratic party should be reinforced as well as that the activity and zeal of those already in our ranks should be stimulated. If this be treason in the sight of those who, clothed in Democratic uniform, would be glad to stand at the entrance of our camp and drive back recruits, I cannot help it. I have come here to-night, among other things, to rejoice in the numerous accessions we have received in aid of Democratic endeavor and to give credit wherever it is due for the work of conversion.

The grand and ultimate object of the campaign of education was the promotion of the welfare of the country and the relief of the people from unjust burdens. In aid of this purpose and, of course, subordinate and accessory to its accomplishment, it became necessary, first of all, to arouse the Democratic organization to an apprehension of the fact that the campaign involved a Democratic principle, in the advocacy of which the party should be active and aggressive.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

Let it be here confessed that we, as a party, had, in these latter days, been tempted by the successes our opponents had gained solely by temporary shifts and by appeals to prejudice and selfish interests, into paths which avoided too much the honest insistence upon definite and clearly defined principle and fundamental Democratic doctrine. To be sure, some earnest men in the party could but ill conceal their dissatisfaction with the manner in which cardinal principles were relegated to the rear and expediency substituted as the hope of success; but the timid, the heedless, and those who, though nominally belonging to the organization, were not of the faith, constantly rendered ineffective all attempts to restore the party to the firm and solid ground of Democratic creed.

If these things are confessed, let it also be conceded that when the time came and the cries of a suffering people were heard, and when, for their relief, a genuine Democratic remedy was proposed, the party easily recognized its duty and gave proof of its unconquerable Democratic instincts. As soon as the campaign of education was inaugurated, the party was quickly marshaled as of the olden time, aggressive, courageous, devoted to its cause and heedless of discouragement or defeat. Day by day, and hour by hour, expediency and time-serving were thrown to the winds. Traitors were silenced, camp-followers fell away or joined the scurvy band of floaters, while the sturdy Democratic host confidently pressed on, bearing aloft the banner of tariff reform. If any have wondered in the past at the tenacity and indestructibility of our party, their wonder should cease when, in the light of the last three years, it is seen how gloriously it springs to the front at the call of duty to the people, and in obedience to the summons of party loyalty and obligation.

Thus the education of the campaign meant, as related to the Democracy, its awakening in response to the signal for its return to the propagandism of Democratic doctrine.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

The thoroughly aroused enthusiasm and determination of the party, and its allied thousands of good and earnest men, drawn from the non-partisan intelligence and honesty of the land, saw no obstacle too formidable for attack and no end which was not within their reach. In a sublime confidence, almost amounting to audacity, they were willing to attempt the education of those high in the counsels of the Republican party, and those who formulated that party's policy, so far as such a thing existed.

I am afraid, however, that if this task may be considered a step in the campaign of education, the word education, as applied to those who were to be affected, must be construed as meaning the instillation of such fear and terror in the minds of unregenerate men as leads them to flee from the wrath to come.

But even in this unpromising field we are able to report progress. No one who remembers the hilarity with which the leaders of the Republican party greeted the message of tariff reform, and the confidence with which they prepared to meet and crush the issue presented, can fail to see how useful a lesson has been taught them in our campaign of education.

Within twenty-four hours after the submission to Congress of the question of tariff reform, sundry Senators and Representatives belonging to the Republican party were reported to have ventilated their partisan exultation jauntily in the public press.

If it be true that a Senator from Nebraska said, "It is a big card for the Republicans," this big card cannot appear remarkably useful to him now, for his State to-day contains a big curiosity in the shape of a Democratic Governor-elect.

If the junior Senator from New York declared that his party would carry this State by the largest majority ever known if they could be given the platform proposed, the

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

reply will come when, in a few days, a Democratic colleague is placed by his side.

If a Senator from Maine declared, "It is a good enough platform for the Republicans—we want nothing better," how is it that he is now so diligently endeavoring to find out the meaning of the word Reciprocity?

If a New Hampshire Senator believed that "the Republicans want nothing better with which to sweep the country," the trouble his State is giving him to-day must lead him to suspect there is a mistake somewhere.

If a Senator from Wisconsin gleefully said he was glad to see us "show our hand" he cannot fail to be convinced, when he soon gives place to a real good, sound Democrat, that there was, after all, more in the hand than he cared to see.

If the present Speaker of the House sarcastically said, "It only shows what fools all the other Presidents have been," he may well be excused, since he has lately so thoroughly learned, that, in the sight of the people, infallibility is not an attribute always to be found in the Speaker's chair.

If the Representative from Ohio whose name is associated with a bill which has given his party considerable trouble of late, said, "If the Democratic party had hired Burchard to write a stump speech it could not have suited us better," it must be that circumstances leading to his approaching retirement from public life have suggested a modification of his judgment, and caused him to suspect that Mr. Burchard has at least one formidable competitor.

As our campaign has proceeded, other unusual symptoms have been apparent among those prominent in directing the opposition. Some of them have become insubordinate and discontented, and at times actually disobedient to party orders. Some have left the ship. One shrewd and weather-wise navigator has clambered off, and, in a frail bark, with

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the word "Reciprocity" painted on its stern, was last seen hovering near, prepared to climb aboard again, or sail away, as wind and wave would appear to make most safe. At the present stage of the campaign the unwieldy party hulk of Bourbon Republicanism is still afloat, but damaged and badly leaking. On board, some are still working at the pumps against the awful odds of opening seams; many, mutinous and discontented, short of provisions and of grog, are loudly and angrily disputing as to whether bad seamanship or overloading is the cause of their wretched plight, while accusations of guilty responsibility are heard on every side. If, from this turbulence, there shall emerge any who, actually pricked in conscience, desire a better life, they will be gladly welcomed. I cannot, however, keep out of my mind the story of the pious deacon who, having, in his efforts to convert a bad sinner, become so excited by his incorrigibility that he gave him a thorough drubbing, afterward explained and justified his course by declaring that he believed he had "wallowed saving grace into an impenitent soul."

Of course, we do not overlook the fact that before their present predicament was reached, and in their first battle with us, the enemy gained a victory over tariff reform. This is confessed; and we may here only refer to the methods by which that victory was gained for the purpose of saying that we thoroughly understand them, and that if the beneficiaries of those methods are satisfied with the condition they have wrought, we also are not without compensation. That we have cause for satisfaction, even in the remembrance of temporary defeat, is evidenced by the fact that among those who ought to rejoice in success there is quite a general sentiment that "the least said of it the better."

I have spoken of the campaign of education as it has affected the two great party organizations. It remains to mention another and a more important and gratifying feature of its progress. I refer to the manner in which access

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

has been gained to the plain people of the land, and the submission to their reason and judgment of the objects and purposes for which the campaign was undertaken.

The Democratic party is willing to trust the ordinary intelligence of our people for an understanding of its principles. It does not seat itself above the common feelings and sympathies of humanity, and in an arrogant assumption of superior learning formulate political doctrines suited only to those favored with advanced educational opportunities. It recognized the fact at the outset of the campaign of education that it was not the ignorance of the people which had led them to submit to the evils of bad government, but that it was partly owing to the busy activity of their occupations, and the consequent neglect of political subjects, and partly to the rigidity of their party ties and their unquestioning confidence in party leadership. Having once settled upon their political affiliations, they have been wont to turn from a watchfulness of public affairs to the daily routine of their labor with much virtuous satisfaction in the reflection that they were not politicians.

Therefore the labor of their education in the campaign has consisted in persuading them to hear us; to examine the theories in party organizations and the ends to which they lead; to recall the promises of political leadership and the manner in which such promises have been redeemed; and to counsel with us as to the means by which their condition could be improved.

Never was more intelligent, honest, and effective effort made in a noble cause than that made by the Democratic party and its allies in this work. Our fellow-countrymen were approached, not by fabricated extracts from English journals and a lying demagogic cry of British gold; not by fraudulent pictures of the ruin of American industries if the justice of governmental favoritism was questioned; not by a false presentation of the impoverishment and distress of our

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

laboring men which would follow their independent political thought and action; not by a disgraceful proposition for the purchase of their suffrages; and not by the cruel intimidation, by selfish employers, of those dependent on them for the wages of their toil.

We have been content to rely upon the intelligence and thoughtfulness of the people for the success of our cause. We have solicited the most thorough examination of its merits. For the purpose of such examination we have put before the people plain and honest exposition of the justice and beneficence of our principle. This has been done by the systematic and industrious distribution of tariff-reform literature, by the effective and conscientious arguments of a well-informed and unsubsidized press, and by an extensive discussion on the platform of the question involved.

These are the weapons we have used in our campaign of education. It is a cause of congratulation to-night that our work has been done in a manner so decent, and in its best sense so purely American.

Need I speak of the results of our labors? This happy assemblage, called together "To celebrate the victories achieved in the cause of tariff reform," tells the story of our success.

We will rejoice to-night, not only in our success and the manner of its achievement, but as American citizens we will especially rejoice in the proof which our victory affords of the intelligence, the integrity, and the patriotism of our fellow-countrymen. We have again learned that, when roused to thought and action, they can be trusted to determine rightly any questions involving their interests and the welfare of their country.

Let us not fail to realize the fact that our work is not done. Our enemies are still alive, and have grown desperate. Human selfishness is not easily overcome, and the hope of private gain at the expense of the masses of our people is not

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

yet abandoned. It would be shameful, and a pitiable disgrace, if by over-confidence we should lose the ground we have gained, or if we should fail to push further our advantage. The result of our labor thus far is, indeed, "a signal tribute to the judgment of the American people." In full faith in this judgment our work should continue upon the lines thus far followed until the enemies of tariff reform are driven from their last intrenchment. As the people have trusted us, let us, above all things, be true to them. Let the light of our campaign be carried into every part of the land where it has not been seen; and where it has been kindled let it be kept brightly burning, still showing the way to better days for the people, and disclosing the plans of insidious foes.

In the years to come, when we look back with patriotic satisfaction upon our participation in the glorious struggle for tariff reform and recall its happy termination, it will delight us to remember every incident of discouragement as well as of triumph in the people's cause. Then, when we are asked to speak of our proudest political endeavor, and to give the best illustrations of American intelligence, and to pay the highest tribute to the judgment of the American people, we will rehearse the history and the grand result of "the campaign of education."

[*Address in Response to the Toast: "The Principles of True Democracy," at the Banquet of the Young Men's Democratic Association, Philadelphia, January 8, 1891.*]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: As I rise to respond to the sentiment which has been assigned to me, I cannot avoid the impression made upon my mind by the announcement of

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the words "True Democracy." I believe them to mean a sober conviction or conclusion touching political topics, which, formulated into a political belief or creed, inspires a patriotic performance of the duties of citizenship. I am satisfied that the principles of this belief or creed are such as underlie our free institutions, and that they may be urged upon our fellow-countrymen, because, in their purity and integrity, they accord with the attachment of our people for their government and their country. A creed based upon such principles is by no means discredited because illusions and perversions temporarily prevent their popular acceptance, any more than it can be irretrievably shipwrecked by mistakes made in its name or by its prostitution to ignoble purposes. When illusions are dispelled, when misconceptions are rectified, and when those who guide are consecrated to truth and duty, the ark of the people's safety will still be discerned in the keeping of those who hold fast to the principles of true democracy.

These principles are not uncertain nor doubtful. The illustrious founder of our party has plainly announced them. They have been reasserted and followed by a long line of great political leaders, and they are quite familiar. They comprise: Equal and exact justice to all men; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliance with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor; a jealous care of the right of election by the people; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expenses; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; the encouragement of agriculture, and commerce as its handmaid, and freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of the person.

The great President and intrepid Democratic leader whom

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

we especially honor to-night, who never relaxed his strict adherence to the Democratic faith nor faltered in his defense of the rights of the people against all comers, found his inspiration and guidance in these principles. On entering upon the Presidency he declared his loyalty to them; in his long and useful incumbency of that great office he gloriously illustrated their value and sufficiency; and his obedience to the doctrines of true Democracy, at all times during his public career, permitted him on his retirement to find satisfaction in the declaration: "At the moment when I surrender my last public trust, I leave this great people prosperous and happy and in the full enjoyment of liberty and peace, and honored and respected by every nation of the world."

Parties have come and parties have gone. Even now the leaders of the party which faces in opposition the Democratic host, listen for the footsteps of that death which destroys parties false to their trust.

Touched by thine
The extortioner's hard hand foregoes the gold
Wrung from the o'erworn poor.

.
Thou, too, dost purge from earth its horrible
And old idolatries; from the proud fanes,
Each to his grave, their priests go out, till none
Is left to teach their worship.

But there has never been a time, from Jefferson's day to the present hour, when our party did not exist, active and aggressive and prepared for heroic conflict. Not all who have followed the banner have been able by a long train of close reasoning to demonstrate, as an abstraction, why Democratic principles are best suited to their wants and the country's good; but they have known and felt that as their government was established for the people, the principles and the men nearest to the people and standing for them

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

could be the safest trusted. Jackson has been in their eyes the incarnation of the things which Jefferson declared. If they did not understand all that Jefferson wrote, they saw and knew what Jackson did. Those who insisted upon voting for Jackson after his death felt sure that, whether their candidate was alive or dead, they were voting the ticket of true Democracy. The devoted political adherent of Jackson who, after his death, became involved in a dispute as to whether his hero had gone to heaven or not, was prompted by Democratic instinct when he disposed of the question by declaring, "I tell you, sir, that if Andrew Jackson has made up his mind to go to heaven you may depend upon it he's there." The single Democratic voter in more than one town who, year after year, deposited his single Democratic ballot undismayed by the number of his misguided opponents, thus discharged his political duty with the utmost pride and satisfaction in his Jacksonian Democracy.

Democratic steadfastness and enthusiasm, and the satisfaction arising from our party history and traditions, certainly ought not to be discouraged. But it is hardly safe for us because we profess the true faith, and can boast of distinguished political ancestry, to rely upon these things as guarantees of our present usefulness as a party organization, or to regard their glorification as surely making the way easy to the accomplishment of our political mission.

The Democratic party, by an intelligent study of existing conditions, should be prepared to meet all the wants of the people as they arise, and to furnish a remedy for every threatening evil. We may well be proud of our party membership; but we cannot escape the duty which such membership imposes upon us, to urge constantly upon our fellow-citizens of this day and generation the sufficiency of the principles of true Democracy for the protection of their rights and the promotion of their welfare and happiness, in all their present diverse conditions and surroundings.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

There should, of course, be no suggestion that a departure from the time-honored principles of our party is necessary to the attainment of these objects. On the contrary, we should constantly congratulate ourselves that our party creed is broad enough to meet any emergency that can arise in the life of a free nation.

Thus, when we see the functions of government used to enrich a favored few at the expense of the many, and see also its inevitable result in the pinching privation of the poor and the profuse extravagance of the rich; and when we see in operation an unjust tariff which banishes from many humble homes the comforts of life, in order that, in the palaces of wealth, luxury may more abound, we turn to our creed and find that it enjoins "equal and exact justice to all men." Then, if we are well grounded in our political faith, we will not be deceived, nor will we permit others to be deceived, by any plausible pretext or smooth sophistry excusing the situation. For our answer to them all, we will point to the words which condemn such inequality and injustice, as we prepare for the encounter with wrong, armed with the weapons of true Democracy.

When we see our farmers in distress, and know that they are not paying the penalty of slothfulness and mismanagement, when we see their long hours of toil so poorly requited that the money-lender eats out their substance, while for everything they need they pay a tribute to the favorites of governmental care, we know that all this is far removed from the "encouragement of agriculture" which our creed commands. We will not violate our political duty by forgetting how well entitled our farmers are to our best efforts for their restoration to the independence of a former time and to the rewards of better days.

When we see the extravagance of public expenditure fast reaching the point of reckless waste, and the undeserved distribution of public money debauching its recipients, and

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

by pernicious example threatening the destruction of the love of frugality among our people, we will remember that "economy in the public expense" is an important article in the true Democratic faith."

When we see our political adversaries bent upon the passage of a Federal law, with the scarcely denied purpose of perpetuating partisan supremacy, which invades the States with election machinery designed to promote Federal interference with the rights of the people in the localities concerned, discrediting their honesty and fairness, and justly arousing their jealousy of centralized power, we will stubbornly resist such a dangerous and revolutionary scheme, in obedience to our pledge for "the support of the State governments in all their rights."

Under anti-Democratic encouragement we have seen a constantly increasing selfishness attach to our political affairs. A departure from the sound and safe theory that the people should support the government for the sake of the benefits resulting to all, has bred a sentiment manifesting itself with astounding boldness, that the government may be enlisted in the furtherance and advantage of private interests, through their willing agents in public place. Such an abandonment of the idea of patriotic political action on the part of these interests, has naturally led to an estimate of the people's franchise so degrading that it has been openly and palpably debauched for the promotion of selfish schemes. Money is invested in the purchase of votes with the deliberate calculation that it will yield a profitable return in results advantageous to the investor. Another crime akin to this in motive and design is the intimidation by employers of the voters dependent upon them for work and bread.

Nothing could be more hateful to true and genuine Democracy than such offenses against our free institutions. In several of the States the honest sentiment of the party has asserted itself, in the support of every plan proposed for

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

the rectification of this terrible wrong. To fail in such support would be to violate that principle in the creed of true Democracy which commands "a jealous care of the right of election by the people," for certainly no one can claim that suffrages purchased or cast under the stress of threat or intimidation represent the right of election by the people.

Since a free and unpolluted ballot must be conceded as absolutely essential to the maintenance of our free institutions, I may perhaps be permitted to express the hope that the State of Pennsylvania will not long remain behind her sister States in adopting an effective plan to protect her people's suffrage. In any event the Democracy of the State can find no justification in party principle, nor in party traditions, nor in a just apprehension of Democratic duty, for a failure earnestly to support and advocate ballot reform.

I have thus far attempted to state some of the principles of true Democracy, and their application to present conditions. Their enduring character and their constant influence upon those who profess our faith have also been suggested. If I were now asked why they have so endured and why they have been invincible, I should reply in the words of the sentiment to which I respond: "They are enduring because they are right, and invincible because they are just."

I believe that among our people the ideas which endure, and which inspire warm attachment and devotion, are those having some elements which appeal to the moral sense. When men are satisfied that a principle is morally right, they become its adherents for all time. There is sometimes a discouraging distance between what our fellow-countrymen believe and what they do, in such a case; but their action in accordance with their belief may always be confidently expected in good time. A government for the people and by the people is everlastingly right. As surely as this is true so surely is it true that party principles which advocate the absolute equality of American manhood, and an equal par-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

ticipation by all the people in the management of their government, and in the benefit and protection which it affords, are also right. Here is common ground where the best educated thought and reason may meet the most impulsive and instinctive Americanism. It is right that every man should enjoy the result of his labor to the fullest extent consistent with his membership in a civilized community. It is right that our government should be but the instrument of the people's will, and that its cost should be limited within the lines of strict economy. It is right that the influence of the government should be known in every humble home as the guardian of frugal comfort and content, and a defense against unjust exactions, and the unearned tribute persistently coveted by the selfish and designing. It is right that efficiency and honesty in public service should not be sacrificed to partisan greed; and it is right that the suffrage of our people should be pure and free.

The belief in these propositions, as moral truths, is nearly universal among our countrymen. We are mistaken if we suppose the time is distant when the clouds of selfishness and perversion will be dispelled and their conscientious belief will become the chief motive force in the political action of the people.

I understand all these truths to be included in the principles of true Democracy. If we have not at all times trusted as implicitly as we ought to the love our people have for the right, in political action, or if we have not always relied sufficiently upon the sturdy advocacy of the best things which belong to our party faith, these have been temporary aberrations which have furnished their inevitable warning.

We are permitted to contemplate to-night the latest demonstration of the people's appreciation of the right, and of the acceptance they accord to Democratic doctrine when honestly presented. In the campaign which has just closed with such glorious results, while party managers were anticipating the

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

issue in the light of the continued illusion of the people, the people themselves and for themselves were considering the question of right and justice. They have spoken, and the Democracy of the land rejoice.

In the signs of the times and in the result of their late State campaign, the Democracy of Pennsylvania must find hope and inspiration. Nowhere has the sensitiveness of the people, on questions involving right and wrong, been better illustrated than here. At the head of your State government there will soon stand a disciple of true Democracy, elected by voters who would have the right and not the wrong when their consciences were touched. Though there have existed here conditions and influences not altogether favorable to an unselfish apprehension of the moral attributes of political doctrine, I believe that if these features of the principles of true Democracy are persistently advocated, the time will speedily come when, as in a day, the patriotic hearts of the people of your great Commonwealth will be stirred to the support of our cause.

It remains to say that, in the midst of our rejoicing and in the time of party hope and expectation, we should remember that the way of right and justice should be followed as a matter of duty and regardless of immediate success. Above all things let us not for a moment forget that grave responsibilities await the party which the people trust; and let us look for guidance to the principles of true Democracy, which "are enduring because they are right, and invincible because they are just."

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*Address at a Meeting to Demand New Legislation Concerning the Adirondack Park, New York, January 24, 1891.*]

Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen: I rise to say a word in support of the resolutions that have been read. I have come here to be instructed as to the progress that has been made in a cause to which a few years ago, as Governor of your State, I gave considerable attention, and to testify to my continued interest in forest preservation. When, as Governor, this subject was brought to my mind, I gave it careful study, and I was thoroughly satisfied that the destruction of the Adirondack forests was jeopardizing our rivers as means of transportation, and that their preservation was essential to the health and comfort of future generations.

It is a most important matter, worthy the attention of all. Therefore it was that I recommended to the legislators of the State the passage of measures calculated to prohibit the further sale of forest lands in the possession of the State, and that such lands as we had, together with such as should come into our hands for the non-payment of taxes, should be preserved for a park. Something of that sort was done or attempted through an act providing for a forest commission, but the necessary amount of public feeling could not then be aroused to accomplish much.

I have listened with a great deal of interest to the suggestions which have been made here. To my conservative mind many of them seem radical. I have had the same advantages of observation as some of the previous speakers. I am an Adirondacker. I go to the Adirondacks every year. I have seen the great waste places and the desolation of which you have heard; but, ladies and gentlemen, I have

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

been on the edge of another great waste, on the margin of another great wilderness. I refer to the Capitol at Albany. Now, make no mistake if you wish to preserve your forests from waste, there must be considerable cultivation done up there.

But, after all, there is no reason for discouragement. A little reminiscence of a previous struggle like this will teach you that. There was a suggestion made when I was in Albany that an effort should be made to have a reservation at Niagara Falls for the purpose of preserving the great natural beauty of the place. I must confess that that project seemed to me a rather discouraging one to attempt. I was full of sympathy, but not full of hope. Its warmest supporters hardly dared to predict that their hopes would be realized, yet they were realized, and I will tell you how.

If we had then gone to the Legislature with a bill asking for so much money to buy so much land around the Falls, we certainly would have failed. We might have gone there and pleaded that we only wanted \$1,500,000 until we were black in the face, and we would have been answered every time that the \$1,500,000 we asked for was only an entering wedge. Our opponents would have pointed to the Capitol Building at Albany and shaken their heads.

What did we do? We got the Legislature to pass a law authorizing an appraisal of the lands we wanted to preserve. As good luck would have it, the appraisal amounted to just about the amount we said the lands would cost. We had continued to win supporters for our project. We then asked the State to buy the lands, and, to her credit be it said, she did so.

Our success then was largely due to an argument we may use here. We wanted to awaken the people's pride. I used to say to people that Niagara Falls was a great natural wonder by which we were known throughout the world. When you go to Europe, you are asked about Niagara Falls.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

I have never been to Europe, but I take that for granted for the sake of argument. When we told people that they began to take a sort of personal pride in Niagara. So we must make them feel that they have a personal interest in the splendid Adirondack region, which will make them demand its preservation. I would propose that we have a committee of 128 able-bodied citizens, each of whom shall go to Albany, take a legislator by the ear, and show him the great import of the work for which we ask his support.

The trouble is that the waste of our means of transportation is too remote to affect them. They will shrug their shoulders and say that the Hudson River will continue to flow as long as they live, and future generations—well, perhaps future generations can get along without rivers. Tell them that the work is essential to the preservation of health, and they will answer you that they are healthy enough. These arguments are weak to us, but to a member of the Legislature, when linked with the question of expense, they become strong.

We must take up the great task before us by easy stages. Let us begin on what we already have. Let us demand that the State shall preserve the great amount of Adirondack lands it now owns. That will not antagonize anybody. Let us demand that railroads shall not go in there on public lands except upon the consent of the State and the Forest Commission. That is but right and cannot antagonize anybody. We must not ask that somebody be given a license to go into the Adirondack region and blow up all the destructive dams, but we can with reason ask the State to see that no dam shall exist which is an injury to public lands and public forests.

Let us begin at once to protect what we have. That will demonstrate to the people the value of our work. Having done that, I believe that securing new lands and finally getting such a great State Park as we need will be an easy

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

matter. Rome was not built in a day. A great Adirondack Park cannot be acquired by a single act.

I believe that we must have the co-operation of those who now own Adirondack lands. This is especially true of the clubs which have purchased preserves there for sporting purposes. Their desire to preserve the natural beauty of the region is as strong as ours is. If we could get these clubs to hold lands adjoining State lands, doing more or less exchanging for State lands, the region under preservation would be so much larger. I believe that it would be perfectly feasible to frame a law, agreeable to these clubs, that would give the State a right to protect, not a title to, private preserves adjoining a park.

Don't, then, let us shock our lawmakers, economical at least on matters of this kind, by asking for too much at once. Don't let us oppose any association, society, or individual that is working on the same line as we are. We need all the help we can get. Let us get to work to do something now, for, although it may be but an inch of the mile we ultimately want, we must remember that a little done now is worth a great deal in the future. I move the adoption of the resolution as offered.

[Address at the Banquet of the National Association of Builders, New York, February 12, 1891.]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: When American citizens are gathered together on occasions like this, and the hour of feasting is supplemented by toast and sentiment, it is surely fitting that "Our Country" should be prominent among the topics proposed for thought and speech. Evidence is thus furnished of the ever present love and affec-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

tion of our people for their country, prompting them, at all times and in all places, to yield to her ready recognition and homage.

The conspicuous place which this sentiment occupies in American thought is the result of our relations to the land which we possess and to the government under which we live. Our vast domain belongs to our people. They have fought for it, and have labored hard for its development and growth. Our government, too, was fashioned and established by and for our people, and is sustained and administered at their behest. Subjects of other lands, less free than ours, and those who owe obedience to governments further removed from popular control, may boast of their country, in a spirit of natural pride and patriotism and as sharers in its splendor and glory. They thus exhibit their submission and allegiance and a habitual regard for constituted authority. But the enthusiasm which warms our hearts at the mention of "Our Country" grows out of our sense of proprietary and individual right in American institutions. It is mingled with no servile gratitude to any ruler for scant freedom generously conceded to us, nor with admiration of monarchical pomp and splendor. The words, "Our Country," suggest to us not only a broad domain which is ours, but also a government which is ours, based upon our will, protected and guarded by our love and affection, vouchsafing to us freedom limited only by our self-imposed restraints, and securing to us, as our right, absolute and impartial justice.

When we consider the extensive growth of our country—its cities and villages, and all the physical features which contribute so much to give to it a foremost place in the civilization of the age—we are bound to acknowledge that the builders of our land have had much to do with securing for us the commanding position we hold among the nations of the earth. It may, indeed, be said that all the nations which have ever existed, have, like us, been largely indebted, for

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

the grandeur and magnificence of which they could boast, to those belonging to the vocation represented in this assembly. It will be impossible to find a complete description of any country, ancient or modern, which does not mention the size and character of its buildings, and its public and private edifices.

I do not intend to do injustice, in the enthusiasm of this hour, to any of the trades and occupations which have contributed to make our country and other countries great. But truth and candor exact the confession that the chief among these occupations in all times past has been that of the builder. He began his work in the early days of created things, and has been abroad among the sons of men ever since. The builder's advent was signalized by a service to mankind of which not another craft can boast. No one has the hardihood to deny that the construction of the ark was the turning-point in the scheme for the perpetuation of the human race. The builder's work in that emergency saved mankind from a watery grave; and if we suffer at the hands of his successors in these modern times, we should allow his first job to plead loudly in his behalf. If in these days we are vexed by the failure of the builder to observe plans and specifications, let us bear in mind that in his first construction he, fortunately for us, followed them implicitly. The gopher wood was furnished, the ark was pitched within and without, it was built three hundred cubits long, fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high; the window was put in, the door was placed in the side, and it had a lower, second, and third story. If we are now and then prompted almost to profanity, because the builder has not completed our house within the time agreed, let us recall with gratitude the fact that the ark was fully completed and finished in a good and workmanlike manner and actually occupied, seven days before the waters of the flood were upon the earth. If a feeling like paralysis steals over us when a

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

long account for extra work is placed before our affrighted eyes, let us be reconciled to our fate by the thought that there was no charge for extra work in the construction of the ark, and that the human race was saved without that exasperating incident.

We sometimes hear things which are calculated to convey the impression that there is an irrepressible conflict raging between our builders and the rest of our people. If any such thing exists, I desire to suggest, in behalf of the builders, that it may to a great extent arise from the uncertainty prevailing among employers concerning their wants and what they can afford to have. These are days when the free-born and ambitious American citizen does not like to be outdone by his neighbor or anyone else. If, as a result of this, a man with fifty thousand dollars to spend for a home, is determined to have one as good and as extravagant as that of another man, who has twice the amount to invest for the same purpose, the builder certainly ought not to be blamed if he fails to perform that miracle. On the other hand, it has sometimes seemed to me that when an honest, confiding man applies to a builder for an estimate of the cost of a construction which he contemplates, he ought to receive more definite and trustworthy figures than those frequently submitted to him. I am inclined to think, however, that on the whole the relations of the builder with his fellow-men have been fairly amicable. If this were not so, and if disputes and misunderstandings were ordinary incidents of building contracts, it is quite apparent that the buildings which have been put up in our country would have caused enough of quarrels not only to endanger our social fabric, but to transfer much of the wealth now in the hands of the builders and their patrons to the pockets of the members of that peaceful and honest profession to which I have the honor to belong. This latter result would not be altogether mournful; the legal profession are so

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

patriotic, and so easily satisfied, that I am quite certain they are contented with existing conditions.

The National Association of Builders gives promise in its declared objects and purposes of much usefulness. It recognizes the fact that the relation its members bear to vast numbers of our wage-earners furnishes the opportunity for them to do an important and beneficent work in the way of reconciling differences between employers and employees and averting unprofitable and exasperating conflicts. All must commend the desire of the organization for the adoption of effective precautions against accident and injury to employees, and for some provision for such as are injured or incapacitated for work. And all our people ought especially to appreciate the efforts of your association to aid in the establishment of trade schools for the education and improvement of apprentices. Of course, no one will deny that a workman in your vocation, who labors intelligently and with some knowledge of the underlying reason for his plan of work, does more and better service than one who pursues his round of daily toil, unthinkingly, and as a mere matter of routine or imitation. Herein is certainly a palpable advantage to the workman, to the builder, and to his patron. But the value of a trade school education is not thus limited. The apprentice not only becomes a better workman by means of the education and discipline of such a school, but that very process must also tend to make him a better citizen. While he learns the things which give him an understanding of his work and fit his mind and brain to guide his hand, he also stimulates his perception of that high service which his country claims of him as a citizen.

For this service he and all of us have placed in our hands the suffrage of freemen. It is only faithfully used when its exercise represents a full consciousness of the responsibilities and duties which its possession imposes, and when it

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

is guided and controlled by a pure conscience and by thoughtful, intelligent, and independent judgment.

“Neither walls, theaters, porches, nor senseless equipage, make states; but men who are able to rely upon themselves.”

As a concluding thought, let me suggest, that though the builders of the United States may erect grand and beautiful edifices which shall be monuments of their skill and evidences of our nation's prosperity, their work is not well done nor their duty wholly performed unless, in pursuance of their contract of citizenship, they join with all their fellow-countrymen in building and finishing in beautiful proportions, the grandest and most commanding of all earthly structures—“Our Country.”

*[Address at the Democratic Club, New York,
April 13, 1891.]*

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I desire, first of all, to express my thanks to the promoters of this occasion, for the pleasure which a place in this goodly company affords me, and to congratulate the Democratic Club upon the indication of prosperity and enterprise supplied by its ownership of this beautiful and commodious house. The maintenance of such a center for the cultivation and dissemination of true Democratic principles, together with the activity and earnestness of members of the club, furnish the most gratifying evidence that those who abide here fully realize the value and importance of unremitting political endeavor and thorough organization in behalf of true Democracy.

It seems to me that the atmosphere which pervades this place is ill-suited to selfish and ignoble designs; and I feel at this moment that I am surrounded by influences which invite patriotic partisanship and disinterested devotion to

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

party principles. This sensation is most agreeable—for I am glad to be called a partisan if my partisanship is patriotic. If a partisan is correctly defined as “one who is violently and passionately devoted to a party or interest,” I must plead guilty to the charge of being a Democratic partisan, so long as the Democracy is true to its creed and traditions, and so long as conditions exist which, to my understanding, make adherence to its doctrines synonymous with patriotism.

It is a glorious thing to belong to a party which has a history beginning with the first years of our government, and full of achievements interwoven with all that has made our country great and kept our people free. It is an inspiring thing to know that by virtue of our party membership we are associated with those who resist the attempt of arrogant political power to interfere with the independence and integrity of popular suffrage, who are determined to relieve our countrymen from unjust and unnecessary burdens, who are intent upon checking extravagance in public expenditures, and who test party purposes by their usefulness in promoting the interests and welfare of all the people of the land.

These considerations furnish to those who love their country the highest and best incentives to constant and faithful effort in the cause of true Democracy.

We are reminded on this occasion that we not only have a proud history and glorious traditions, but that our party had an illustrious founder, whose services and teachings have done as much to justify and make successful our government by the people and for the people, as any American who ever lived. A claim to such political ancestry is, of itself, sufficient to lend honor and pride to membership in a party which preserves in their vigor and purity the principles of that Democracy which was established by Thomas Jefferson.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

These principles were not invented for the purpose of gaining popular assent for a day, nor only because they were useful in the early time of the Republic. They were not announced for the purpose of serving personal ambitions, nor merely for the purpose of catching the suffrages of the people. They were laid as deep and broad as the truths upon which the fabric of our government rested. In the spirit of prophecy, they were formulated and declared, not only as suited to the experiments of a new government, but as sufficient in every struggle and every emergency which should beset popular rule, in all times to come and in all stages of our country's growth and development.

The political revolution which accompanied the birth of our party was not accomplished while the principles of Democracy were kept laid away in a napkin, nor was the unanimity of their first acceptance secured by the senseless and noisy shouting of partisan bigotry and the refusal to receive converts to the faith. No man believed more implicitly in the political instruction of the people than the great founder of our party; and the first triumph of Democratic principles, under his leadership, was distinctly the result of a campaign of education. So, too, in the light of our last great victory, no man who desires Democratic success will deny the supreme importance of a most thorough and systematic presentation to our fellow-citizens of the reasons which support the avowed and accepted purposes of our party. Those who now sneer at efforts in that direction are our enemies—whether they confront us as confessed opponents, or whether they are traitors skulking within our camp.

It seems to me that this is peculiarly a time when the Democratic party should be mindful of its relations to the country, of its responsibilities as the guardian of sacred principles, and of its duty to a confiding people. In the rejoicing which success permits, let us remember that the mission of our party is continued warfare. We cannot accomplish

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

what we promise to the people if we allow ourselves to be diverted from the perils which are still in our way. Blindness to danger, and neglect of party organization and discipline, are invitations to defeat. We cannot win permanent and substantial success by putting aside principle and grasping after temporary expedients. We shall court disaster if we relax industry in commending to the intelligence of our countrymen the creed which we profess; and we tempt humiliating failure and disgrace when we encourage or tolerate those who, claiming fellowship with us, needlessly and often from the worst of motives, seek to stir up strife and sow discord in the councils of our party.

As we celebrate to-night the birthday of the father of Democracy, let us reinforce our Democratic zeal and enthusiasm and renew our faith and trust in the aroused intelligence of our countrymen. Let the reflections prompted by the surroundings of this occasion, confirm us in the assurance that we shall patriotically discharge our political duty and well maintain our party loyalty, if in all we do as Democrats we bravely and consistently hold fast to the truths which illumine the path laid out by our great guide and leader.

[Address at the Celebration of the Semi-Centennial of the German Young Men's Association, Buffalo, N. Y., May 11, 1891.]

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen: I am glad to meet here to-night so many old friends and acquaintances, and to join them in the felicitations which have called us together. At this moment I recall with perfect vividness another evening nearly eight years ago, when, in a beautiful building standing on this spot and then just com-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

pleted, we inaugurated with songs and rejoicing a grand national Sangerfest. That was a proud day for Buffalo, and a prouder one still for our German fellow-townsmen, who then welcomed as their guests a large and notable assemblage from many States, representing their national love of music; and, at the same time, were permitted to exhibit to their visitors, as a monument of the enterprise and activity of the German Young Men's Association, the grand and imposing Music Hall in which their festival of song was held.

The disaster which soon after overtook the association, involving the destruction of their splendid building, brought no discouragement to the members of the organization. To-night we meet in another and more magnificent Music Hall, built upon the ashes of the first, to celebrate the close of fifty years in the life of an association that exhibits to every observer the courage and determination which inevitably lead to usefulness and success.

I shall not assume such a familiarity with the career of the association as would enable me to present in detail the results of its past efforts. In any event it would ill become me to enter upon this field, in view of the fact that the able and honorable gentleman now at the head of the association was also its first president, and for fifty years has watched its progress and been devoted to its interests. Surely there has seldom been an organization which numbered among its members, at the end of half a century, so competent a chronicler of its history and achievements.

I understand that among the prominent purposes of the German Young Men's Association are the propagation and promotion of a knowledge of German literature and the cultivation and encouragement of the best elements of German character.

So far as the first of these objects is concerned, I hope I may be permitted to say that, while the efforts of the associ-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

ation in the direction mentioned are most praiseworthy and patriotic, such an undertaking can by no means be monopolized by any association. The value and importance of German literature are too keenly appreciated to be neglected in any part of the world, where there are those who seek to know the past triumphs of science, poetry, music, and art, or where there are those who strive to keep pace with their present development and progress. It is not too much to say that all nations which make claim to high civilization encourage the study of German literature, and that the extent to which this study is pursued by a people furnishes a standard of their enlightenment.

On behalf of the American people, I am inclined, also, to claim to-night that the German character which the association undertakes to cultivate is so interwoven with all the growth and progress of our country that we have a right to include it among the factors which make up a sturdy and thrifty Americanism. With our early settlers came the Germans. They suited themselves to every condition of our new world. Many of them fought for American independence, and many, who in the trade of war came to fight against us, afterward settled on our soil, and contributed greatly to the hardihood and stubborn endurance which our young nation so much needed.

As years were added to the new republic, the tide of German immigration increased in volume. Those who thus came to us brought with them a love of liberty which readily assimilated them to our institutions, and their natural love of order made them good citizens. By their love of music and social enjoyments they shed a bright light upon the solemn and constant routine of American work, while, at the same time, they abundantly proved that reasonable recreation was entirely consistent with wholesome and conservative accumulation. They were found in every part of our land. Among the pioneers of the far West, they struggled against

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

discouragements and hardships—counteracting privation by frugality, and never for a moment losing sight of the better day promised by the future to undaunted courage and persistent industry. In our cities and towns they were found in the front ranks of successful business and trade; and by the choice of their fellow-citizens they held public positions of trust and influence. Everywhere they illustrated the value and the sure reward of economy and steady work.

Thus, before the American nation had lived one hundred years, our German population had grown to millions, and constituted an important ingredient in the mass of American activity. Then there came a time when the government of the country of their adoption was assaulted by rebellious hands; and then our German fellow-citizens had presented to them an opportunity to prove the depth and breadth of their attachment to the land in which they lived and wrought, and to exhibit how completely they had become patriotic American citizens. They allowed not a moment for uncertainty, but flocked by thousands to the standard of the Union and bravely devoted themselves to its defense. In every battle the German soldiers fought with courage and persistence, and died with fortitude. This common baptism of blood, and this partnership in peril, brought closer together every element of our people, and made them all—more than ever and in every sense—Americans. This leads me to say that any opposing claims to ownership in the valuable traits of German character admit of a fair compromise. No one will begrudge the satisfaction to be derived from analyzing these elements and establishing their German origin; and all will concede that the more they are cultivated the more our country will gain. But when all this is done, let us call these traits, so far as they are here exhibited, American. They have been with us since our beginning; they have influenced every day of our country's life; they are among the traits which our government was formed to

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

foster, and they are essential to our country's safety and prosperity.

I hardly think there is any city in the land that should appreciate the value of German population better than Buffalo. On every side, within your limits, are seen the evidences of the thrift of your German fellow-townsmen and monuments of their industry and enterprise. No one can dispute their contribution to your immense municipal growth, and you do well to recognize it in the selection of those charged with the administration of your city government. Even now there stands at its head, performing his duties acceptably to the entire community, one who has won his way to the confidence of his fellow-citizens solely by the German-American traits of honesty, industry, and economy. I know that he will forgive me for saying that when I knew him first, not many years ago, he was occupying an honorable, but very humble position, and gave no symptom of his present prominence. I will not dispute the right of anyone to call him a German; but I claim the satisfaction of also calling this old friend of mine a first-rate American.

In the light of the suggestions I have made, it is a pleasant thing to learn the significant fact that the membership of the German Young Men's Association is quite largely made up of those who have no title to German parentage or origin.

I cannot resist the temptation to introduce here the thought that no such association can exist and escape a responsibility to our people and our government. Wherever our countrymen are gathered together with the professed purpose of mutual improvement, or in furtherance of any useful object, they ought to do something for their country. Its welfare and progress depend so clearly upon what the people are taught and what they think that patriotism should pervade their every endeavor in the direction of mental or social improvement. Our government was made by the peo-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

ple; and by the people it must be constantly watched and maintained. Like every other mechanism it requires guidance and care. Without this, like many another mechanism, it will not only fail to do its work, but it may injure and wound those who stand idly near. We cannot afford, in the heedless race for wealth, nor in the absorbing struggle for the promotion of selfish ends, to neglect, for a day, our duty to our government.

So, as the members of the German Young Men's Association contemplate the steadfast love of country which belongs to the German character, let them enforce the lesson that this sentiment is absolutely essential to the strength and vigor of American institutions. If they find that German industry and frugality lead to national happiness and comfort, let them insist that these characteristics be rooted in our soil; and if they find that the justice and equality which our free institutions promise, and which the Germans love, are withheld from them and the American people, let them demand from the government which they support a scrupulous redemption of its pledges.

As this association crosses the threshold which lies midway in the first century of its existence, its members may well recall with pride and congratulation what it has thus far done for the promotion of a knowledge of German literature and the cultivation of German character; and, as they enter upon the second half century of organized effort, they should be more than ever determined to pursue these purposes, not only because they may thus keep alive a fond remembrance of the Fatherland, but because they may thus, in a higher, better spirit, aid in the cultivation of those sentiments which purify and strengthen a genuine and patriotic Americanism.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Address before the Commercial Club, Providence, R. I., June 27, 1891.*]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I suppose from the name of the organization which extends to us the hospitalities of this occasion, that its membership is mainly, at least, made up of those engaged in business enterprises, and that its object is the discussion of topics related to the progress and development of such enterprises.

I never attend a gathering of business men, and recall the restless activity which they represent, and the strain of brain which they willingly bear for the sake of profit and success, without wondering that they are content to be so thoroughly engrossed in the immediate details of their occupations, as often to lead to an habitual neglect of those affairs, which though outside of their counting houses, exchanges and manufactories, have an intimate relation to their prosperity. No one can be oblivious to the fact that matters of legislation, and the course of governmental policy, are so important to the business in which we engage that our individual efforts in its prosecution may be easily promoted or thwarted by the conduct of those who make and execute our laws. Yet, in business circles we find but few men who are willing to forego their ordinary work to engage in the business of legislation. Indeed this unfortunate condition has reached such a pass that our business men think and often speak of politics as something quite outside of their interest and duty, which, if not actually disreputable, may well be left to those who have a taste for it.

I am by no means unmindful of the spasmodic interference of business interests in politics, spurred on by a selfish desire to be aided, especially and exclusively through legislative action. Such interference, based upon such motives, is

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

more blameworthy than inactivity, because it amounts to an attempt to pervert governmental functions—which is worse than a neglect of political responsibility. But I speak of a heedlessness of the duty resting upon every one of us as American citizens, to participate thoughtfully and intelligently in the general conduct of the government which is ours, and which has been left to our management.

I seek to remind you of the interest which you and all of us have as members of our American body politic, in wholesome general laws and honest administration. This interest is represented by the share to which each of us is entitled, in the aggregate of advantage which such laws and such administration secure. This interest and this duty are surely worth all the attention we can bestow upon them; and the penalty of their neglect we shall surely not escape. In order that the patriotism and intelligence of the country shall prevail in our legislation, the patriotic and intelligent men of the country must see to it that they are properly represented in our national councils. If they fail in this they will be governed by those who simply make a trade of politics. If it is well that our legislation be influenced by the enlightened and practical business sense of the people, our business men must see to it that those they trust are chosen as their lawmakers. If they are indifferent on the subject, the vast interests which so greatly concern them and all their fellow-citizens will be left at the mercy of those who neither understand them nor care for them; and I do not believe these dangers will be effectively averted until they are better understood by the people and more thoroughly resisted.

It seems to me that private and special legislation, as it at present prevails, is an evil chargeable to a great extent to the listlessness and carelessness of the people.

There is a kind of legislation which, upon its face and concededly, is private and special, and which engrosses far

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

too much of the time and attention of our lawmakers. The people have a right to claim from their representatives their best care and attention to the great subjects of legislation in which the entire country is interested. This is denied them if their representatives take their seats burdened with private bills, in which their immediate neighbors are exclusively interested, and which they feel they must be diligent in advancing, if they would secure their continuance in public life. They are thus led by the exigencies of their situation as they view it, not only to the support of private bills of questionable propriety, but to the neglect of a study and understanding of the important questions involved in general legislation. Nor does the pernicious effect of such special and private legislation stop here. The importance of a successful championship of these private bills, measured by a standard which ought not for a moment to be recognized, seems so vital to those having them in charge that they are easily led to barter their votes for measures as bad as theirs or worse, in order to secure the support of similarly situated colleagues. Thus is inaugurated a system called log-rolling, which comes frightfully near actual legislative corruption; and thus the people at large lose not only the attention to their affairs which is due to them, but are often no better than robbed of the money in the public treasury.

I have hardly done more than to present a very general outline of some of the palpably bad accompaniments of legislation, confessedly special and private. The details might easily be filled in, which would furnish proof of the elements of its mischievous character which I have pointed out.

I have not, however, mentioned the aspect of special and private legislation which seems to me most pernicious. I refer to the habit which it engenders among our people of looking to the government for aid in the accomplishment of special and individual schemes, and the expectation which it

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

creates and fosters, that legislation may be invoked for the securing of individual advantages and unearned benefits.

The relations of our countrymen toward their government should be founded upon their love for it as the fountainhead of their national life; their faith in it as the power which preserves them a free people; their reverence for it as the perfect work of the highest patriotism; their confidence in its justice and equality, and their pride in its ownership and management. These should furnish at all times sufficient motive for a lively interest in public affairs, and should supply abundant incentive to popular watchfulness of legislative and executive methods. In the light of these considerations, no thoughtful American can shut his eyes to the truth, that when our people regard their government as the source of individual benefit and favoritism, and when their interest in it is measured by the extent to which they hope to realize such benefit and favoritism, our popular government is in dangerous hands and its entire perversion is alarmingly imminent.

These perils are not alone chargeable to legislation which is confessedly special and private. Measures of a general character, and apparently proposed for the public good, frequently originate in selfish calculations, or so completely subserve in their details selfish plans, that they also tend toward the fatal point of sordidness among the people and unjust paternalism in the government. No matter what plausible pretexts may be advanced for such legislation, if it has in it these elements, it ought to be condemned. Neither the cry of protection to American interests, nor pretended solicitude for the public good, ought to succeed in concealing schemes to favor the few at the expense of the many; nor should the importance to the country of legislative action upon any subject divert us from inquiry concerning the selfish motives and purposes which may be hidden behind the proposal of such legislation.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

It is quite time that our business men, and all American citizens who love their country, bestir themselves for battle against the evil tendencies of private and special legislation, whatever guise it may assume. At this time no more important truth can be presented to the people than that they should support their government in love and patriotism, and remain unselfishly content with the blessings and advantages which our free institutions were established to bestow, with justice and equality, upon every citizen throughout the length and breadth of our land.

[*Address at the Annual Banquet of the New England Society of Brooklyn, N. Y., December 21, 1891.*]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: As this is the first time I have attended a dinner given by a New England Society, I beg to express the gratification it affords me to enter upon my new experience in the City of Brooklyn and among those whom I have always regarded as especially my friends.

You are by no means to suppose that my failure heretofore to be present on occasions like this is accounted for by any doubt I have had as to my qualifications for admission. From the time the first immigrant of my name landed in Massachusetts, down to the day of my advent, all the Clevelands from whom I claim descent were born in New England. The fact that I first saw the light in the State of New Jersey I have never regarded as working a forfeiture of any right I may have derived from my New England lineage, nor as making me an intruder or merely tolerated guest in an assemblage of this kind. I resent, of course, with becoming spirit, the imputation that my birth in New Jersey constitutes me a foreigner and an alien; and I have

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

never been able to see any humor in the suggestion that my native State is not within the Union. To my mind the regularity with which she votes the Democratic ticket entitles her to a high rank among the States that are really useful. At any rate, I shall always insist that New Jersey is a good State to be born in, and I point to the fact that, after an absence of more than fifty years, I have returned to find a temporary home within her limits as fully demonstrating that my very early love for her is not extinguished.

Assuming that you agree with me that my birth in New Jersey has not stamped me with indelible ineligibility, and anticipating your demand for affirmative support of my qualification to mingle with those who celebrate Forefathers' Day and sing the praises of the men who first settled in New England, I can do no better than to rest my case upon the statement that Bean Hill, in the town of Norwich and State of Connecticut, was the birthplace of my father. I hope that in making this statement I shall not remind you of the man who loudly boasted of his patriotic sacrifice in defense of his country on the ground that he had permitted his wife's relatives to join the army. At any rate, it seems to me that the claim I make is entirely valid, with no embarrassment connected with it, except the admission by inference that for some purposes and on some occasions a father's birthplace may be of more value to a man than his own. I have nothing further to urge on the subject of my eligibility except to mention, as something which should be credited to me upon my own account, the fact that I have lately demonstrated my preference for New England and my love for that section of our country where my ancestors lived and died, by establishing a summer home in the State of Massachusetts.

I think all of us are old enough to remember the prophetic words put opposite certain dates in the old almanacs, "About these days look out for snow." If almanacs were now made

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

up as they used to be, it would not be amiss to set opposite the latter days of December, "About these days look out for glorification of the Pilgrims." This would be notice to those consulting the almanac that a time was foretold when the people of the country would be reminded that there were Pilgrims who came to New England, and there set in motion the forces which created our wondrous nation.

No one will deny that the Pilgrims to New England were well worthy of all that is done or can be done to keep them in remembrance. But we cannot recall their history, and what they did and established, and what they taught, without also recalling that there have been Pilgrims from New England who, finding their way to every part of the land, have taken with them those habits, opinions, and sentiments which, having an early origin in American soil, should be best suited to American life everywhere, and should be the best guarantees in every situation, of the preservation, in their integrity and purity, of American institutions.

We have heard much of abandoned lands in New England. If farms have been abandoned there, we know that larger and more productive farms have been developed in newer States by the Pilgrims from New England. If the population of New England has suffered a drain, we shall find that the vigorous activity lost to her has built up new cities and towns on distant and unbroken soil and impressed upon these new creations the truest and best features of American civilization.

While all will admit the debt our great country owes to New England influences, and while none of us should be unmindful of the benefits to be reasonably expected from the maintenance and spread of these influences, a thought is suggested which has further relation to the mission and duty of the Pilgrims from New England and their descendants, wherever they may be scattered throughout the land. If they are at all true to their teachings and their traditions, they

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

will naturally illustrate, in a practical way, the value of education and moral sentiment in the foundations of social life and the value of industry and economy as conditions of thrift and contentment. But these Pilgrims and their descendants and all those who, with sincere enthusiasm, celebrate Forefathers' Day, will fail in the discharge of their highest duty if, yielding to the temptation of any un-American tendency, they neglect to teach persistently that in the early days there was, and that there still ought to be, such a thing as true and distinctive Americanism, or if they neglect to give it just interpretation.

This certainly does not mean that a spirit of narrowness or proscription should be encouraged, nor that there should be created or kept alive a fear concerning such additions to our population from other lands as promise assimilation with our conditions and co-operation in our aims and purposes. It does, however, mean the insistence that every transfer of allegiance from another government to our own, should signify the taking on at the same time of an aggressive and affirmative devotion to the spirit of American institutions. It means that with us, a love of our government for its own sake and for what it is, is an essential factor of citizenship, and that it is only made full and complete by the adoption of the ideas and habits of thought which underlie our plan of popular rule. It means that one fills a place in our citizenship unworthily who regards it solely as a vantage ground where he may fill his purse and better his condition. It means that our government is not suited to a selfish, sordid people, and that in their hands it is not safe.

This is a time when there is pressing need for the earnest enforcement of these truths; and occasions like this cannot be better improved than by leading us to such self-examination and self-correction as shall fit us to illustrate and teach the lessons of true Americanism. When we here recall the landing of the Pilgrims, let us remember that they not

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

only sought "Freedom to worship God," but they also sought to establish the freedom and liberty of manhood. When we dwell upon their stern and sturdy traits, let us remember that these nurtured the spirit which achieved American independence, and that in such soil alone can its fruits ripen to bless our people. When we contemplate how completely conscience guided their lives and conduct, let us resolve that conscience shall find a place in every phase of our citizenship; and when we learn of their solicitude and care for their new-found home, let us acknowledge that unselfish love of country can alone show us the path of political duty.

With such preparation as this—leaving no place for the ignoble thought that our government can, without perversion, hold out unequal rewards and encourage selfish beings—we shall teach that this heritage of ours has been confided from generation to generation to the patriotic keeping and loving care of true Americanism, and that this alone can preserve it; to shelter a free and happy people—protecting all, defending all, and blessing all.

[Address before the Business Men's Democratic Association, New York, January 8, 1892.]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: No one can question the propriety of the celebration of this day by the organization whose invitation has called us together. Its right to celebrate on this occasion results from the fact that it is an organization attached to the doctrines of true Democracy, having a membership composed of business men, who, in a disinterested way, devote themselves to honest party work, and who labor for the growth and spread of the political principles which they profess.

This anniversary has not gained its place as a festival day

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

in the calendar of Democracy by chance or through unmeaning caprice; nor is it observed by the Democratic party merely because a battle was fought on the 8th day of January, many years ago, at New Orleans. That battle in itself had no immediate political significance, and, considered solely as a military achievement in comparison with many other battles fought by Americans both before and since, it need not be regarded as an event demanding especial commemoration.

The Democratic zest and enthusiasm of our celebration of the day grow out of the fact that the battle of New Orleans was won under the generalship of Andrew Jackson. So, while the successful general in that battle is not forgotten to-night, Democrats, wherever they are assembled throughout our land to celebrate the day, are honoring the hero who won the battles of Democracy, and are commemorating the political courage and steadfastness which were his prominent characteristics.

It is well that there are occasions like this where we may manifest that love and affection for Andrew Jackson which have a place in every Democratic heart. It is needless to attempt an explanation of this love and affection. They are Democratic instincts. So strong is our conviction that Jackson's Democracy derived its strength and vigor from the steadfast courage, the honesty of purpose and the sturdy persistency which characterized the man, that we willingly profess the belief that these same conditions are essential to the usefulness and success of the Democratic party in these latter days. Thus, wherever party principle or policy may lead us, we have constantly before us an unquestioned example of the spirit in which our work should be undertaken.

It may not be unprofitable for us, at this time, to recall some incidents in the career of Andrew Jackson, and note their bearing upon the position of our party in its present relations to the people. We may thus discover an incentive

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

for the cultivation and preservation of that Jacksonian spirit which ought to belong to Democratic effort.

When General Jackson was sent with troops to protect our border against disturbers of the peace whose retreat was in the Spanish province of Florida, he notified our government that if it was signified to him that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, it should be forthwith accomplished. He only believed he had the assent of his government, but in that belief, and because his word had been given, he never rested until his military occupation of the territory was complete.

The Democratic party has lately declared to the people that if it was trusted and invested with power, their burdens of taxation should be lightened, and that a better and more just distribution of benefits should be assured to them. There is no doubt concerning our commission from the people to do this work, and there is no doubt that we have received their trust and confidence on the faith of our promises. In these circumstances, there is no sign of Jacksonian determination and persistency in faltering or hesitating in the cause we have undertaken. If we accepted the trust and confidence of the people with any other design than to respond fully to them, we have been dishonored from the beginning. If we accepted them in good faith, disgrace and humiliation await us if we relax our efforts before the promised end is reached.

At New Orleans General Jackson attacked the enemy as soon as they landed, and fought against their making the least advance. It never occurred to him that by yielding to them a foot of ground, or giving them a moment's rest, his opportunity to defeat them would be promoted.

We, who are proud to call ourselves Jacksonian Democrats have boldly and aggressively attacked a political heresy opposed to the best interests of the people and defended by an arrogant and unscrupulous party. The fight is still on.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

Who has the hardihood to say that we can lay claim to the least Jacksonian spirit if in the struggle we turn our backs to the enemy, or lower in the least our colors?

President Jackson believed the United States Bank was an institution dangerous to the liberties and prosperity of the people. Once convinced of this, his determination to destroy it closely followed. He early began the attack, utterly regardless of any considerations of political expediency or personal advancement except as they grew out of his faith in the people, and giving no place in his calculations for any estimate of the difficulty of the undertaking. From the time the first blow was struck until the contest ended in his complete triumph, he allowed nothing to divert him from his purpose, and permitted no other issue to divide his energy or to be substituted for that on which he was intent.

The Democratic party of to-day, which conjures with the name of Jackson, has also attacked a monstrous evil, entrenched behind a perversion of governmental power and guarded by its selfish beneficiaries. On behalf of those among our people long neglected, we have insisted on tariff reform and an abandonment of unjust favoritism. We have thus adopted an issue great enough to deserve the undivided efforts of our party, involving considerations which, we profess to believe, lie at the foundation of the justice and fairness of popular rule.

If we are to act upon our declared belief in the power of that Jacksonian spirit which was the inspiration of our party in the days of our great leader, we shall be steadfast to the issue we have raised until it is settled and rightly settled. The steadfastness we need will not permit a premature and distracting search for other and perplexing questions, nor will it allow us to be tempted or driven by the enemy into new and tangled paths.

We have given pledges to the people, and they have trusted us. Unless we have outgrown the Democratic spirit

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

of Jackson's time, our duty is plain. Our promise was not merely to labor in the people's cause until we should tire of the effort, or should discover a way which seemed to promise easier and quicker party ascendancy. The service we undertook was not to advise those waiting for better days that their cause was hopeless, nor under any pretext to suggest a cessation of effort. Our engagement was to labor incessantly, bravely, and stubbornly, seeing nothing and considering nothing but ultimate success. These pledges and promises should be faithfully and honestly kept. Party faithlessness is party dishonor.

Nor is the sacredness of our pledges, and the party dishonor that would follow their violation, all we have to consider. We cannot trifle with our obligations to the people without exposure and disaster. We ourselves have aroused a spirit of jealous inquiry and discrimination touching political conduct which cannot be blinded; and the people will visit with quick revenge the party which betrays them.

I hope, then, I may venture to claim in this assemblage that, even if there had been but slight encouragement for the cause we have espoused, there would still be no justification for timidity and faint-heartedness. But with the success we have already achieved, amounting to a political revolution, it seems to me that it would be the height of folly, considered purely as a question of party management, to relax in the least our determination and persistency. If we suspect, anywhere in our counsels, compromising hesitation or a disposition to divert the unity of party efforts, let us be watchful. The least retreat bodes disaster; cowardice is often called conservatism, and an army scattered into sections invites defeat.

We have preached the doctrine that honesty and sincerity should be exacted from political parties. Let us not fall under the condemnation which awaits on shifty schemes and insincere professions.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

I believe our countrymen are prepared to act on principle, and in no mood for political maneuvering. They will not waste time in studying conundrums, guessing riddles, or trying to interpret doubtful phrases. They demand a plain and simple statement of political purpose.

Above all things, political finesse should not lead us to forget that, at the end of our plans, we must meet face to face at the polls the voters of the land, with ballots in their hands, demanding as a condition of their support of our party fidelity and undivided devotion to the cause in which we have enlisted them.

If, inspired by the true Jacksonian spirit, we hold to the doctrine that party honesty is party duty and party courage is party expediency, we shall win a sure and lasting success through the deserved support of a discriminating, intelligent, and thoughtful people.

[Address before the Students of the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, February 22, 1892.]

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Among the few holidays which the rush and hurry of American life concede to us, surely no one of a secular character is so suggestive and impressive as the day we celebrate on this occasion. We not only commemorate the birth of the greatest American who ever lived, but we recall, as inseparably connected with his career, all the events and incidents which led up to the establishment of free institutions in this land of ours, and culminated in the erection of our wondrous nation.

The University of Michigan, therefore, most appropriately honors herself and does a fitting public service by especially providing for such an observance of the day as

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

is calculated to turn to the contemplation of patriotic duty the thoughts of the young men whom she is soon to send out to take places in the ranks of American citizenship.

I hope it may not be out of place for me to express the gratification it affords me as a member of the legal profession, to know that the conduct of these exercises has been committed to the classes of the Law Department of the University. There seems to me to be a propriety in this, for I have always thought the influences surrounding the practice and study of the law should especially induce a patriotic feeling. The business of the profession is related to the enforcement and operation of the laws which govern our people; and its members, more often than those engaged in other occupations, are called to a participation in making these laws. Besides, they are constantly brought to the study of the fundamental law of the land, and a familiarity with its history. Such study and familiarity should be sufficient of themselves to increase a man's love of country; and they certainly cannot fail to arouse his veneration for the men who laid the foundations of our nation sure and steadfast in a written Constitution, which has been declared, by the greatest living English statesmen, to be "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

Washington had more to do with the formation of the constitution than our enthusiasm for other phases of the great work he did for his country usually makes prominent. He fought the battles which cleared the way for it. He best knew the need of consolidating under one government the colonies he had made free, and he best knew that without this consolidation, a wasting war, the long and severe privations and sufferings his countrymen had undergone and his own devoted labor in the cause of freedom, were practically in vain. The beginning of anything like a public sentiment looking to the formation of our nation is traceable to his

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

efforts. The circular letter he sent to the governors of the States, as early as the close of the War of the Revolution, contained the germ of the Constitution; and all this was recognized by his unanimous choice to preside over the convention that framed it. His spirit was in and through it all.

But whatever may be said of the argument presented in support of the propriety of giving the law classes the management of this celebration, it is entirely clear that the University herself furnishes to all her students a most useful lesson when, by decreeing the observance of this day, she recognizes the fact that the knowledge of books she imparts is not a complete fulfillment of her duty, and concedes that the education with which she so well equips her graduates for individual success in life and for business and professional usefulness, may profitably be supplemented by the stimulation of their patriotism, and by the direction of their thoughts to subjects relating to their country's welfare. I do not know how generally such an observance of Washington's birthday, as has been here established, prevails in our other universities and colleges; but I am convinced that any institution of learning in our land which neglects to provide for the instructive and improving observance of this day within its walls, falls short of its attainable measure of usefulness and omits a just and valuable contribution to the general good. There is great need of educated men in our public life, but it is the need of educated men with patriotism. The college graduate may be, and frequently is, more unpatriotic and less useful in public affairs than the man who, with limited education, has spent the years when opinions are formed in improving contact with the world instead of being within college walls and confined to the study of books. If it be true, as is often claimed, that the scholar in politics is generally a failure, it may well be due to the fact that, during his formative period when lasting impres-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

sions are easily received, his intellect alone has been cultivated at the expense of wholesome and well-regulated sentiment.

I speak to-day in advocacy of this sentiment. If it is not found in extreme and exclusive mental culture, neither is it found in the busy marts of trade, nor in the confusion of bargaining, nor in the mad rush after wealth. Its home is in the soul and memory of man. It has to do with the moral sense. It reverences traditions, it loves ideas, it cherishes the names and the deeds of heroes, and it worships at the shrine of patriotism. I plead for it because there is a sentiment, which in some features is distinctively American, that we should never allow to languish.

When we are told that we are a practical and common-sense people, we are apt to receive the statement with approval and applause. We are proud of its truth and naturally proud because its truth is attributable to the hard work we have had to do ever since our birth as a nation, and because of the stern labor we still see in our way before we reach our determined destiny. There is cause to suspect, however, that another and less creditable reason for our gratification arises from a feeling that there is something heroically American in treating with indifference or derision, all those things which, in our view, do not directly and palpably pertain to what we call, with much satisfaction, practical affairs, but which, if we were entirely frank, we should confess might be called money-getting and the betterment of individual condition. Growing out of this feeling, an increasing disposition is discernible among our people, which begrudges to sentiment any time or attention that might be given to business and which is apt to crowd out of mind any thought not directly related to selfish plans and purposes.

A little reflection ought to convince us that this may be carried much too far. It is a mistake to regard sentiment as

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

merely something which, if indulged, has a tendency to tempt to idle and useless contemplation or retrospection, thus weakening in a people the sturdiness of necessary endeavor and diluting the capacity for national achievement.

The elements which make up the sentiment of a people should not be counted as amiable weaknesses because they are not at all times noisy and turbulent. The gentleness and loveliness of woman do not cause us to forget that she can inspire man to deeds of greatness and heroism; that as wife she often makes man's career noble and grand, and that as mother she builds and fashions in her son the strong pillars of a State. So the sentiment of a people which, in peace and contentment, decks with flowers the temple of their rule, may, in rage and fury, thunder at its foundations. Sentiment is the cement which keeps in place the granite blocks of governmental power, or the destructive agency whose explosion heaps in ruins their scattered fragments. The monarch who cares only for his sovereignty and safety, leads his subjects to forgetfulness of oppression by a pretense of love for their traditions; and the ruler who plans encroachments upon the liberties of his people, shrewdly proceeds under the apparent sanction of their sentiment. Appeals to sentiment have led nations to bloody wars which have destroyed dynasties and changed the lines of imperial territory. Such an appeal summoned our fathers to the battlefields where American independence was won, and such an appeal has scattered soldiers' graves all over our land, which mutely give evidence of the power of our government and the perpetuity of our free institutions.

I have thus far spoken of a people's sentiment as something which may exist and be effective under any form of government, and in any national condition. But the thought naturally follows that, if this sentiment may be so potent in countries ruled by a power originating outside of popular will, how vital must its existence and regulation be among

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

our countrymen, who rule themselves and make and administer their own laws. In lands less free than ours, the control of the governed may be more easily maintained if those who are set over them see fit to make concession to their sentiment; yet, with or without such concession, the strong hand of force may still support the power to govern. But sentiment is the very life blood of our nation. Our government was conceived amid the thunders that echoed "All men are created equal," and it was brought forth while free men shouted "We, the people of the United States." The sentiment of our fathers, made up of their patriotic intentions, their sincere beliefs, their homely impulses and their noble aspirations, entered into the government they established; and, unless it is constantly supported and guarded by a sentiment as pure as theirs, our scheme of popular rule will fail. Another and a different plan may take its place; but this which we hold in sacred trust, as it originated in patriotism, is only fitted for patriotic and honest uses and purposes, and can only be administered in its integrity and intended beneficence, by honest and patriotic men. It can no more be saved nor faithfully conducted by a selfish, dishonest, and corrupt people, than a stream can rise above its source or be better and purer than its fountain head.

None of us can be ignorant of the ideas which constitute the sentiment underlying our national structure. We know they are a reverent belief in God, a sincere recognition of the value and power of moral principle and those qualities of heart which make a noble manhood, devotion to unreserved patriotism, love for man's equality, unquestioning trust in popular rule, the exaction of civic virtue and honesty, faith in the saving quality of universal education, protection of a free and unperverted expression of the popular will, and an insistence upon a strict accountability of public officers as servants of the people.

These are the elements of American sentiment; and all

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

these should be found deeply imbedded in the minds and hearts of our countrymen. When any one of them is displaced, the time has come when a danger signal should be raised. Their lack among the people of other nations—however great and powerful they may be—can afford us no comfort nor reassurance. We must work out our destiny unaided and alone in full view of the truth that nowhere, so directly and surely as here, does the destruction or degeneracy of the people's sentiment undermine the foundations of governmental rule.

Let us not for a moment suppose that we can outgrow our dependence upon this sentiment, nor that in any stage of national advancement and development it will be less important. As the love of family and kindred remains to bless and strengthen a man in all the vicissitudes of his mature and busy life, so must our American sentiment remain with us as a people—a sure hope and reliance in every phase of our country's growth. Nor will it suffice that the factors which compose this sentiment have a sluggish existence in our minds, as articles of an idle faith which we are willing perfunctorily to profess. They must be cultivated as motive principles, stimulating us to effort in the cause of good government, and constantly warning us against the danger and dishonor of faithlessness to the sacred cause we have in charge and heedlessness of the blessings vouchsafed to us and future generations, under our free institutions.

These considerations emphasize the value which should be placed upon every opportunity afforded us for the contemplation of the pure lives and patriotic services of those who have been connected with the controlling incidents of our country's history. Such contemplation cannot fail to re-enforce and revive the sentiment absolutely essential to useful American citizenship, nor fail to arouse within us a determination that during our stewardship no harm shall come to the political gifts we hold in trust from the fathers of the Republic.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

It is because George Washington completely represented all the elements of American sentiment that every incident of his life, from his childhood to his death, is worth recalling—whether it impresses the young with the beauty and value of moral traits, or whether it exhibits to the wisest and oldest an example of sublime accomplishment and the highest possible public service. Even the anecdotes told of his boyhood have their value. I have no sympathy with those who, in these latter days, attempt to shake our faith in the authenticity of these stories, because they are not satisfied with the evidence in their support, or because they do not seem to accord with the conduct of boys in this generation. It may well be, that the stories should stand and the boys of the present day be pitied.

At any rate, these anecdotes have answered an important purpose; and in the present state of the proofs, they should, in my opinion, be believed. The cherry tree and hatchet incident and its companion declaration that the Father of his Country never told a lie, have indelibly fixed upon the mind of many a boy the importance of truthfulness. Of all the legends containing words of advice and encouragement which hung upon the walls of the little district schoolhouse where a large share of my education was gained, I remember but one, which was in these words: "George Washington had only a common school education."

I will not plead guilty to the charge of dwelling upon the little features of a great subject. I hope the day will never come when American boys cannot know of some trait or some condition in which they may feel that they ought to be or are like Washington. I am not afraid to assert that a multitude of men can be found in every part of our land, respected for their probity and worth, and most useful to the country and to their fellow-men, who will confess their indebtedness to the story of Washington and his hatchet; and many a man has won his way to honor and fame, notwithstanding limited

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

school advantages, because he found hope and incentive in the high mission Washington accomplished with only a common school education. These are not little and trivial things. They guide and influence the forces which make the character and sentiment of a great people.

I should be ashamed of my country, if, in further speaking of what Washington has done for the sentiment of his countrymen, it was necessary to make any excuse for a reference to his constant love and fond reverence, as boy and man, for his mother. This filial love is an attribute of American manhood, a badge which invites our trust and confidence, and an indispensable element of American greatness. A man may compass important enterprises, he may become famous, he may win the applause of his fellows, he may even do public service and deserve a measure of popular approval, but he is not right at heart, and can never be truly great, if he forgets his mother.

In the latest biography of Washington we find the following statement concerning his mother: "That she was affectionate and loving cannot be doubted, for she retained to the last a profound hold upon the reverential devotion of her son; and yet as he rose steadily to the pinnacle of human greatness, she could only say that 'George had been a good boy, and she was sure he would do his duty.'"

I cannot believe that the American people will consider themselves called upon to share the deprecatory feeling of the biographer, when he writes that the mother of Washington could *only* say of her son that she believed he would be faithful to the highest earthly trusts, because he had been good; nor that they will regard her words merely as an amiably tolerated expression of a fond mother. If they are true to American sentiment, they will recognize in this language the announcement of the important truth that, under our institutions and scheme of government, goodness, such as Washington's, is the best guarantee for the faithful discharge

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

of public duty. They will certainly do well for the country and for themselves, if they adopt the standard the intuition of this noble woman suggests, as the measure of their trust and confidence. It means the exaction of moral principle and personal honor and honesty and goodness as indispensable credentials to political preferment.

I have referred only incidentally to the immense influence and service of Washington in forming our Constitution. I shall not dwell upon his lofty patriotism, his skill and fortitude as the military commander who gained our independence, his inspired wisdom, patriotism, and statesmanship as first President of the republic, his constant love for his countrymen, and his solicitude for their welfare at all times. The story has been often told, and is familiar to all. If I should repeat it, I should only seek to present further and probably unnecessary proof of the fact that Washington embodied in his character, and exemplified in his career, that American sentiment in which our government had its origin, and which I believe to be a condition necessary to our healthful national life.

I have not assumed to instruct you. I have merely yielded to the influence of the occasion; and attempted to impress upon you the importance of cultivating and maintaining true American sentiment, suggesting that, as it has been planted and rooted in the moral faculties of our countrymen, it can only flourish in their love of truth and honesty and virtue and goodness. I believe that God has so ordained it for the people he has selected for his special favor; and I know that the decrees of God are never obsolete.

I beg you, therefore, to take with you, when you go forth to assume the obligations of American citizenship, as one of the best gifts of your Alma Mater, a strong and abiding faith in the value and potency of a good conscience and a pure heart. Never yield one iota to those who teach that these are weak and childish things, not needed in the strug-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

gle of manhood with the stern realities of life. Interest yourselves in public affairs as a duty of citizenship; but do not surrender your faith to those who discredit and debase politics by scoffing at sentiment and principle, and whose political activity consists in attempts to gain popular support by cunning devices and shrewd manipulation. You will find plenty of these who will smile at your profession of faith, and tell you that truth and virtue and honesty and goodness were well enough in the old days when Washington lived, but are not suited to the present size and development of our country and the progress we have made in the art of political management. Be steadfast. The strong and sturdy oak still needs the support of its native earth, and, as it grows in size and spreading branches, its roots must strike deeper in the soil which warmed and fed its first tender sprout. You will be told that the people have no longer any desire for the things you profess. Be not deceived. The people are not dead but sleeping. They will awaken in good time, and scourge the money-changers from their sacred temple.

You may be chosen to public office. Do not shrink from it, for holding office is also a duty of citizenship. But do not leave your faith behind you. Every public office, small or great, is held in trust for your fellow-citizens. They differ in importance, in responsibility, and in the labor they impose; but the duties of none of them can be well performed if the mentorship of a good conscience and pure heart be discarded. Of course, other equipment is necessary, but without this mentorship all else is insufficient. In times of gravest responsibility it will solve your difficulties; in the most trying hour it will lead you out of perplexities, and it will, at all times, deliver you from temptation.

In conclusion, let me remind you that we may all properly learn the lesson appropriate to Washington's birthday, if we will; and that we shall fortify ourselves against the danger

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

of falling short in the discharge of any duty pertaining to citizenship, if, being thoroughly imbued with true American sentiment and the moral ideas which support it, we are honestly true to ourselves.

To thine own self be true,
And it must follow as the night the day:
Thou can'st not then be false to any man.

[*Letter to the Hon. Edward S. Bragg, Lakewood, N. J., March 9, 1892.*]

My Dear Sir: Your letter of the 5th inst. is received. I have thought until now that I might continue silent on the subject which, under the high sanction of your position as my "fellow-Democrat and fellow-citizen," and in your relation as a true and trusted friend, you present to me. If, in answering your questions, I might only consider my personal desires and my individual ease and comfort, my response would be promptly made, and without the least reservation or difficulty.

But if you are right in supposing that the subject is related to a duty I owe to the country and to my party, a condition exists which makes such private and personal considerations entirely irrelevant. I cannot, however, refrain from declaring to you that my experience in the great office of President of the United States has so impressed me with the solemnity of the trust, and its awful responsibilities, that I cannot bring myself to regard a candidacy for the place as something to be won by personal strife and active self-assertion.

I have also an idea that the Presidency is pre-eminently the people's office, and I have been sincere in my constant advocacy of the effective participation in political affairs on

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the part of all our citizens. Consequently, I believe the people should be heard in the choice of their party candidates, and that they themselves should make nominations as directly as is consistent with open, fair, and full party organizations and methods.

I speak of these things solely for the purpose of advising you that my conception of the nature of the Presidential office, and my conviction that the voters of our party should be free in the selection of their candidates, preclude the possibility of my leading and pushing a self-seeking canvass for the Presidential nomination, even if I had a desire to be again a candidate.

Believing that the complete supremacy of Democratic principles means increased national prosperity and the increased happiness of our people, I am earnestly anxious for the success of the party. I am confident success is still within our reach, but I believe this is a time for Democratic thoughtfulness and deliberation, not only as to candidates, but concerning party action upon questions of immense interest to the patriotic and intelligent voters of the land, who watch for an assurance of safety as the price of their confidence and support.

[*Address at the Opera House, Providence, R. I.,
April 2, 1892.*]

My Fellow-Citizens: I have found it impossible to decline the invitation you sent me to meet here to-day the Democracy of Rhode Island. I have come to look in the faces of the men who have been given the place of honor in the advance of the vast army which moves toward the decisive battlefield of next November. I have not come to point the way to consolation in case of your defeat, but I have come to share

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

the enthusiasm which presages victory. I have not come to condole with you upon the difficulties which confront you, but to suggest that they will only add to the glory of your triumph. I have come to remind you that the intrenchments of spoils and patronage cannot avail against the valor and determination of right; that corruption and bribery cannot smother and destroy the aroused conscience of our countrymen, and that splendid achievements await those who bravely, honestly, and stubbornly fight in the people's cause.

Let us not for a moment miss the inspiration of those words, "The People's Cause." They signify the defense of the rights of every man, rich or poor, in every corner of our land, who, by virtue of simple American manhood, lays claim to the promises of our free government, and they mean the promotion of the welfare and happiness of the humblest American citizen who confidently invokes the protection of just and equal laws.

The covenant of our Democratic faith, as I understand it, exacts constant effort in this cause, and its betrayal I conceive to be a crime against the creed of true Democracy.

The struggle in which you are engaged arrests the attention of your party brethren in every State; and they pause in their preparation for the general engagement, near at hand, in which all will be in the field, and look toward Rhode Island with hope and trust. They read the legends on your banners and they hear your rallying cries, and know that your fight is in the people's cause.

If you should be defeated there will be no discouragement in this vast waiting army; but you will earn their plaudits and cover yourselves with glory by winning success.

Large and bright upon your banners are blazoned the words "Tariff Reform"—the shibboleth of true Democracy and the test of loyalty to the people's cause.

Those who oppose tariff reform delude themselves if they

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

suppose that it rests wholly upon appeals to selfish considerations and the promise of advantage, right or wrong; or that our only hope of winning depends upon arousing animosity between different interests among our people. While we do not propose that those whose welfare we champion shall be blind to the advantages accruing to them from our plan of tariff reform, and while we are determined that these advantages shall not be surrendered to the blandishments of greed and avarice, we still claim nothing that has not underlying it moral sentiment and considerations of equity and good conscience.

Because our case rests upon such foundations, sordidness and selfishness cannot destroy it. The fight for justice and right is a clean and comforting one; and because the American people love justice and right, ours must be a winning fight.

“The government of the Union is a government of the people; it emanates from them; its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit.”

This is not the language of a political platform. It is a declaration of the highest court in the land, whose mandates all must obey, and whose definitions all partisans must accept.

In the light of this exposition of the duty the government owes to the people, the Democratic party claims that when, through Federal taxation, burdens are laid upon the daily life of the people, not necessary for the government's economical administration, and intended, whatever be the pretext, to enrich a few at the expense of the many, the governmental compact is violated.

A distinguished Justice of the Supreme Court, with no Democratic affiliations, but loved and respected when living by every American, and since his death universally lamented, has characterized such a proceeding as “none the less a rob-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

bery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation."

Let us then appreciate the fact that we not only stand upon sure and safe ground when we appeal to honesty and morality in our championship of the interests of the masses of our people as they are related to tariff taxation, but that our mission is invested with the highest patriotism when we attempt to preserve from perversion, distortion, and decay the justice, equality, and moral integrity which are the constituent elements of our scheme of popular government.

Those who believe in tariff reform, for the substantial good it will bring to the multitude who are neglected when selfish greed is in the ascendancy; those who believe that the legitimate motive of our government is to do equal and exact justice to all our people, and grant especial privileges to none; those who believe that a nation, boasting that its foundation is in honesty and conscience, cannot afford to discard moral sentiment; and those who would save our institutions from the undermining decay of sordidness and selfishness, can hardly excuse themselves if they fail to join us in the crusade we have undertaken. Certainly our sincerity cannot be questioned. In the beginning of the struggle we were not only bitterly opposed by a great party of avowed enemies, but were embarrassed by those in our own ranks who had become infected with the unwholesome atmosphere our enemies had created. We hesitated not a moment boldly to encounter both. We unified our party, not by any surrender to the half-hearted among our members, but by an honest appeal to Democratic sentiment and conscience. We have never lowered our standard. It surely was not policy nor expediency that induced us defiantly to carry the banner of tariff reform as we went forth to meet a well-organized and desperately determined army in the disastrous field of 1888. A time-serving or expediency-hunting party would hardly have been found, the day after such a

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

crushing defeat, undismayed, defiant, and determined; still shouting the old war cry, and anxious to encounter again in the people's cause our exultant enemy. We had not long to wait. At the Waterloo of 1890, tariff reform had its vindication, and principle and steadfast devotion to American fairness and good faith gloriously triumphed over plausible shiftiness and attempted popular deception.

The Democratic party still champions the cause which defeat could not induce it to surrender, which no success, short or complete accomplishment, can tempt it to neglect. Its position has been from the first frankly and fairly stated, and no one can honestly be misled concerning it. We invite the strictest scrutiny of our conduct in dealing with this subject, and we insist that our cause has been open, fair, and consistent. I believe this is not now soberly denied in any quarter.

Our opponents, too, have a record on this question. Those who still adhere to the doctrine that an important function of the government is especially to aid them in their business; those who only see in the consumers of our land forced contributors to artificial benefits permitted by governmental favoritism; those who see in our workingmen only the tools with which their shops and manufactories are to be supplied at the cheapest possible cost, and those who believe there is no moral question involved in the tariff taxation of the people, are probably familiar with this record and abundantly satisfied with it.

It may, however, be profitably reviewed by those who believe that integrity and good faith have to do with governmental operations, and who honestly confess that present tariff burdens are not justly and fairly distributed. Such a review may also be of interest to those who believe that our consumers are entitled to be treated justly and honestly by the government, and that the workingman should be allowed to feel in his humble home, as he supplies his family's daily

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

needs, that his earnings are not unjustly extorted from him for the benefit of the favored beneficiaries of unfair tariff laws.

This, then, is the record: When we began the contest for tariff reform it was said by our Republican opponents, in the face of our avowals and acts, that we were determined on free trade. A long advance was made, in their insincerity and impudence, when they accused us of acting in the interests of foreigners, and when they more than hinted that we had been bought with British gold. Those who distrusted the effectiveness of these senseless appeals insulted the intelligence of our people by claiming that an increase in the cost of articles to the consumer caused by the tariff was not a tax paid by him, but that it was paid by foreigners who sent their goods to our markets. Sectional prejudice was invoked in the most outrageous manner, and the people of the North were asked to condemn the measure of tariff reform proposed by us because members of Congress from the South had supported it.

These are fair samples of the arguments submitted to the American people in the Presidential campaign of 1888.

It will be observed that the purpose of these amazing deliverances was to defeat entirely any reform in the tariff—though it had been enacted at a time when the expense of a tremendous war justified the exaction of tribute from the people which in time of peace became a grievous burden; though it had congested the Federal Treasury with a worse than useless surplus, inviting reckless public waste and extravagance; and though, in many of its features, the only purpose of its continuation was the bargaining it permitted for party support.

There were those, however, in the ranks of our opponents who recognized the fact that we had so aroused popular attention to the evils and injustice of such a tariff that it might not be safe to rely for success upon a bald opposition

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

to its reform. These were the grave and sedate Republican statesmen who declared that they never, *never*, could consent to subserve the interests of England at the expense of their own country, as the wicked Democrats proposed to do, and that they felt constrained to insist upon a tariff, protective to the point of prohibition, because they devotedly loved our workingmen and were determined that their employment should be constant and that their wages should never sink to the disgusting level of the pauper labor of Europe, but that, in view of the fact that the war in which the tariff then existing originated had been closed for more than twenty years, and in view of the further fact that the public Treasury was overburdened, they were willing to readjust the tariff if it could only be done by its friends instead of "rebel Brigadiers."

I will not refer to all the means by which our opponents succeeded in that contest. Suffice it to say, they gained complete possession of the government in every branch, and the tariff was reformed by its alleged friends. All must admit, however, that either this was not done by the people's friends, or that the effort in their behalf sadly miscarried or was ungratefully remembered; for a few weeks thereafter, a relegation to private life among those occupying seats in Congress who had been active in reforming the tariff occurred, which amounted to a political revolution. These victims claimed that our voters failed to indorse their reform of the tariff because they did not understand it. It is quite probable, however, that if they did not understand it they felt it, and that, because it made them uncomfortable, they emphatically said such a reform was not what they wanted. At any rate, the consumer has found life harder since this reform than before, and if there is a workingman anywhere who has had his wages increased by virtue of its operation he has not yet made himself known. Plenty of mills and factories have been closed, thousands of men have thus lost

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

employment, and we daily hear of reduced wages; but the benefits promised from this reform, and its advantage to the people, who really need relief, are not apparent. The provision it contains permitting reciprocity of trade in certain cases, depending on the action of the President, is an admission, as far as it goes, against the theory upon which this reform is predicated, and it lamely limps in the direction of freer commercial exchanges. If "hypocrisy is the homage vice pays to virtue," reciprocity may be called the homage prohibitory protection pays to genuine tariff reform.

The demand in your platform for free raw materials ought, it seems to me, to be warmly seconded by the citizens of your State. The advantages to the people of Rhode Island of such a policy do not seem to be questionable, and I am not here to discuss them in detail; but all I have said, touching the conduct and record of the Democratic party and its opponents in regard to tariff legislation, is in support of the proposition that all who desire the special relief referred to in your platform, or any other improvement in our tariff laws in the general interest of the people, must look to the Democratic party for it. The manufacturer who sees in free raw materials a reduced cost of his products, resulting in an increased consumption and an extension of his markets, and a constant activity and return for his invested capital, can hardly trust the party which first resisted any reform in the tariff, then juggled with it, and at last flatly refused him the relief he still needs. The workman who has been deceived by the promise of higher wages and better employment, and who now constantly fears the closing of manufactories and the loss of work, ought certainly to be no longer cajoled by a party whose performance has so clearly given the lie to its professions. The consumer who has trusted to a reformation of the tariff by its friends, now that he feels the increased burden of taxation in his home, ought to look in another direction for relief.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

If the Democratic party does not give to the State of Rhode Island, during the present session of Congress, the free raw materials she needs, it will be because a Republican Senate or Executive thwarts its design. At any rate, nothing shall divert us from our purpose to reform the tariff in this regard, as well as many others, be the time of its accomplishment near or remote.

It doubtless would please our adversaries if we could be allured from our watch and guard over the cause of tariff reform to certain other objects, thus forfeiting the people's trust and confidence. The national Democracy will hardly gratify this wish and turn its back upon the people's cause, to wander after false and unsteady lights in the wilderness of doubt and danger.

Our opponents must, in the coming national canvass, settle accounts with us on the issue of tariff reform. It will not do for them to say to us that this is an old and determined contention. The Ten Commandments are thousands of years old; but they and the doctrine of tariff reform will be taught and preached until mankind and the Republican party shall heed the injunction, "Thou shalt not steal."

As I leave you, let me say to you that your cause deserves success; and let me express the hope that the close of your canvass will bring you no regrets on account of activity relaxed or opportunities lost. Demonstrate to your people the merits of your cause, and trust them. Above all things, banish every personal feeling of discontent, and let every personal consideration be merged in a determination, pervading your ranks everywhere, to win a victory. With a cause so just, and with activity, vigilance, harmony, and determination on the part of Rhode Island's stanch Democracy, I believe you will not fail.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Address at the National Convention of the Democratic League of Clubs, Academy of Music, New York, October 4, 1892.*]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: It affords me especial pleasure to extend to you on this occasion a hearty welcome. As a citizen of this proud municipality I am glad to assure you that our hospitality is always open and generous. In behalf of a community distinguished for its Americanism and toleration in all matters of belief and judgment, I know I may extend a cordial greeting to those who here represent political thoughtfulness and sincerity.

As an unyielding and consistent believer in Democratic principles, I trust I need not hesitate to pledge to the representatives of organized Democracy the good-will and fraternal sympathy of this Democratic city. Your meeting is the council which precedes a decisive battle, and your deliberations should be the preparation for stern conflict. All your weapons and all your equipments are soon to be tested. You have organized and labored and you have watched and planned to insure your readiness for the final engagement now near at hand.

This then is no holiday assemblage, but an impressive convocation in furtherance of the designs and purposes for the accomplishment of which you and those you represent are banded together. These designs and purposes, as declared by your association, are: The preservation of the Constitution of the United States, the autonomy of the States, local self-government and freedom of elections; opposition to the imposition of taxes beyond the necessities of the government economically administered, and the promotion of economy in all branches of the public service.

These professions embody the purest patriotism, and the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

loftiest aspirations of American citizenship. Though at all times they should suggest to us the strongest obligation to political effort, their motive force as incentives to political activity and watchfulness, should be irresistible at a time when the Constitution is held in light esteem as against the accomplishment of selfish purposes, when State boundaries are hardly a barrier to centralized power, and when local self-government and freedom of elections are the scoff of partisanship. Those who subscribe to the creed of this association and make any claim to sincerity, can hardly excuse themselves for lack of effort, at a time when the necessities of the Government, economically administered, have but little relation to the taxation of the people and when extravagance in the public service has become a contagious plague.

To those who hope for better things this convention of Democratic clubs is a bright promise of reform. Unorganized good intentions and idle patriotic aspirations cannot successfully contend for mastery with the compact forces of private interests and greed, nor is the organization always the most useful which has the widest extent. The real benefit of political organization is found in its nearness to the people and in the directness of its action. Of course harmony and unity of purpose are absolutely essential.

In this view your assembling together is most important, in so far as it promises this harmony and unity by conference and a consideration of methods, and in so far as it inspires that zeal and enthusiasm which will make more effective your work at home. Therefore, I am sure that I can say nothing better in taking my leave of you than to wish that your convention may be a most profitable and encouraging one, and that at its conclusion, you may resume your places in your home organizations, newly inspired to determined and zealous effort in the cause of true Democracy.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[Address at the Banquet of the Chamber of Commerce, New York, November 15, 1892.]

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I am exceedingly gratified by the kindness and warmth of your greeting. It does not surprise me, however, for I have seen and felt on more than one occasion the cordial hospitality and heartiness of those who assemble at the annual dinner of our Chamber of Commerce. We all have noticed that many men, when they seek to appear especially wise and impressive, speak of "our business interests," as something awful and mysterious; and even when propositions are under consideration their merits fade from the sight of those who consider them, whose hair stands on end at the solemn suggestion that "our business interests" are lying in wait with numerous vials of wrath completely equipped for those who chance to arrive at an unaccepted conclusion.

I am fortunate in being able to state that my relations to the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, though merely of a complimentary kind, arising from honorary membership, has so familiarized me with "business interests" that I no longer regard these words as meaning a bloodthirsty beast, nor do I have constantly before my mind those children in the Biblical story who were torn in pieces by bears for discussing too much at random the baldness of an ancient prophet.

It is entirely natural that my familiarity with business interests, arising from the relation to which I have referred, should be of a very pleasant sort, and free from fear and trepidation, for the only meetings I have ever attended of the Chamber of Commerce, have been precisely such as this, when the very best things to eat and drink have been exhaustively discussed. I am bound to say that on these

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

occasions the dreadful beings representing our business interests are very human indeed. I know you will not do me the very great injustice of supposing that I in the least underrate the importance of the commercial and financial interests here represented. On the contrary, no one appreciates more fully than I that, while a proper adjustment of all interests should be maintained, you represent those which are utterly indispensable to our national growth and prosperity. I do not believe that any other interests should be obliged to feed from the crumbs which fall from the table of business, nor do I believe that table should be robbed of the good things which are honestly and fairly there, merely because some other tables are not so well provided.

It comes to this: We are all interested as Americans in a common pursuit. Our purpose is, or ought to be, in our several spheres, to add to the general fund of national prosperity. From this fund we are all entitled to draw, perhaps not equally, but justly, each receiving a fair portion of individual prosperity. Let us avoid trampling on each other in our anxiety to be first in the distribution of shares, and let us not attempt to appropriate the shares of others.

As I close I cannot refrain from expressing my thanks for the courtesies often extended to me by the organization at whose hospitable board I have sat this evening. I beg to assure you that though I may not soon meet you again on an occasion like this, I shall remember, with peculiar pleasure, the friends made among your membership, and shall never allow myself to be heedless of the affairs you so worthily hold in your keeping.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Address at the Henry Villard Dinner, New York, November 17, 1892.*]

Mr. Villard and Gentlemen: I find it impossible to rid myself at this moment of the conflicting emotions which stir within me. I see here assembled good and stanch friends, who have labored incessantly and devotedly for the success which has crowned Democratic effort in the canvass just closed, and I cannot forget how greatly these efforts have been characterized by personal attachment and friendship for the candidate selected to carry the Democratic banner. This awakens a sense of gratitude which it is a great pleasure for me to thankfully acknowledge. I confess, too, that I have fully shared in the partisan satisfaction which our great victory is calculated to arouse in every heart so thoroughly Democratic as mine. It is seldom given to any man to contemplate such a splendid campaign, so masterly arranged in his behalf by such good friends, followed by such a stupendous and complete triumph.

I should not, perhaps, introduce anything sombre on this occasion, but I know you will forgive me when I say that every feeling of jubilation, and even my sense of gratitude, is so tempered as to be almost entirely obscured by a realization, nearly painful, of the responsibility I have assumed in the sight of the American people. My love of country, my attachment to the principles of true Democracy, my appreciation of the obligation I have entered into with the best and most confiding people of the world, and a consciousness of my own weakness and imperfections, all conspire to fill my mind with sober and oppressing reflection.

When I consider all that we have to do as a party charged with the control of the Government, I feel that our campaign instead of being concluded is but just begun. What

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

shall our performance be of the contract we have made with our countrymen, and how well shall we justify the trust they have imposed in us? If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoils, we shall fail at every point. If we merely profess to enter upon our work, and if we make apparent endeavor to do it a cover for seeking partisan advantage, we shall invite contempt and disgrace. If we attempt to discharge our duty to the people without complete party harmony in patriotic action, we shall demonstrate our incompetency.

I thank God that far above all doubts and misgivings and away beyond all difficulties we may constantly see the lights of hope and safety. The light we see is the illumination from the principles of true, honest and pure Democracy—showing the way in all times of danger and leading us to the fulfilment of political duty and the redemption of all our pledges. The light is kindled in the love of justice, and in devotion to the people's rights. It is bright in a constant patriotism and in a nation's promise. Let us not be misled to our undoing by other lights of false Democracy, which may be kindled in broken faith and which, shining in hypocrisy, will, if followed, lure us to the rocks of failure and disgrace.

If we see stern labor ahead of us, and if difficulties loom upon our horizon, let us remember that in the thickest weather the mariner watches most anxiously for his true light.

Who in our party charged with any responsibility to the people has not pledged his devotion to the principles of true Democracy; and who among us have made pledges with intent to deceive? I have faith in the manliness and truthfulness of the Democratic party.

My belief in our principles, and my faith in our party, constitute my trust that we shall answer the expectations of our countrymen, and shall raise high aloft the standard of

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

true Democracy, to fix the gaze for many years to come of a prosperous, a happy, and a contented people.

[From Address at the Banquet of the Reform Club at Assembly Rooms, Madison Square Garden, New York, December 10, 1892.]

The sentiment suggested by this occasion, which should dwarf all others, has relation to the responsibility which awaits those who now rejoice in victory. If we redeem the promises we have made to the voters of our land, the difficulty of our task can hardly be exaggerated. Conditions involving most important interests must be reviewed and modified, and perplexing problems menacing our safety must be settled, above all, and as the ultimate object of all we do, the rights and the welfare of our people in every condition in life must be placed upon a more equal plane of opportunity and advantage.

I am confident the wisdom of the Democratic party will be equal to the emergency; and I base my confidence upon the belief that it will be patriotically true to its principles and traditions, and will follow the path marked out by true American sentiment. We should not enter upon our work in the least spirit of resentment nor in heedless disregard of the welfare of any portion of our citizens. The mission of our party, and the reforms we contemplate, do not involve the encouragement of jealous animosities nor a destructive discrimination between American interests.

In order that we may begin with free hands, we should vigorously oppose all delusions which have their origin in undemocratic teachings or in demagogic attempts to deceive the people. Mere catch words, which, if they mean anything, have no relation to sound policy, and phrases invented to please the ear of the victims of a cunning greed ought not

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

to stand in our way. Looking beyond all these things, we shall find just principles furnishing a vantage ground from which we can lay out a safe course of action.

We should strive to rid ourselves and our countrymen of the idea that there is anything shabby or disgraceful in economy, whether in public or private life; if extravagance in expenditure has prevailed in the past it affords no excuse for its continuance; and there is no breach of duty so palpable as the waste of money held by public servants for the people's uses. Our Government was founded in a spirit of frugality and economy, and its administration should not depart from those lines. We need no glitter nor show to divert our people from turbulent thoughts. We have a more substantial guarantee against discontent in a plain and simple plan of rule, in which every citizen has a share. In order that this should do its perfect work it is essential that there should exist among our people a wholesome and disinterested love for their government, for its own sake, and because it is a heritage belonging to all. The cultivation of such a sentiment is not only a high duty, but an absolute necessity to the consummation of the reforms we enter upon. We shall utterly and disgracefully fail if we attempt these reforms under the influence of petty partisan scheming or the fear of jeopardizing personal political fortunes. They can only be accomplished when unselfish patriotism guides the aspirations of our people and regulates the action of their chosen servants.

We who are to be charged with the responsibility of making and executing the laws should begin our preparation for the task by a rigid self-examination, and by a self-purification from all ignoble and unworthy tendencies threatening to enter into our motives and designs. Then may we enjoin upon all our countrymen the same duty, and then may we hope to perform faithfully and successfully the work intrusted to our hands by a confiding people.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Inaugural Address (Second Presidential Term),
Washington, D. C., March 4, 1893.*]

My Fellow-Citizens: In obedience to the mandate of my countrymen I am about to dedicate myself to their service under the sanction of a solemn oath. Deeply moved by the expression of confidence and personal attachment which has called me to this service, I am sure my gratitude can make no better return than the pledge I now give before God and these witnesses of unreserved and complete devotion to the interests and welfare of those who have honored me.

I deem it fitting on this occasion, while indicating the opinions I hold concerning public questions of present importance, to also briefly refer to the existence of certain conditions and tendencies among our people which seem to menace the integrity and usefulness of their Government.

While every American citizen must contemplate with the utmost pride and enthusiasm the growth and expansion of our country, the sufficiency of our institutions to stand against the rudest shocks of violence, the wonderful thrift and enterprise of our people, and the demonstrated superiority of our free government, it behooves us to constantly watch for every symptom of insidious infirmity that threatens our national vigor.

The strong man who in the confidence of sturdy health courts the sternest activities of life and rejoices in the hardihood of constant labor may still have lurking near his vitals the unheeded disease that dooms him to sudden collapse.

It can not be doubted that our stupendous achievements as a people and our country's robust strength have given rise to heedlessness of those laws governing our national health which we can no more evade than human life can escape the laws of God and nature.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

Manifestly nothing is more vital to our supremacy as a nation and to the beneficent purposes of our Government than a sound and stable currency. Its exposure to degradation should at once arouse to activity the most enlightened statesmanship, and the danger of depreciation in the purchasing power of the wages paid to toil should furnish the strongest incentive to prompt and conservative precaution.

In dealing with our present embarrassing situation as related to this subject we will be wise if we temper our confidence and faith in our national strength and resources with the frank concession that even these will not permit us to defy with impunity the inexorable laws of finance and trade. At the same time, in our efforts to adjust differences of opinion we should be free from intolerance or passion, and our judgments should be unmoved by alluring phrases and unvexed by selfish interests.

I am confident that such an approach to the subject will result in prudent and effective remedial legislation. In the meantime, so far as the executive branch of the Government can intervene, none of the powers with which it is invested will be withheld when their exercise is deemed necessary to maintain our national credit or avert financial disaster.

Closely related to the exaggerated confidence in our country's greatness which tends to a disregard of the rules of national safety, another danger confronts us not less serious. I refer to the prevalence of a popular disposition to expect from the operation of the Government especial and direct individual advantages.

The verdict of our voters which condemned the injustice of maintaining protection for protection's sake enjoins upon the people's servants the duty of exposing and destroying the brood of kindred evils which are the unwholesome progeny of paternalism. This is the bane of republican institutions and the constant peril of our government by the people.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

It degrades to the purposes of wily craft the plan of rule our fathers established and bequeathed to us as an object of our love and veneration. It perverts the patriotic sentiments of our countrymen and tempts them to pitiful calculation of the sordid gain to be derived from their Government's maintenance. It undermines the self-reliance of our people and substitutes in its place dependence upon governmental favoritism. It stifles the spirit of true Americanism and stupefies every ennobling trait of American citizenship.

The lessons of paternalism ought to be unlearned and the better lesson taught that while the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their Government its functions do not include the support of the people.

The acceptance of this principle leads to a refusal of bounties and subsidies, which burden the labor and thrift of a portion of our citizens to aid ill-advised or languishing enterprises in which they have no concern. It leads also to a challenge of wild and reckless pension expenditure, which overleaps the bounds of grateful recognition of patriotic service and prostitutes to vicious uses the people's prompt and generous impulse to aid those disabled in their country's defense.

Every thoughtful American must realize the importance of checking at its beginning any tendency in public or private station to regard frugality and economy as virtues which we may safely outgrow. The toleration of this idea results in the waste of the people's money by their chosen servants and encourages prodigality and extravagance in the home life of our countrymen.

Under our scheme of government the waste of public money is a crime against the citizen, and the contempt of our people for economy and frugality in their personal affairs deplorably saps the strength and sturdiness of our national character.

It is a plain dictate of honesty and good government that

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

public expenditures should be limited by public necessity, and that this should be measured by the rules of strict economy; and it is equally clear that frugality among the people is the best guaranty of a contented and strong support of free institutions.

One mode of the misappropriation of public funds is avoided when appointments to office, instead of being the rewards of partisan activity, are awarded to those whose efficiency promises a fair return of work for the compensation paid to them. To secure the fitness and competency of appointees to office and removed from political action the demoralizing madness for spoils, civil-service reform has found a place in our public policy and laws. The benefits already gained through this instrumentality and the further usefulness it promises entitled it to the hearty support and encouragement of all who desire to see our public service well performed or who hope for the elevation of political sentiment and the purification of political methods.

The existence of immense aggregations of kindred enterprises and combinations of business interests formed for the purpose of limiting production and fixing prices is inconsistent with the fair field which ought to be open to every independent activity. Legitimate strife in business should not be superseded by an enforced concession to the demands of combinations that have the power to destroy, nor should the people to be served lose the benefit of cheapness which usually results from wholesome competition. These aggregations and combinations frequently constitute conspiracies against the interests of the people, and in all their phases they are unnatural and opposed to our American sense of fairness. To the extent that they can be reached and restrained by Federal power the General Government should relieve our citizens from their interference and exactions.

Loyalty to the principles upon which our Government rests positively demands that the equality before the law

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

which it guarantees to every citizen should be justly and in good faith conceded in all parts of the land. The enjoyment of this right follows the badge of citizenship wherever found, and, unimpaired by race or color, it appeals for recognition to American manliness and fairness.

Our relations with the Indians located within our border impose upon us responsibilities we can not escape. Humanity and consistency require us to treat them with forbearance and in our dealings with them to honestly and considerately regard their rights and interests. Every effort should be made to lead them, through the paths of civilization and education, to self-supporting and independent citizenship. In the meantime, as the nation's wards, they should be promptly defended against the cupidity of designing men and shielded from every influence or temptation that retards their advancement.

The people of the United States have decreed that on this day the control of their Government in its legislative and executive branches shall be given to a political party pledged in the most positive terms to the accomplishment of tariff reform. They have thus determined in favor of a more just and equitable system of Federal taxation. The agents they have chosen to carry out their purposes are bound by their promises not less than by the command of their masters to devote themselves unremittingly to this service.

While there should be no surrender of principle, our task must be undertaken wisely and without heedless vindictiveness. Our mission is not punishment, but the rectification of wrong. If in lifting burdens from the daily life of our people we reduce inordinate and unequal advantages too long enjoyed, this is but a necessary incident of our return to right and justice. If we exact from unwilling minds acquiescence in the theory of an honest distribution of the fund of the governmental beneficence treasured up for all, we but insist upon a principle which underlies our free institutions.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

When we tear aside the delusions and misconceptions which have blinded our countrymen to their condition under vicious tariff laws, we but show them how far they have been led away from the paths of contentment and prosperity. When we proclaim that the necessity for revenue to support the Government furnishes the only justification for taxing the people, we announce a truth so plain that its denial would seem to indicate the extent to which judgment may be influenced by familiarity with perversions of the taxing power. And when we seek to reinstate the self-confidence and business enterprise of our citizens by discrediting an abject dependence upon governmental favor, we strive to stimulate those elements of American character which support the hope of American achievement.

Anxiety for the redemption of the pledges which my party has made and solicitude for the complete justification of the trust the people have reposed in us constrain me to remind those with whom I am to cooperate that we can succeed in doing the work which has been especially set before us only by the most sincere, harmonious, and disinterested effort. Even if insuperable obstacles and opposition prevent the consummation of our task, we shall hardly be excused; and if failure can be traced to our fault or neglect we may be sure the people will hold us to a swift and exacting accountability.

The oath I now take to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States not only impressively defines the great responsibility I assume, but suggests obedience to constitutional commands as the rule by which my official conduct must be guided. I shall to the best of my ability and within my sphere of duty preserve the Constitution by loyally protecting every grant of Federal power it contains, by defending all its restraints when attacked by impatience and restlessness, and by enforcing its limitations and reservations in favor of the States and the people.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

Fully impressed with the gravity of the duties that confront me and mindful of my weakness, I should be appalled if it were my lot to bear unaided the responsibilities which await me. I am, however, saved from discouragement when I remember that I shall have the support and the counsel and cooperation of wise and patriotic men who will stand at my side in Cabinet places or will represent the people in their legislative halls.

I find also much comfort in remembering that my countrymen are just and generous and in the assurance that they will not condemn those who by sincere devotion to their service deserve their forbearance and approval.

Above all, I know there is a Supreme Being who rules the affairs of men and whose goodness and mercy have always followed the American people, and I know He will not turn from us now if we humbly and reverently seek His powerful aid.

[*Letter to Hon. W. J. Northen, Washington, D. C., September 25, 1893.*]

My Dear Sir: I hardly know how to reply to your letter of the 15th inst. It seems to me that I am quite plainly on record concerning the financial question. My letter accepting the nomination to the Presidency when read in connection with the message lately sent to the Congress in extraordinary session appears to me to be very explicit. I want a currency that is stable and safe in the hands of our people. I will not knowingly be implicated in a condition that will justly make me in the least degree answerable to any laborer or farmer in the United States for a shrinkage in the purchasing power of the dollar he has received for a full dollar's worth of work, or for a good dollar's worth

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

of the product of his toil. I not only want our currency to be of such a character that all kinds of dollars will be of equal purchasing power at home, but I want it to be of such a character as will demonstrate abroad our wisdom and good faith, thus placing us upon a firm foundation and credit among the nations of the earth. I want our financial conditions and the laws relating to our currency safe and reassuring, that those who have money will spend and invest it in business and new enterprises instead of hoarding it. You cannot cure fright by calling it foolish and unreasonable, and you cannot prevent the frightened man from hoarding his money. I want good, sound and stable money, and a condition of confidence that will keep it in use.

Within the limits of what I have written, I am a friend of silver, but I believe its proper place in our currency can only be fixed by a readjustment of our currency legislation and the inauguration of a consistent and comprehensive financial scheme. I think such a thing can only be entered upon profitably and hopefully after the repeal of the law which is charged with all our financial woes. In the present state of the public mind this law cannot be built upon nor patched in such a way as to relieve the situation. I am therefore opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver by this country alone and independently, and I am in favor of the immediate and unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law.

I confess I am astonished by the opposition in the Senate to such prompt action as would relieve the present unfortunate situation. My daily prayer is that the delay occasioned by such opposition may not be the cause of plunging the country into deeper depression than I have yet known, and that the Democratic party may not be justly held responsible for such a catastrophe.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*From First Annual Message (Second Presidential Term), Washington, December 4, 1893.*]

To the Congress of the United States: The constitutional duty which requires the President from time to time to give to the Congress information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient is fittingly entered upon by commending to the Congress a careful examination of the detailed statements and well-supported recommendations contained in the reports of the heads of Departments, who are chiefly charged with the executive work of the Government. In an effort to abridge this communication as much as is consistent with its purpose I shall supplement a brief reference to the contents of these departmental reports by the mention of such executive business and incidents as are not embraced therein and by such recommendations as appear to be at this particular time appropriate.

While our foreign relations have not at all times during the past year been entirely free from perplexity, no embarrassing situation remains that will not yield to the spirit of fairness and love of justice which, joined with consistent firmness, characterize a truly American foreign policy.

It is hardly necessary for me to state that the questions arising from our relations with Hawaii have caused serious embarrassment. Just prior to the installation of the present Administration the existing Government of Hawaii had been suddenly overthrown and a treaty of annexation had been negotiated between the Provisional Government of the islands and the United States and submitted to the Senate for ratification. This treaty I withdrew for examination

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

and dispatched Hon. James H. Blount, of Georgia, to Honolulu as a special commissioner to make an impartial investigation of the circumstances attending the change of government and of all the conditions bearing upon the subject of the treaty. After a thorough and exhaustive examination Mr. Blount submitted to me his report, showing beyond all question that the constitutional Government of Hawaii had been subverted with the active aid of our representative to that Government and through the intimidation caused by the presence of an armed naval force of the United States, which was landed for that purpose at the instance of our minister. Upon the facts developed it seemed to me the only honorable course for our Government to pursue was to undo the wrong that had been done by those representing us and to restore as far as practicable the status existing at the time of our forcible intervention. With a view of accomplishing this result within the constitutional limits of executive power, and recognizing all our obligations and responsibilities growing out of any changed conditions brought about by our unjustifiable interference, our present minister at Honolulu has received appropriate instructions to that end. Thus far no information of the accomplishment of any definite results has been received from him.

Additional advices are soon expected. When received they will be promptly sent to the Congress, together with all other information at hand, accompanied by a special Executive message fully detailing all the facts necessary to a complete understanding of the case and presenting a history of all the material events leading up to the present situation.

By a concurrent resolution passed by the Senate February 14, 1890, and by the House of Representatives on the 3d of April following the President was requested to "invite from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

differences or disputes arising between the two governments which can not be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration and be peaceably adjusted by such means." April 18, 1890, the International American Conference of Washington by resolution expressed the wish that all controversies between the republics of America and the nations of Europe might be settled by arbitration, and recommended that the government of each nation represented in that conference should communicate this wish to all friendly powers. A favorable response has been received from Great Britain in the shape of a resolution adopted by Parliament July 16 last, cordially sympathizing with the purpose in view and expressing the hope that Her Majesty's Government will lend ready co-operation to the Government of the United States upon the basis of the concurrent resolution above quoted.

It affords me signal pleasure to lay this parliamentary resolution before the Congress and to express my sincere gratification that the sentiment of two great and kindred nations is thus authoritatively manifested in favor of the rational and peaceable settlement of international quarrels by honorable resort to arbitration.

Since the passage of the act of March 3, 1893, authorizing the President to raise the grade of our envoys to correspond with the rank in which foreign countries accredit their agents here, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany have conferred upon their representatives at this capital the title of ambassador, and I have responded by accrediting the agents of the United States in those countries with the same title. A like elevation of mission is announced by Russia, and when made will be similarly met. This step fittingly comports with the position the United States hold in the family of nations.

During my former Administration I took occasion to recommend a recast of the laws relating to the consular service,

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

in order that it might become a more efficient agency in the promotion of the interests it was intended to subserve. The duties and powers of consuls have been expanded with the growing requirements of our foreign trade. Discharging important duties affecting our commerce and American citizens abroad, and in certain countries exercising judicial functions, these officers should be men of character, intelligence, and ability.

The continued intelligent execution of the civil-service law and the increasing approval by the people of its operation are most gratifying. The recent extension of its limitations and regulations to the employees at free-delivery post-offices, which has been honestly and promptly accomplished by the Commission, with the hearty co-operation of the Postmaster-General, is an immensely important advance in the usefulness of the system.

I am, if possible, more than ever convinced of the incalculable benefits conferred by the civil-service law, not only in its effects upon the public service, but also, what is even more important, in its effect in elevating the tone of political life generally.

The course of civil-service reform in this country instructively and interestingly illustrates how strong a hold a movement gains upon our people which has underlying it a sentiment of justice and right and which at the same time promises better administration of their Government.

The law embodying this reform found its way to our statute book more from fear of the popular sentiment existing in its favor than from any love for the reform itself on the part of legislators, and it has lived and grown and flourished in spite of the covert as well as open hostility of spoilsmen and notwithstanding the querulous impracticability of many self-constituted guardians. Beneath all the vagaries and sublimated theories which are attracted to it

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

there underlies this reform a sturdy common-sense principle not only suited to this mundane sphere, but whose application our people are more and more recognizing to be absolutely essential to the most successful operation of their government, if not to its perpetuity.

It seems to me to be entirely inconsistent with the character of this reform, as well as with its best enforcement, to oblige the Commission to rely for clerical assistance upon clerks detailed from other Departments. There ought not to be such a condition in any Department that clerks hired to do work there can be spared to habitually work at another place, and it does not accord with a sensible view of civil-service reform that persons should be employed on the theory that their labor is necessary in one Department when in point of fact their services are devoted to entirely different work in another Department.

I earnestly urge that the clerks necessary to carry on the work of the Commission be regularly put upon its roster and that the system of obliging the Commissioners to rely upon the services of clerks belonging to other Departments be discontinued. This ought not to increase the expense to the Government, while it would certainly be more consistent and add greatly to the efficiency of the Commission.

Economy in public expenditure is a duty that can not innocently be neglected by those intrusted with the control of money drawn from the people for public uses. It must be confessed that our apparently endless resources, the familiarity of our people with immense accumulations of wealth, the growing sentiment among them that the expenditure of public money should in some manner be to their immediate and personal advantage, the indirect and almost stealthy manner in which a large part of our taxes is exacted, and a degenerated sense of official accountability have led to growing extravagance in governmental appropriations.

At this time, when a depleted public Treasury confronts

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

us, when many of our people are engaged in a hard struggle for the necessaries of life, and when enforced economy is pressing upon the great mass of our countrymen, I desire to urge with all the earnestness at my command that Congressional legislation be so limited by strict economy as to exhibit an appreciation of the condition of the Treasury and a sympathy with the straitened circumstances of our fellow-citizens.

The duty of public economy is also of immense importance in its intimate and necessary relation to the task now in hand of providing revenue to meet Government expenditures and yet reducing the people's burden of Federal taxation.

After a hard struggle tariff reform is directly before us. Nothing so important claims our attention and nothing so clearly presents itself as both an opportunity and a duty—an opportunity to deserve the gratitude of our fellow-citizens and a duty imposed upon us by our oft-repeated professions and by the emphatic mandate of the people. After full discussion our countrymen have spoken in favor of this reform, and they have confided the work of its accomplishment to the hands of those who are solemnly pledged to it.

If there is anything in the theory of a representation in public places of the people and their desires, if public officers are really the servants of the people, and if political promises and professions have any binding force, our failure to give the relief so long awaited will be sheer recreancy. Nothing should intervene to distract our attention or disturb our effort until this reform is accomplished by wise and careful legislation.

While we should stanchly adhere to the principle that only the necessity of revenue justifies the imposition of tariff duties and other Federal taxation and that they should be limited by strict economy, we can not close our eyes to the

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

fact that conditions have grown up among us which in justice and fairness call for discriminating care in the distribution of such duties and taxation as the emergencies of our Government actually demand.

Manifestly if we are to aid the people directly through tariff reform, one of its most obvious features should be a reduction in present tariff charges upon the necessaries of life. The benefits of such a reduction would be palpable and substantial, seen and felt by thousands who would be better fed and better clothed and better sheltered. These gifts should be the willing benefactions of a Government whose highest function is the promotion of the welfare of the people.

Not less closely related to our people's prosperity and well-being is the removal of restrictions upon the importation of the raw materials necessary to our manufactures. The world should be open to our national ingenuity and enterprise. This can not be while Federal legislation through the imposition of high tariff forbids to American manufacturers as cheap materials as those used by their competitors. It is quite obvious that the enhancement of the price of our manufactured products resulting from this policy not only confines the market for these products within our own borders, to the direct disadvantage of our manufacturers, but also increases their cost to our citizens.

The interests of labor are certainly, though indirectly, involved in this feature of our tariff system. The sharp competition and active struggle among our manufacturers to supply the limited demand for their goods soon fill the narrow market to which they are confined. Then follows a suspension of work in mills and factories, a discharge of employees, and distress in the homes of our workingmen.

Even if the often-disproved assertion could be made good that a lower rate of wages would result from free raw materials and low tariff duties, the intelligence of our workmen

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

leads them quickly to discover that their steady employment, permitted by free raw materials, is the most important factor in their relation to tariff legislation.

A measure has been prepared by the appropriate Congressional committee embodying tariff reform on the lines herein suggested, which will be promptly submitted for legislative action. It is the result of much patriotic and unselfish work, and I believe it deals with its subject consistently and as thoroughly as existing conditions permit.

I am satisfied that the reduced tariff duties provided for in the proposed legislation, added to existing internal-revenue taxation, will in the near future, though perhaps not immediately, produce sufficient revenue to meet the needs of the Government.

The committee, after full consideration and to provide against a temporary deficiency which may exist before the business of the country adjusts itself to the new tariff schedules, have wisely embraced in their plan a few additional internal-revenue taxes, including a small tax upon incomes derived from certain corporate investments.

These new adjustments are not only absolutely just and easily borne, but they have the further merit of being such as can be remitted without unfavorable business disturbance whenever the necessity of their imposition no longer exists.

In my great desire for the success of this measure I can not restrain the suggestion that its success can only be attained by means of unselfish counsel on the part of the friends of tariff reform and as a result of their willingness to subordinate personal desires and ambitions to the general good. The local interests affected by the proposed reform are so numerous and so varied that if all are insisted upon the legislation embodying the reforms must inevitably fail.

In conclusion my intense feeling of responsibility impels me to invoke for the manifold interests of a generous and confiding people the most scrupulous care and to pledge my

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

willing support to every legislative effort for the advancement of the greatness and prosperity of our beloved country.

[*From Second Annual Message (Second Presidential Term), Washington, D. C., December 3, 1894.*]

To the Congress of the United States: The assemblage within the nation's legislative halls of those charged with the duty of making laws for the benefit of a generous and free people impressively suggests the exacting obligation and inexorable responsibility involved in their task. At the threshold of such labor now to be undertaken by the Congress of the United States, and in the discharge of an executive duty enjoined by the Constitution, I submit this communication, containing a brief statement of the condition of our national affairs and recommending such legislation as seems to me necessary and expedient.

The history of our recent dealings with other nations and our peaceful relations with them at this time additionally demonstrate the advantage of consistently adhering to a firm but just foreign policy, free from envious or ambitious national schemes and characterized by entire honesty and sincerity.

With the advent of a new tariff policy not only calculated to relieve the consumers of our land in the cost of their daily life, but to invite a better development of American thrift and create for us closer and more profitable commercial relations with the rest of the world, it follows as a logical and imperative necessity that we should at once remove the chief if not the only obstacle which has so long prevented our participation in the foreign carrying trade of the sea.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

A tariff built upon the theory that it is well to check imports and that a home market should bound the industry and effort of American producers was fitly supplemented by a refusal to allow American registry to vessels built abroad, though owned and navigated by our people, thus exhibiting a willingness to abandon all contest for the advantages of American transoceanic carriage. Our new tariff policy, built upon the theory that it is well to encourage such importations as our people need, and that our products and manufactures should find markets in every part of the habitable globe, is consistently supplemented by the greatest possible liberty to our citizens in the ownership and navigation of ships in which our products and manufactures may be transported. The millions now paid to foreigners for carrying American passengers and products across the sea should be turned into American hands. Shipbuilding, which has been protected to strangulation, should be revived by the prospect of profitable employment for ships when built, and the American sailor should be resurrected and again take his place—a sturdy and industrious citizen in time of peace and a patriotic and safe defender of American interests in the day of conflict.

The ancient provision of our law denying American registry to ships built abroad and owned by Americans appears in the light of present conditions not only to be a failure for good at every point, but to be nearer a relic of barbarism than anything that exists under the permission of a statute of the United States. I earnestly recommend its prompt repeal.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Address at the Dedication of the Mary Washington Monument at Fredericksburg, Va., May 10, 1894.*]

Governor O'Farrall, Mr. Mayor and Fellow-Citizens: I speak for those who are to-day greeted as the official guests of Virginia and Fredericksburg, when I return sincere thanks for the hearty welcome that has been extended to us in behalf of both the State and city. Our appreciation of the warmth of your reception is not diminished by the thought that in the light of the highest meaning belonging to this occasion there are no guests here. We have assembled on equal terms to worship at a sacred National shrine.

Nothing can be more important to those who have assumed the responsibility of self-government than the cultivation and stimulation among themselves of sentiments which ennoble and elevate and strengthen humanity. As a clear and wholesome stream must have its flow from a pure fountain head, so must a clean and beneficent popular government have its source in pure and morally healthy men. This purity and this moral health are in nothing better exemplified than in a love and reverence for motherhood. The man who said he cared not who made a people's laws if he could write their songs might have said with more truth that he could gauge the strength and honor of a people and their fitness for self-government if he knew the depth and steadfastness of their love for their mothers. I believe that he who thinks it brave and manly to outgrow his care and devotion for his mother is, more than he who has no music in himself, fit for treason, stratagems and spoils, and should not be trusted.

Let us recall to-day as conclusive proof of the close relation between American greatness and a lasting love and rev-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

erence for our mothers the proud declaration of George Washington, "All I am I owe to my mother"; and let us not forget that when his glory was greatest, and when the plaudits of his countrymen were loudest, he valued more than these the blessing and approval of his aged mother.

While these exercises cannot fail to inspire us anew with reverence for American motherhood, we will remember that we are here to do honor to the woman who gave to our Nation its greatest and best citizen, and that we have the privilege of participating in the dedication of a monument erected by the women of our land in loving and enduring testimony to the virtues of the mother of Washington. Let us be proud to-day that the nobility of this woman exacted from a distinguished foreigner the admission, "If such are the matrons of America, she may well boast of illustrious sons"; and that Lafayette, who had fought with her son for American independence, declared after he had received her blessing, "I have seen the only Roman matron living at this day."

Remembering these things, let us leave this place with our love of country strengthened, with a higher estimate of the value of American citizenship, and with a prayer to God that our people may hold fast to the sentiment that grows out of a love and reverence for American motherhood.

[Address at the Masonic Banquet at the Opera House, Fredericksburg, Va., May 10, 1894.]

I am not sure it is my fault, it is certainly my misfortune, that I do not belong to the Masonic fraternity. It is an order that has done much and magnificent work in the lines of excellent and honorable endeavor. But I do belong to another, if not a cabalistic order, whose grip is fidelity to the

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

interests of American prosperity, and whose password is the supremacy of the American idea of popular and patriotic free principles and constitutional rights. To this sacred organization, with all of its patriotic symbolism, I am proud to belong, and I am to-day equally proud to recognize those before me as being coadjutors and co-workers. The name of this order is the Fraternity of Freemen, devoted to the prevalence of the American idea of universal freedom and independence.

[Address at the Luncheon following the Launch of the Steamship "St. Louis," Philadelphia, November 12, 1894.]

I would not be entirely frank if I did not acknowledge the extreme personal satisfaction afforded me by the reference just made to the part which fell to me, as a high duty and privilege, in the great work of creating an American Navy, and at the same time stimulating American ship-building.

I cannot, however, keep out of mind the feeling that the gratification appropriately growing out of this occasion is such as must be shared by every patriotic American, and that the important event which has just now taken place is of such National interest that it is fittingly witnessed by the highest officials of our Government.

We shall fail to realize the full significance of what we have seen to-day if we overlook the fact that the causes of our congratulation reach beyond actual accomplishment, and are not limited to the things already done and within our sight. While we may well be proud because we have launched the largest and most powerful steamship ever built in the Western Hemisphere and, with two exceptions, the largest

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

and most powerful in the world, and while we may find reason for additional pride in the fact that, notwithstanding general economic conditions not encouraging to such achievements, this great vessel has been built on American plans, by American mechanics, and of American materials, we must not forget that our greatest cause of congratulation is found in the hope and promise these incidents furnish of the revival and development of American commerce, and the renewed appearance of the American flag in foreign ports.

I hope I shall not be accused of making a suggestion calculated to mar the gratification which this occasion inspires if I remind you that the ship we have just launched was built in fulfillment of conditions imposed in consideration of the relaxation of our registry laws, and that the constructive plant and machinery to build this ship "on American plans, by American mechanics and of American materials" originated in the necessity for the building of an American navy.

There should be no more delay in the work of reinstating American commerce, not only by the inspiration supplied by such events as we have this day witnessed, but by such legislation as will set free American mechanical industry and excite American enterprise. Commerce is the life-blood of a nation, and no country that loses or impoverishes it can reach and maintain a commanding position among the nations of the earth. Our flag not only tells of our existence, but it is a symbol of glorious and patriotic duty to uphold our flag, and to follow it and defend it, but it is also glorious and patriotic to carry our flag to all parts of the world, and to extend its defence and protection to American men and American property in the ports of every nation. I am not able to see why Americans owning ships, navigated by Americans and carrying American cargoes, should in any case be driven to the protection of a foreign flag, and it

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

seems to me that the Stars and Stripes entering a port of the United States and spread over Americans and American property should never be frowned upon and repelled by American officials acting under the mandate of our navigation laws.

In the interest of a revival of American commerce so much needed, and for the honor of our flag, so dear to us all, I am willing that the defence of our Government and flag shall be accorded to all ships of American ownership, wherever built. Make our flag a more familiar sight in the ocean-carrying trade, and thus remind our citizens that a large share of the carrying trade of the world is due them, and we need have no fear that our shipbuilders, under laws giving them a fair chance, will suffer from foreign competition. Since my participation in rebuilding our navy during a former official term has been so flatteringly referred to, I hope it is not amiss for me to say that I shall deem myself especially fortunate if in time to come it can be said that I have done something during my present incumbency in aid of the freedom and extension of American commerce and the consequent further growth of American shipbuilding.

[Letter to John A. Mason, Esq., read at the Annual Banquet of the Democratic Editorial Association of the State of New York, New York City, May 24, 1895.]

My Dear Sir: I regret that my official duties oblige me to decline the courteous invitation I have received to attend the annual banquet of the Democratic Editorial Association on the 24th inst.

This reunion of Democratic editors will, I am sure, be

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

an enjoyable occasion to all who participate; but I shall be much disappointed if the fellowship and interchange of sentiment it will afford do not stimulate the zeal and effort of the fraternity there assembled in behalf of the Democratic cause and Democratic principles.

Our party is so much a party of principle, and its proper action and usefulness are so dependent upon a constant adherence to its doctrines and traditions, that no tendency in our ranks to follow the misleading light of a temporary popular misapprehension should go unchallenged. Our victories have all been won when we have closely followed the banner of Democratic principle. We have always been punished by defeat when, losing sight of our banner, we have yielded to the blandishments of undemocratic expediency.

There is a temptation now vexing the people in different sections of the country which assumes the disguise of Democratic party principle, inasmuch as it presents a scheme which is claimed to be a remedy for agricultural depression and such other hardships as afflict our fellow-citizens. Thus, because we are the friends of the people and profess devotion to their interests, the help of the members of our party is invoked in support of a plan to revolutionize the monetary condition of the country, and embark upon an experiment which is discredited by all reason and experience, which invites trouble and disaster in every avenue of labor and enterprise, and which must prove destructive to our National prestige and character.

When a campaign is actively on foot to force the free, unlimited and independent coinage of silver by the Government at a ratio which will add to our circulation unrestrained millions of so-called dollars, intrinsically worth but half the amount they purport to represent, with no provision or resource to make good the deficiency in value, and when it is claimed that such a proposition has any relation to the

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

principles of Democracy, it is time for all who may in the least degree influence Democratic thought to realize their responsibility.

Our party is the party of the people, not because it is wafted hither and thither by every sudden wave of popular excitement and misconception, but because while it tests every proposition by the doctrines which underlie its organization, it insists that all interests should be defended in the administration of the Government, without especial favor or discrimination.

Our party is the party of the people because in its care for the welfare of all our countrymen, it resists dangerous schemes born of discontent, advocated by appeals to sectional or class prejudices, and reinforced by the insidious aid of private selfishness and cupidity.

Above all, our party is the party of the people when it recognizes the fact that sound and absolutely safe money is the life-blood of our country's strength and prosperity, and when it teaches that none of our fellow-citizens, rich or poor, great or humble, can escape the consequences of a degeneration of our currency.

Democratic care and conservatism dictate that if there exists inconvenience and hardship, resulting from the congestion or imperfect distribution of our circulating medium, a remedy should be applied which will avoid the disaster that must follow in the train of silver monometallism.

What I have written has not been prompted by any fear that the Democracy of the State of New York will ever be an accomplice in such an injury to their country as would be entailed by the free, unlimited and independent coinage of silver; nor do I believe they will ever be so heedless of party interests as to support such a movement. I have referred to this subject in the belief that nothing more important can engage the attention of the American people or the National Democracy, and in the conviction that the voice

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

of the Democrats of New York through its press, should constantly be heard in every State.

[*Third Annual Message (Second Presidential Term), Washington, D. C., December 2, 1895.*]

To the Congress of the United States: The present assemblage of the legislative branch of our Government occurs at a time when the interests of our people and the needs of the country give especial prominence to the condition of our foreign relations and the exigencies of our national finances. The reports of the heads of the several administrative Departments of the Government fully and plainly exhibit what has been accomplished within the scope of their respective duties and present such recommendations for the betterment of our country's condition as patriotic and intelligent labor and observation suggest.

It being apparent that the boundary dispute between Great Britain and the Republic of Venezuela concerning the limits of British Guiana was approaching an acute stage, a definite statement of the interest and policy of the United States as regards the controversy seemed to be required both on its own account and in view of its relations with the friendly powers directly concerned. In July last, therefore, a dispatch was addressed to our ambassador at London for communication to the British Government in which the attitude of the United States was fully and distinctly set forth. The general conclusions therein reached and formulated are in substance that the traditional and established policy of this Government is firmly opposed to a forcible increase by any European power of its territorial possessions on this

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

continent; that this policy is as well founded in principle as it is strongly supported by numerous precedents; that as a consequence the United States is bound to protest against the enlargement of the area of British Guiana in derogation of the rights and against the will of Venezuela; that considering the disparity in strength of Great Britain and Venezuela the territorial dispute between them can be reasonably settled only by friendly and impartial arbitration, and that the resort to such arbitration should include the whole controversy, and is not satisfied if one of the powers concerned is permitted to draw an arbitrary line through the territory in debate and to declare that it will submit to arbitration only the portion lying on one side of it. In view of these conclusions, the dispatch in question called upon the British Government for a definite answer to the question whether it would or would not submit the territorial controversy between itself and Venezuela in its entirety to impartial arbitration. The answer of the British Government has not yet been received, but is expected shortly, when further communication on the subject will probably be made to the Congress.

The coronation of the Czar of Russia at Moscow in May next invites the ceremonial participation of the United States, and in accordance with usage and diplomatic propriety our minister to the imperial court has been directed to represent our Government on the occasion.

Correspondence is on foot touching the practice of Russian consuls within the jurisdiction of the United States to interrogate citizens as to their race and religious faith, and upon ascertainment thereof to deny to Jews authentication of passports or legal documents for use in Russia. Inasmuch as such a proceeding imposes a disability which in the case of succession to property in Russia may be found to infringe the treaty rights of our citizens, and which is an

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

obnoxious invasion of our territorial jurisdiction, it has elicited fitting remonstrance, the result of which, it is hoped, will remove the cause of complaint. The pending claims of sealing vessels of the United States seized in Russian waters remain unadjusted. Our recent convention with Russia establishing a *modus vivendi* as to imperial jurisdiction in such cases has prevented further difficulty of this nature.

The Russian Government has welcomed in principle our suggestion for a *modus vivendi*, to embrace Great Britain and Japan, looking to the better preservation of seal life in the North Pacific and Bering Sea and the extension of the protected area defined by the Paris Tribunal to all Pacific waters north of the thirty-fifth parallel. It is especially noticeable that Russia favors prohibition of the use of firearms in seal hunting throughout the proposed area and a longer closed season for pelagic sealing.

Cuba is again gravely disturbed. An insurrection in some respects more active than the last preceding revolt, which continued from 1868 to 1878, now exists in a large part of the eastern interior of the island, menacing even some populations on the coast. Besides deranging the commercial exchanges of the island, of which our country takes the predominant share, this flagrant condition of hostilities, by arousing sentimental sympathy and inciting adventurous support among our people, has entailed earnest effort on the part of this Government to enforce obedience to our neutrality laws and to prevent the territory of the United States from being abused as a vantage ground from which to aid those in arms against Spanish sovereignty.

Whatever may be the traditional sympathy of our countrymen as individuals with a people who seem to be struggling for larger autonomy and greater freedom, deepened, as such sympathy naturally must be, in behalf of our neighbors, yet the plain duty of their Government is to observe in

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

good faith the recognized obligation of international relationship. The performance of this duty should not be made more difficult by a disregard on the part of our citizens of the obligations growing out of their allegiance to their country, which should restrain them from violating as individuals the neutrality which the nation of which they are members is bound to observe in its relations to friendly sovereign states. Though neither the warmth of our people's sympathy with the Cuban insurgents, nor our loss and material damage consequent upon the futile endeavors thus far made to restore peace and order, nor any shock our humane sensibilities may have received from the cruelties which appear to especially characterize this sanguinary and fiercely conducted war, have in the least shaken the determination of the Government to honestly fulfill every international obligation, yet it is to be earnestly hoped on every ground that the devastation of armed conflict may speedily be stayed and order and quiet restored to the distracted island, bringing in their train the activity and thrift of peaceful pursuits.

One notable instance of interference by Spain with passing American ships has occurred. On March 8 last the *Allianca*, while bound from Colon to New York, and following the customary track for vessels near the Cuban shore, but outside the 3-mile limit, was fired upon by a Spanish gunboat. Protest was promptly made by the United States against this act as not being justified by a state of war, nor permissible in respect of vessels on the usual paths of commerce, nor tolerable in view of the wanton peril occasioned to innocent life and property. The act was disavowed, with full expression of regret and assurance of nonrecurrence of such just cause of complaint, while the offending officer was relieved of his command. Military arrests of citizens of the United States in Cuba have occasioned frequent reclamations. Where held on criminal

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

charges their delivery to the ordinary civil jurisdiction for trial has been demanded and obtained in conformity with treaty provisions, and where merely detained by way of military precaution under a proclaimed state of siege, without formulated accusation, their release or trial has been insisted upon. The right of American consular officers in the island to prefer protests and demands in such cases having been questioned by the insular authority, their enjoyment of the privilege stipulated by treaty for the consuls of Germany was claimed under the most-favored-nation provision of our own convention and was promptly recognized.

[*Special Message on the Venezuela Boundary Dispute, Washington, D. C., December 17, 1895.*]

To the Congress: In my annual message addressed to the Congress on the 3d instant I called attention to the pending boundary controversy between Great Britain and the Republic of Venezuela and recited the substance of a representation made by this Government to Her Britannic Majesty's Government suggesting reasons why such dispute should be submitted to arbitration for settlement and inquiring whether it would be so submitted.

The answer of the British Government, which was then awaited, has since been received, and, together with the dispatch to which it is a reply, is hereto appended.

Such reply is embodied in two communications addressed by the British prime minister to Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British ambassador at this capital. It will be seen that one of these communications is devoted exclusively to observations upon the Monroe doctrine, and claims that in the

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

present instance a new and strange extension and development of this doctrine is insisted on by the United States; that the reasons justifying an appeal to the doctrine enunciated by President Monroe are generally inapplicable "to the state of things in which we live at the present day," and especially inapplicable to a controversy involving the boundary line between Great Britain and Venezuela.

Without attempting extended argument in reply to these positions, it may not be amiss to suggest that the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound, because its enforcement is important to our peace and safety as a nation and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government. It was intended to apply to every stage of our national life and can not become obsolete while our Republic endures. If the balance of power is justly a cause for jealous anxiety among the Governments of the Old World and a subject for our absolute noninterference, none the less is an observance of the Monroe doctrine of vital concern to our people and their Government.

Assuming, therefore, that we may properly insist upon this doctrine without regard to "the state of things in which we live" or any changed conditions here or elsewhere, it is not apparent why its application may not be invoked in the present controversy.

If a European power by an extension of its boundaries takes possession of the territory of one of our neighboring Republics against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why to that extent such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of this continent which is thus taken. This is the precise action which President Monroe declared to be "dangerous to our peace and safety," and it can make no difference whether the European system is extended by an advance of frontier or otherwise.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

It is also suggested in the British reply that we should not seek to apply the Monroe doctrine to the pending dispute because it does not embody any principle of international law which "is founded on the general consent of nations," and that "no statesmen, however eminent, and no nation, however powerful, are competent to insert into the code of international law a novel principle which was never recognized before and which has not since been accepted by the government of any other country."

Practically the principle for which we contend has peculiar, if not exclusive, relation to the United States. It may not have been admitted in so many words to the code of international law, but since in international councils every nation is entitled to the rights belonging to it, if the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine is something we may justly claim it has its place in the code of international law as certainly and as securely as if it were specifically mentioned; and when the United States is a suitor before the high tribunal that administers international law the question to be determined is whether or not we present claims which the justice of that code of law can find to be right and valid.

The Monroe doctrine finds its recognition in those principles of international law which are based upon the theory that every nation shall have its rights protected and its just claims enforced.

Of course this Government is entirely confident that under the sanction of this doctrine we have clear rights and undoubted claims. Nor is this ignored in the British reply. The prime minister, while not admitting that the Monroe doctrine is applicable to present conditions, states:

In declaring that the United States would resist any such enterprise if it was contemplated, President Monroe adopted a policy which received the entire sympathy of the English Government of that date.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

He further declares:

Though the language of President Monroe is directed to the attainment of objects which most Englishmen would agree to be salutary, it is impossible to admit that they have been inscribed by any adequate authority in the code of international law.

Again he says:

They [Her Majesty's Government] fully concur with the view which President Monroe apparently entertained, that any disturbance of the existing territorial distribution in that hemisphere by any fresh acquisitions on the part of any European State would be a highly inexpedient change.

In the belief that the doctrine for which we contend was clear and definite, that it was founded upon substantial considerations and involved our safety and welfare, that it was fully applicable to our present conditions and to the state of the world's progress, and that it was directly related to the pending controversy, and without any conviction as to the final merits of the dispute, but anxious to learn in a satisfactory and conclusive manner whether Great Britain sought under a claim of boundary to extend her possessions on this continent without right, or whether she merely sought possession of territory fairly included within her lines of ownership, this Government proposed to the Government of Great Britain a resort to arbitration as the proper means of settling the question, to the end that a vexatious boundary dispute between the two contestants might be determined and our exact standing and relation in respect to the controversy might be made clear.

It will be seen from the correspondence herewith submitted that this proposition has been declined by the British Government upon grounds which in the circumstances seem to me to be far from satisfactory. It is deeply disappointing that such an appeal, actuated by the most friendly feelings toward both nations directly concerned, addressed to

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the sense of justice and to the magnanimity of one of the great powers of the world, and touching its relations to one comparatively weak and small, should have produced no better results.

The course to be pursued by this Government in view of the present condition does not appear to admit of serious doubt. Having labored faithfully for many years to induce Great Britain to submit this dispute to impartial arbitration, and having been now finally apprised of her refusal to do so, nothing remains but to accept the situation, to recognize its plain requirements, and deal with it accordingly. Great Britain's present proposition has never thus far been regarded as admissible by Venezuela, though any adjustment of the boundary which that country may deem for her advantage and may enter into of her own free will can not of course be objected to by the United States.

Assuming, however, that the attitude of Venezuela will remain unchanged, the dispute has reached such a stage as to make it now incumbent upon the United States to take measures to determine with sufficient certainty for its justification what is the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana. The inquiry to that end should of course be conducted carefully and judicially, and due weight should be given to all available evidence, records, and facts in support of the claims of both parties.

In order that such an examination should be prosecuted in a thorough and satisfactory manner, I suggest that the Congress make an adequate appropriation for the expenses of a commission, to be appointed by the Executive, who shall make the necessary investigation and report upon the matter with the least possible delay. When such report is made and accepted it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

governmental jurisdiction over any territory which after investigation we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela.

In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow.

I am, nevertheless, firm in my conviction that while it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English-speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor, beneath which are shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness.

[Letter to Hon. George W. Parker read at the Annual Shakespeare Commemoration, Birmingham, England, April 21, 1896.]

Dear Sir: Everything that tends to keep alive the memory of Shakespeare and preserves a proper appreciation of his work challenges my earnest interest and approval, and though I cannot be with you on the occasion you contemplate, I am glad to know that our American people will be prominently represented. There is much said and written in these days concerning the relations that should exist, bound close by the strongest ties, between English-speaking peoples, and concerning the high destiny that awaits them in concerted effort. I hope we shall never know the time when these ennobling sentiments will be less often expressed or in the least lose their potency and influence. Surely if

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

English speech supplies the token of united effort for the good of mankind and the impulse of an exalted international mission, we do well to honor fittingly the name and memory of William Shakespeare.

[From Address delivered at the Susquicentennial of the Founding of the College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J., October 23, 1896.]

I hasten to concede the good already accomplished by our educated men in purifying and steadying political sentiment; but I hope I may be allowed to intimate my belief that their work in these directions would be easier and more useful if it were less spasmodic and occasional. The disposition of our people is such that, while they may be inclined to distrust those who only on rare occasions come among them from an exclusiveness savoring of assumed superiority, they readily listen to those who exhibit a real fellowship and a friendly and habitual interest in all that concerns the common welfare. Such a condition of intimacy would, I believe, not only improve the general political atmosphere, but would vastly increase the influence of our universities and colleges in their efforts to prevent popular delusions or correct them before they reach an acute and dangerous stage. I am certain, therefore, that a more constant and active participation in political affairs on the part of our men of education would be of the greatest possible value to our country.

It is exceedingly unfortunate that politics should be regarded in any quarter as an unclean thing, to be avoided by those claiming to be educated or respectable. It would be strange, indeed, if anything related to the administration

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

of our Government or the welfare of our nation should be essentially degrading. I believe it is not a superstitious sentiment that leads to the conviction that God has watched over our National life from its beginning. Who will say that the things worthy of God's regard and fostering care are unworthy of the touch of the wisest and best of men?

I would have those sent out by our universities and colleges not only the counsellors of their fellow-countrymen, but the tribunes of the people—fully appreciating every condition that presses upon their daily life, sympathetic in every untoward situation, quick and earnest in every effort to advance their happiness and welfare, and prompt and sturdy in the defence of all their rights.

I have but imperfectly expressed the thoughts to which I had not been able to deny utterance on an occasion so full of glad significance, and so pervaded by the atmosphere of patriotic aspiration. Born of these surroundings, the hope cannot be vain that the time is at hand when all our countrymen will more deeply appreciate the blessings of American citizenship, when their disinterested love of their Government will be quickened, when fanaticism and passion shall be banished from the field of politics, and when all our people, discarding every difference of condition or opportunity, will be seen under the banner of American brotherhood, marching steadily and unflinchingly on toward the bright heights of our National destiny.

[Fourth Annual Message (Second Presidential Term), Washington, D. C., December 7, 1896.]

To the Congress of the United States: As representatives of the people in the legislative branch of their Government, you have assembled at a time when the strength and excel-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

lence of our free institutions and the fitness of our citizens to enjoy popular rule have been again made manifest. A political contest involving momentous consequences, fraught with feverish apprehension, and creating aggressiveness so intense as to approach bitterness and passion has been waged throughout our land and determined by the decree of free and independent suffrage without disturbance of our tranquillity or the least sign of weakness in our national structure.

When we consider these incidents and contemplate the peaceful obedience and manly submission which have succeeded a heated clash of political opinions, we discover abundant evidence of a determination on the part of our countrymen to abide by every verdict of the popular will and to be controlled at all times by an abiding faith in the agencies established for the direction of the affairs of their Government.

Thus our people exhibit a patriotic disposition which entitles them to demand of those who undertake to make and execute their laws such faithful and unselfish service in their behalf as can only be prompted by a serious appreciation of the trust and confidence which the acceptance of public duty invites.

The insurrection in Cuba still continues with all its perplexities. It is difficult to perceive that any progress has thus far been made toward the pacification of the island or that the situation of affairs as depicted in my last annual message has in the least improved. If Spain still holds Havana and the seaports and all the considerable towns, the insurgents still roam at will over at least two-thirds of the inland country. If the determination of Spain to put down the insurrection seems but to strengthen with the lapse of time and is evinced by her unhesitating devotion of largely increased military and naval forces to the task, there is much

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

reason to believe that the insurgents have gained in point of numbers and character and resources and are none the less inflexible in their resolve not to succumb without practically securing the great objects for which they took up arms. If Spain has not yet reestablished her authority, neither have the insurgents yet made good their title to be regarded as an independent state. Indeed, as the contest has gone on the pretense that civil government exists on the island, except so far as Spain is able to maintain it, has been practically abandoned. Spain does keep on foot such a government, more or less imperfectly, in the large towns and their immediate suburbs; but that exception being made, the entire country is either given over to anarchy or is subject to the military occupation of one or the other party. It is reported, indeed, on reliable authority that at the demand of the commander in chief of the insurgent army the putative Cuban government has now given up all attempt to exercise its functions, leaving that government confessedly (what there is the best reason for supposing it always to have been in fact) a government merely on paper.

Many Cubans reside in this country, and indirectly promote the insurrection through the press, by public meetings, by the purchase and shipment of arms, by the raising of funds, and by other means which the spirit of our institutions and the tenor of our laws do not permit to be made the subject of criminal prosecutions. Some of them, though Cubans at heart and in all their feelings and interests, have taken out papers as naturalized citizens of the United States—a proceeding resorted to with a view to possible protection by this Government, and not unnaturally regarded with much indignation by the country of their origin. The insurgents are undoubtedly encouraged and supported by the widespread sympathy the people of this country always and instinctively feel for every struggle for better and

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

freer government, and which, in the case of the more adventurous and restless elements of our population, leads in only too many instances to active and personal participation in the contest. The result is that this Government is constantly called upon to protect American citizens, to claim damages for injuries to persons and property, now estimated at many millions of dollars, and to ask explanations and apologies for the acts of Spanish officials whose zeal for the repression of rebellion sometimes blinds them to the immunities belonging to the unoffending citizens of a friendly power. It follows from the same causes that the United States is compelled to actively police a long line of seacoast against unlawful expeditions, the escape of which the utmost vigilance will not always suffice to prevent.

These inevitable entanglements of the United States with the rebellion in Cuba, the large American property interests affected, and considerations of philanthropy and humanity in general have led to a vehement demand in various quarters for some sort of positive intervention on the part of the United States. It was at first proposed that belligerent rights should be accorded to the insurgents—a proposition no longer urged because untimely and in practical operation clearly perilous and injurious to our own interests. It has since been and is now sometimes contended that the independence of the insurgents should be recognized; but imperfect and restricted as the Spanish government of the island may be, no other exists there, unless the will of the military officer in temporary command of a particular district can be dignified as a species of government. It is now also suggested that the United States should buy the island—a suggestion possibly worthy of consideration if there were any evidence of a desire or willingness on the part of Spain to entertain such a proposal. It is urged finally that, all other methods failing, the existing internecine strife in Cuba should be terminated by our intervention, even at the cost

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

of a war between the United States and Spain—a war which its advocates confidently prophesy could neither be large in its proportions nor doubtful in its issue.

The correctness of this forecast need be neither affirmed nor denied. The United States has, nevertheless, a character to maintain as a nation, which plainly dictates that right and not might should be the rule of its conduct. Further, though the United States is not a nation to which peace is a necessity, it is in truth the most pacific of powers and desires nothing so much as to live in amity with all the world. Its own ample and diversified domains satisfy all possible longings for territory, preclude all dreams of conquest, and prevent any casting of covetous eyes upon neighboring regions, however attractive. That our conduct toward Spain and her dominions has constituted no exception to this national disposition is made manifest by the course of our Government, not only thus far during the present insurrection, but during the ten years that followed the rising at Yara in 1868. No other great power, it may safely be said, under circumstances of similar perplexity, would have manifested the same restraint and the same patient endurance. It may also be said that this persistent attitude of the United States toward Spain in connection with Cuba unquestionably evinces no slight respect and regard for Spain on the part of the American people. They in truth do not forget her connection with the discovery of the Western Hemisphere, nor do they underestimate the great qualities of the Spanish people nor fail to fully recognize their splendid patriotism and their chivalrous devotion to the national honor.

.

Whatever circumstances may arise, our policy and our interests would constrain us to object to the acquisition of the island or an interference with its control by any other power.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

It should be added that it can not be reasonably assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained. While we are anxious to accord all due respect to the sovereignty of Spain, we can not view the pending conflict in all its features and properly apprehend our inevitably close relations to it and its possible results without considering that by the course of events we may be drawn into such an unusual and unprecedented condition as will fix a limit to our patient waiting for Spain to end the contest either alone and in her own way or with our friendly cooperation.

When the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurrection has become manifest and it is demonstrated that her sovereignty is extinct in Cuba for all purposes of its rightful existence, and when a hopeless struggle for its re-establishment has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict, a situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge. Deferring the choice of ways and methods until the time for action arrives, we should make them depend upon the precise conditions then existing; and they should not be determined upon without giving careful heed to every consideration involving our honor and interest or the international duty we owe to Spain. Until we face the contingencies suggested or the situation is by other incidents imperatively changed we should continue in the line of conduct heretofore pursued, thus in all circumstances exhibiting our obedience to the requirements of public law and our regard for the duty enjoined upon us by the position we occupy in the family of nations.

A contemplation of emergencies that may arise should plainly lead us to avoid their creation, either through a care-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

less disregard of present duty or even an undue stimulation and ill-timed expression of feeling. But I have deemed it not amiss to remind the Congress that a time may arrive when a correct policy and care for our interests, as well as a regard for the interests of other nations and their citizens, joined by considerations of humanity and a desire to see a rich and fertile country intimately related to us saved from complete devastation, will constrain our Government to such action as will subserve the interests thus involved and at the same time promise to Cuba and its inhabitants an opportunity to enjoy the blessings of peace.

The Venezuelan boundary question has ceased to be a matter of difference between Great Britain and the United States, their respective Governments having agreed upon the substantial provisions of a treaty between Great Britain and Venezuela submitting the whole controversy to arbitration. The provisions of the treaty are so eminently just and fair that the assent of Venezuela thereto may confidently be anticipated.

Negotiations for a treaty of general arbitration for all differences between Great Britain and the United States are far advanced and promise to reach a successful consummation at an early date.

The civil-service rules as amended during the last year provide for a sensible and uniform method of promotion, basing eligibility to better positions upon demonstrated efficiency and faithfulness. The absence of fixed rules on this subject has been an infirmity in the system more and more apparent as its other benefits have been better appreciated.

The advantages of civil-service methods in their business aspects are too well understood to require argument. Their application has become a necessity to the executive work of the Government. But those who gain positions through the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

operation of these methods should be made to understand that the nonpartisan scheme through which they receive their appointments demands from them by way of reciprocity nonpartisan and faithful performance of duty under every Administration and cheerful fidelity to every chief. While they should be encouraged to decently exercise their rights of citizenship and to support through their suffrages the political beliefs they honestly profess, the noisy, pestilent, and partisan employee, who loves political turmoil and contention, or who renders lax and grudging service to an Administration not representing his political views, should be promptly and fearlessly dealt with in such a way as to furnish a warning to others who may be likewise disposed.

Another topic in which our people rightfully take a deep interest may be here briefly considered. I refer to the existence of trusts and other huge aggregations of capital the object of which is to secure the monopoly of some particular branch of trade, industry, or commerce and to stifle wholesome competition. When these are defended, it is usually on the ground that though they increase profits they also reduce prices, and thus may benefit the public. It must be remembered, however, that a reduction of prices to the people is not one of the real objects of these organizations, nor is their tendency necessarily in that direction. If it occurs in a particular case it is only because it accords with the purposes or interests of those managing the scheme.

Such occasional results fall far short of compensating the palpable evils charged to the account of trusts and monopolies. Their tendency is to crush out individual independence and to hinder or prevent the free use of human faculties and the full development of human character. Through them the farmer, the artisan, and the small trader is in danger of dislodgment from the proud position of being his own master, watchful of all that touches his country's

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

prosperity, in which he has an individual lot, and interested in all that affects the advantages of business of which he is a factor, to be relegated to the level of a mere appurtenance to a great machine, with little free will, with no duty but that of passive obedience, and with little hope or opportunity of rising in the scale of responsible and helpful citizenship.

To the instinctive belief that such is the inevitable trend of trusts and monopolies is due the widespread and deep-seated popular aversion in which they are held and the not unreasonable insistence that, whatever may be their incidental economic advantages, their general effect upon personal character, prospects, and usefulness can not be otherwise than injurious.

Though Congress has attempted to deal with this matter by legislation, the laws passed for that purpose thus far have proved ineffective, not because of any lack of disposition or attempt to enforce them, but simply because the laws themselves as interpreted by the courts do not reach the difficulty. If the insufficiencies of existing laws can be remedied by further legislation, it should be done. The fact must be recognized, however, that all Federal legislation on this subject may fall short of its purpose because of inherent obstacles and also because of the complex character of our governmental system, which, while making the Federal authority supreme within its sphere, has carefully limited that sphere by metes and bounds that can not be transgressed. The decision of our highest court on this precise question renders it quite doubtful whether the evils of trusts and monopolies can be adequately treated through Federal action unless they seek directly and purposely to include in their objects transportation or intercourse between States or between the United States and foreign countries.

It does not follow, however, that this is the limit of the remedy that may be applied. Even though it may be found

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

that Federal authority is not broad enough to fully reach the case, there can be no doubt of the power of the several States to act effectively in the premises, and there should be no reason to doubt their willingness to judiciously exercise such power.

In concluding this communication its last words shall be an appeal to the Congress for the most rigid economy in the expenditure of the money it holds in trust for the people. The way to perplexing extravagance is easy, but a return to frugality is difficult. When, however, it is considered that those who bear the burdens of taxation have no guaranty of honest care save in the fidelity of their public servants, the duty of all possible retrenchment is plainly manifest.

When our differences are forgotten and our contests of political opinion are no longer remembered, nothing in the retrospect of our public service will be as fortunate and comforting as the recollection of official duty well performed and the memory of a constant devotion to the interests of our confiding fellow-countrymen.

[Message on Arbitration Treaty between United States and Great Britain, Washington, D. C., January 11, 1897.]

To the Senate: I transmit herewith a treaty for the arbitration of all matters in difference between the United States and Great Britain.

The provisions of the treaty are the result of long and patient deliberation and represent concessions made by each part for the sake of agreement upon the general scheme.

Though the result reached may not meet the views of the advocates of immediate, unlimited, and irrevocable arbitration of all international controversies, it is nevertheless con-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

fidently believed that the treaty can not fail to be everywhere recognized as making a long step in the right direction and as embodying a practical working plan by which disputes between the two countries will reach a peaceful adjustment as matter of course and in ordinary routine.

In the initiation of such an important movement it must be expected that some of its features will assume a tentative character looking to a further advance, and yet it is apparent that the treaty which has been formulated not only makes war between the parties to it a remote possibility, but precludes those fears and rumors of war which of themselves too often assume the proportions of national disaster.

It is eminently fitting as well as fortunate that the attempts to accomplish results so beneficent should be initiated by kindred peoples, speaking the same tongue and joined together by all the ties of common traditions, common institutions, and common aspirations. The experiment of substituting civilized methods for brute force as the means of settling international questions of right will thus be tried under the happiest auspices. Its success ought not to be doubtful, and the fact that its ultimate ensuing benefits are not likely to be limited to the two countries immediately concerned should cause it to be promoted all the more eagerly. The examples set and the lesson furnished by the successful operation of this treaty are sure to be felt and taken to heart sooner or later by other nations, and will thus mark the beginning of a new epoch in civilization.

Profoundly impressed as I am, therefore, by the promise of transcendent good which this treaty affords, I do not hesitate to accompany its transmission with an expression of my earnest hope that it may commend itself to the favorable consideration of the Senate.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*From Address at the Semicentennial Anniversary of the New York Academy of Medicine, Carnegie Hall, New York City, January 29, 1897.*]

We begin by conceding most heartily, and without the least reservation, the learning and skill of those now constituting the medical profession, and the wonderful advance that has been made through their untiring labors and investigations in the alleviation of human suffering and the saving of human life.

It may be that this seems to you an acknowledgment so much your due as to be hardly worth making. You should, however, value it because it is sincerely made by those who were not born yesterday, but who hold in lasting and tender memory the ministrations of the village doctor of fifty years ago and are now the living monuments of his faithful care! He, too, alleviated suffering and saved human life. We know that it was not given to him to see the bright lights that now mark the path of medicine and surgery, but you cannot convince us that he groped entirely in the dark. We remember without abhorrence his ever-ready lancet and the scars of his blood-letting found in every household. We endure with complacency the recollection of his awful medicine-case, containing bottles, powders and pills which, whatever might be thought of them now, seemed then to be sufficient for all emergencies, to say nothing of the tooth-pulling tools and other shiver-breeding instruments sometimes exposed to view. If he was ignorant of many of the remedies and appliances now in use, he in a large measure supplied the deficiency by hard-headed judgment, well-observed experience and careful nursing. Besides, it was in his favor that he did not have to bother his head with many of the newly

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

invented and refined diseases that afflict mankind to-day. He had no allotted hours for his patients, but was always on duty, and we knew the sound of his gig as it rattled past in the night.

Your ways are better than his; but we desire you to regard this admission as all the more valuable because it is carved out of our loyalty to our old village doctor, who brought us through the diseases of childhood without relapse; who saved from death our parents and our brothers and our sisters in many a hard combat with illness, and who, when vanquished and forced to surrender, was present in the last scene to close the eyes of his dying patient and sympathize with those who wept.

I hasten to say that we do not for a moment suppose that advancement in the science of medicine and surgery has smothered the faithfulness and tender consideration which characterized the practitioner of former days. If we seek charitable service to the sick and suffering, a noble appreciation of obligation to humanity and self-abnegation in the discharge of professional duty, we must look for them among our physicians and surgeons of to-day.

[From Address at the Banquet of the Reform Club, Hotel Waldorf, New York, April 24, 1897.]

We are gathered here to-night as patriotic citizens, anxious to do something toward reinstating prosperity to our fellow-countrymen and protecting the fair fame of our nation against shame and scandal. On every side we are confronted with popular depression and complaint. These are largely due to causes of natural and certain recurrence, as the inevitable accompaniment of all human endeavor, and

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

perhaps they are as largely due to the work of agitators and demagogues who have busily sowed the seeds of discontent, in order that in the harvest they may reap personal advantage. Distressing ills, real and imaginary, have been so constantly and luridly presented to the minds of honest men that they are tempted to accept, without taking counsel of reason or judgment, any nostrum cunningly offered as a remedy for their low condition. But even so promising a field as this has not satisfied the designs of ruthless agitators. While scattering the seeds of discontent, they have also cultivated a growth of sectional and class suspicion and distrust which threatens to choke or destroy that fraternal feeling which leads to considerate counsel in the day of common misfortune, and which is absolutely essential to the success of our plan of government.

The fundamental truth that our free institutions offer opportunities to all within their influence for the advancement and improvement of their condition has been so far denied that honest accumulation is called a crime, and the necessity and habit of individual effort and struggle, which are the mainsprings of sturdy Americanism, are decried as unjustifiable burdens, while unwholesome paternalism is presented in handsome and inviting garb. Those enlisted in this crusade of discontent and passion, proclaiming themselves the friends of the people, exclude from that list all their countrymen except those most unfortunate or unreasonable, and those whom they themselves have made the most discontented and credulous.

These forces and conditions have for years with greater or less distinctness hovered about our National life, lacking effective organization and concentration, neglected by those who deprecated their existence and unheeded even by those who partially appreciated their dangerous tendency. In the meantime there has laid in wait behind them all an impatient power, ready to marshal them in effective activity,

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

when depression, misfortune, neglect and passion had done their work. This power, born of sordid greed and maintained by selfish interest and partisan ambition, has at last assumed command, and has largely recruited its waiting forces by inflaming those inclined to be patient with talks of an ancient crime against their rights to be avenged, by encouraging the restless and turbulent with hints of greater license, and by offering to the poor as a smooth road to wealth, and to those in debt as a plan for easy payment, and to those who from any cause are unfortunate and discouraged, as a remedy for all their ills, the free and unlimited and independent coinage of silver at the rate of 16 to 1, with a depreciated currency and cheap money.

It was a rude awakening for the negligent and overconfident, and a day of terror for sober and patriotic men, when the bold promoters of this reckless creed captured the organization of a powerful political party, and, seizing its banners, shouted defiance to the astonished conscience and conservatism of the country. Hosts of honest men, in blind loyalty, gathered behind the party flag they had been accustomed to follow, failing to discover that their party legends had been effaced. None can forget the doubt and fear of that boisterous and passionate campaign, when the fate of the Nation seemed in the balance. The danger of the situation arose from the hasty impulse of those whose misfortunes had been cruelly played upon, and from the enthusiasm of unquestioning, thoughtless party fealty. The deliverance came through the action of those who saw the trick, and loved the principles of their party too well to follow its stolen banners in an attack upon those National safeguards which party as well as patriotism should at all times defend.

I do not fear that I shall be accused of sinister designs, unfitted to the atmosphere of this occasion, if I insist that the paths of duty and the best hope of safety lie in an immediate and earnest attempt to accomplish the rehabil-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

itation and regeneration of the Democratic party and its return to the principles of true Democracy. In a large part of the country, where financial error is most general, the democratic name can best arouse the political sentiment of the people; and there, as everywhere in our land, the people can be trusted to arrive at a correct conclusion if they have adequate opportunity for examination and information. Let us devise means to break through the influence of the mischievous leadership that surrounds them and without arrogantly assuming that no wrongs or hardships afflict them, and that no reforms in their condition are needed, let us meet our countrymen face to face in argument and counsel. We shall find in every locality able, heroic men, willing to struggle against the tide of misconception. Let us hold up their hands by organized effort and timely assistance. Let true Democrats meet the passion and bitterness of their former associates who have assumed the leadership of anti-Democratic wanderings, with firm expostulations, reminding them that Democratic convictions and Democratic conscience cannot be forced to follow false lights, however held aloft; and let us at the same time entreat them in the name of honorable political comradeship and in the memory of glorious victories won by a united Democracy to turn from the way that leads to party defeat and destruction.

The task is not an easy one, but surely it is not hopeless. The better we appreciate its magnitude the less will be the danger of ineffective and misguided effort. The work has already been inaugurated by the creation of an organization, founded upon a declaration of Democratic principles so sound, so clear and so patriotic, that they should rally to their support every true Democrat and supply an inspiration forbidding defeat. With such a beginning, and with the incentive to zealous effort which the transcendent importance of our case affords, we should confidently look to the approaching dawn when true Democracy, "redeemed, re-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

generated and disenthralled," will bring us peace and National safety. But if relief under the restored flag of true Democracy is late in coming, we will not despair, but will remember that a just cause is never lost; and on our camping ground we will work and wait, with approving conscience and constant faith declaring like the sturdy old unrecanting German reformers: "Here we stand—we cannot do otherwise—God help us!"

*[From Address on Commemoration Day at
Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.,
October 24, 1897.]*

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen: In the few words I shall speak to-day there will be no attempt to lead you into untrodden fields of thought or point out new truths. I not only believe that if I should enter upon such an undertaking I would be guilty of bold presumption, but it seems to me we can quite as profitably improve the time we spend together in renewing our acquaintance with some old truths and recalling their relationship to human life and effort. In following this suggestion we shall manifestly find it easier if we start from familiar ground, and take our departure from some well-known landmark. With this introduction I hope I may be tolerated in the announcement that I propose to submit on this occasion some simple reflections concerning the self-made man. There has been so much said of him at random, and he has been so often presented as an altogether wonderful being, that it is not strange if there exists in some quarters an entire misapprehension of the manner of his creation and an exaggerated idea of his nature and mission. A romantic and sentimental glamour has enveloped him, magnifying his proportions and causing him to

399

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

appear much larger and in every way greater than other men; and the notion seems to be current that his size and greatness are the direct results of the frowns of fortune which deprived him of educational advantages and doomed him to travel to success by a road rugged with obstacles and difficulties.

Of course, in this view success is a necessary factor in the existence of this self-made man; for, unless he accomplishes something not altogether commonplace and usual, he is deemed unworthy of the name. Indeed, it ought not to surprise us to find that success alone, if reached after a fierce struggle with difficulties and disadvantages, should lead by familiarity and easy association to a sort of hazy conception that these difficulties and disadvantages were not merely incidents, but positive aids to such success.

I desire here explicitly and emphatically to express my respect and admiration for those who have won honorable success in spite of discouraging surroundings, and who have made themselves great and useful in their day and generation through the sheer force of indomitable will and courage. Nothing can be more noble and heroic than their struggles, and nothing can be more inspiring and valuable than their example and achievements, and whatever may be their measure of success, their willingness to undergo hardships to win it demonstrates that they have in their nature the fibre and lasting qualities that make strong men. But while we thus pay a deserved tribute to true manliness, we by no means admit the fanciful notion that the difficulties that stood in the way of these self-made men were essential to their success. They were obstacles which they overcame, and thus won distinction and honor.

The truth is, the merit of the successful man who has struggled with difficulties and disadvantages, must be judged by the kind of success he has achieved, by the use he makes of it, and by its effect upon his character and life. If his

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

success is clean and wholesome, if he uses it to make his fellows better and happier, and if he faithfully responds to all the obligations of a liberal, public spirited and useful citizen, his struggles should add immensely to the honor and consideration he deserves. If, on the other hand, his success is of the grasping, sordid kind; if he clutches it closely for his selfish gratification, and if with success he's bankrupt in character, sordidly mean, useless as a citizen, or of evil influence in his relations with his fellow-men, his struggles should not save him from contempt. Those included in either of these classes may, in the ordinary acceptation, be termed self-made men; but it is quite evident that there are so-called self-made men not worth the making. Let us exclude these from further consideration.

[*Letter read at the Joseph Jefferson Dinner,
New York, March 29, 1898.*]

My Dear Mr. Gilder: I am very sorry that I cannot be present on the 29th inst. at the dinner in honor of Mr. Jefferson, to which you invite me. The honored guest of this occasion is amply entitled to the love and respect of his countrymen because of the kindly way in which he has bestowed his genius and skill among them, for their improvement and amusement; but he is not less entitled to their love and respect for the thoroughly American manner of his life and for his characteristic triumph over early obstacles and difficulties.

Since I came to know him as a most agreeable neighbor, and have thus learned his qualities as a good citizen, a genial and thoughtful friend, and a cultivated and refined man, it has often seemed to me that those who only admire Mr.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

Jefferson as a rare and accomplished actor miss much that should immensely increase their admiration.

But whether we know him as the actor or the friend, all wish that many years may be added to his useful and kindly life.

[*Letter to A. H. Eastmond, Esq., read at the Brooklyn Democratic Club Dinner, Argyle Hotel, Brooklyn, N. Y., April 16, 1898.*]

Dear Sir: I have received your letter asking for a word of encouragement and sympathy, to be read at the dinner to be given by the Brooklyn Democratic Club, when, as you say, it will "proclaim anew its faith in the old Democratic principles."

I am far from assuming that the repetition of my belief that a strict adherence to those principles in their unadulterated strength and integrity constitutes the best hope for National safety, and the only hope for Democratic party success, can exert an important influence in present conditions.

I am, however, so deeply interested in every effort tending toward the restoration of the integrity of our party, and its reinstatement in popular confidence, that I cannot refrain from expressing the hope that the occasion contemplated by your club may usefully contribute to this result.

The Democratic party has a history too grand, a cause too glorious, a mission too exalted, and triumphs too inspiring, to permit in this time of promise and confidence its submergence beneath a new, strange and un-Democratic combination.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[From Founder's Day Address at the Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J., June 21, 1898.]

American citizenship means more than any other citizenship—not only because it lives and flourishes beneath the protection of the freest and best institutions in the world, but because it has the perpetuity and success of those institutions absolutely in its keeping and control. Our Government is not and never was in outside proprietorship, which could determine or set limits to our right of occupancy. American citizenship has built its own habitation, and is the tenant of no superior. It must, however, be plainly apparent that this independence in the enjoyment of privileges is not all that is involved in our relations to the Government we proudly call our own. As one who is the owner of the house in which he lives cannot look to another for its care and preservation, so American citizenship assumes the responsibility of maintaining, unaltered and unimpaired, the Government which shelters it and which has thus far been its protection against wind and storm. A just apprehension of the seriousness of this responsibility is the test of true American citizenship.

The existence of the highest type of American citizenship depends largely, of course, upon the cultivation of the best and most patriotic sentiment among our people. It is nevertheless true that it depends to an equal if not greater degree upon a constant steadiness of sound American judgment and an uncompromising ability among our citizens to resist temptation. The American people are tempted every day and every hour to abandon their accustomed way and enter upon a course of new and strange adventure. Never before in our history have we been beset with temptations so dan-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

gerous as those which now whisper in our ears alluring words of conquests and expansion, and point out to us fields bright with the glory of war.

At the outset I beg you never to harbor the thought that an active participation in political affairs is inconsistent with the largest possible degree of culture and education. Do not fail to gain by study and reflection a just apprehension of the purposes and objects for which our Government was established, to the end that you may detect any proposed departure from such purposes and objects, and be able to form an opinion as to its justification or desirability. You will probably be led by your study and reflection to the conclusion that our Government was formed for the express purpose of creating in a new world a new nation, the formation of which should be man's self-government, whose safety and prosperity should be secure in its absolute freedom from Old World complications, and in its renunciation of all schemes of foreign conquest, and whose mission should be the subjection of civilization and industrial occupation of the vast domain on which it has taken root.

.

In our present predicament of war we need have no fear that American courage in battle will fail to bring us victory. But I pray you not to forget that when the clash of arms is stilled, and the courage of the soldier has done its work, we shall greatly need, in dealing with the problems that will then confront us, a steady and uncompromising moral courage, which, unmoved by clamor and undisturbed by the excitement of triumph, will demand the things that true American citizenship decrees to be right and just and safe.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Letter to Gustav H. Schwab, Esq., read at the Carl Schurz Dinner, Delmonico's, New York, March 2, 1899.*]

My Dear Sir: I regret exceedingly that I cannot promise myself the pleasure of participating in the celebration of Mr. Schurz's seventieth birthday. I find that an engagement which I had hoped might be postponed, will prevent my attendance.

My disappointment is measured by the extreme gratification it would afford me to contribute my testimony to the volume that will be presented on the occasion you have arranged, in grateful support of Mr. Schurz's usefulness and patriotic citizenship.

His life and career teach lessons that cannot be too often or too impressively emphasized. They illustrate the moral grandeur of disinterested public service, and the nobility of a fearless advocacy of the things that are right and just and safe. It will be a sad day for our country when, in the light of such an example, our people refuse to see the best statesmanship in steadfast adherence to conscience and honesty, in storm as well as in sunshine.

I believe that the most confident hope of the permanency and continued beneficence of our free institutions rests upon the cultivation by those intrusted with public duty, and among the ranks of our countrymen, of the trusts which have distinguished the man whom you propose to honor.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*Letter to Rev. G. H. Hepworth, Buzzard's Bay, Mass., August 26, 1900.*]

My Dear Mr. Hepworth: Your letter is received. I am quite sure you wrongly estimate the value of any expression I might make concerning the political situation.

Besides, I am by no means free from the perplexity which now afflicts thousands of those who love the principles of true Democracy. In these circumstances I am not inclined to advise others as to their present political duty. A crisis has arisen when each man's conscience and informed patriotic sense should be his guide.

Inasmuch, therefore, as neither the certainty of my ability to rightly advise nor any call of obligation prompts me to discuss political conditions, I think I ought to be permitted, in my retirement to avoid the irritation and abuse which my interference at this time would inevitably invite.

[*From Address at the Holland Society Dinner, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, January 17, 1901.*]

The cordial welcome you extend to me is exceedingly grateful and comforting, for it gives me a grain of satisfaction in the ordeal that confronts me. I am convinced that the art of making an after-dinner speech without distress is for me a sealed book, and as the years pass I am only saved from complete wretchedness in my efforts in that direction by the kindness and toleration of those who are good enough to listen to me. I cannot resent the charge that I am apt to preach a sermon on occasions of this kind; for I am afraid this accusation is justified. It has been

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

my lot to be much on the sober side of life and to feel the pressure of great responsibilities. Besides, I believe it sometimes happens that an excess of light-hearted gayety creates a condition of popular thought and impulse that may profitably be steadied by sedate suggestions and the expression of conservative sentiment—even though it may be called sermonizing.

At any rate, I am quite willing to take an humble place among the sermonizers, in this time of headlong National heedlessness, and to invoke the cultivation and saving grace of Dutch conservatism. This is the kind of conservatism that counts the cost, but for the sake of principle and freedom will disregard the cost; that lays out a voyage by chart and compass and follows chart and compass to the end; that loves the liberty and national happiness which rest upon tried and sure foundations; that teaches reverence for national traditions and encourages the people's satisfaction with their country's mission. It is the kind of conservatism in which our Constitution had its birth, and which has thus far been the source of our Nation's safety and strength—the conservatism of justice, of honor, of honesty, of industry, of frugality and of contented homes.

[On hearing of the Death of Ex-President Harrison, Princeton, N. J., March 13, 1901.]

I am exceedingly moved by the sad intelligence of Mr. Harrison's death, for, notwithstanding the late discouraging reports for his condition, I hoped his life might yet be spared. Not one of our countrymen should for a moment fail to realize the services which have been performed in their behalf by the distinguished dead. In high public office he was guided by patriotism and devotion to duty,

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

often at the sacrifice of temporary popularity, and in private station his influence and example were always in the direction of decency and good citizenship. Such a career and the incidents related to it should leave a deep and useful impression upon every selection of our national life.

[From First Lecture on the Venezuela Boundary Dispute, Princeton, N. J., May 27,

In 1876, thirty-two years after the discontinuance of efforts on the part of Great Britain and Venezuela to fix by agreement a line which should divide their possessions, Venezuela was confronted, upon the renewal of negotiations for that purpose, by the following conditions:

A line proposed by her, founded upon her conception of strict right, which her powerful opponent had insisted could not in any way be plausibly supported, and which therefore she would in no event accept.

An indefiniteness in the limits claimed by Great Britain, so great that of two boundary lines indicated or suggested by her one had been plainly declared to be "merely a preliminary measure open to future discussion between the governments of Great Britain and Venezuela, and the other was distinctly claimed to be based upon generous concessions and a "desire to avoid all cause of serious controversies between the two countries."

A controversy growing out of this situation impossible of friendly settlement except by such arrangement and accommodation as would be satisfactory to Great Britain, or by submission of the dispute to arbitration.

A constant danger of such an extension of settlements in the disputed territory as would necessarily complicate the situation, and furnish a convenient pretext for the refusal of any concession respecting the lands containing such settlements.

A continual profession on the part of Great Britain of her present readiness to make benevolent concessions, and of her willingness to co-operate in a speedy adjustment, while not substantially reducing her pretensions, and certainly not attempting in a conspicuous manner to hasten negotiations to a conclusion.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

A tremendous disparity in power and strength between Venezuela and her adversary, which gave her no hope, in case the extremity of force or war was reached, or defending her territory or preventing its annexation to the possessions of Great Britain.

It was in 1876 that Venezuela appealed to the United States, begging our Government "to give the subject its kind consideration and take an interest in having due justice done to Venezuela." This appears to be the first communication addressed to our Government on the subject of a controversy in which we afterward became very seriously concerned.

England alone had treated the territory as part of British Guiana; her immense power had enabled her to do this, and her own decrees seemed to promise greater advantages as against her weak adversary than arbitration could possibly assure.

The British Government at one time offered a plan of arbitration which did not cover the entire disputed territory, but never consented to arbitration such as proposed by Venezuela, and which would include the entire territory in dispute.

Here [September, 1893] closed a period in this dispute, fifty-two years in duration, vexed with agitation, and perturbed by irritating and repeated failures to reach a peaceful adjustment. Instead of progress in the direction of a settlement of their boundaries, the contestants could only contemplate, as results of their action, increased obstacles to fair discussion, intensified feelings of injury, extended assertion of title, ruthless appropriation of the territory in controversy, and an unhealed breach in diplomatic relations.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*From Second Lecture on the Venezuela Boundary Dispute, Princeton, N. J., May 28, 1901.*]

It now [1898] became plainly apparent that a new stage had been reached in the progress of our intervention, and that the ominous happenings of a few months had hastened the day when we were challenged to take our exact bearings, lest we should miss the course of honor and national duty. The more direct tone that had been given to our dispatches concerning the dispute, our more insistent and emphatic suggestion of arbitration, the serious reference to the subject in the President's message, the significant resolution passed by Congress earnestly recommending arbitration, all portended a growth of conviction on the part of our Government concerning this controversy, which grew to pronounced disappointment and anxiety when Great Britain, concurrently with these apprising incidents, repeated in direct and positive terms her refusal to submit to arbitration except on condition that a portion of the disputed territory which Venezuela had always claimed to be hers should at the outset be irrevocably conceded to England.

Recreancy to a principle so fundamentally American as the Monroe Doctrine on the part of those charged with the administration of our Government was, of course, out of the question. Inasmuch, therefore, as all our efforts to avoid its assertion had miscarried, there was nothing left for us to do, consistently with national honor, but to take the place of Venezuela in the controversy, so far as that was necessary in vindication of our American doctrine. Our mild and amiable proffers of good offices, and the hopes we indulged

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

that at last they might be the means of securing to a weak sister republic peace and justice, and to ourselves immunity from sterner interposition, were not suited to the new emergency. In our advanced position sympathy for Venezuela and solicitude for her distressed condition were no longer to be the motive power of our conduct, but were to give way to the duty and obligation to protect our own national rights.

.

In 1895 Mr. Olney, at the suggestion of the President, began, with characteristic energy and vigor, to make preparation for the decisive step which it seemed to our Government could not longer be delayed.

Whatever our beliefs or convictions might be, as derived from the examination we had thus far given the case, and however strongly we might be persuaded that Great Britain's pretensions, if allowed, must result in such European colonization as would violate the Monroe doctrine, it would nevertheless have been manifestly improper and heedless on our part to find conclusively against Great Britain, before soliciting her again and in new circumstances to give us an opportunity to judge of the merits of her claims through her submission of them to arbitration.

.

My own surprise and disappointment have arisen more from the honest misunderstanding and the dishonest and insincere misrepresentation on the part of many of our people regarding the motives and purposes of the interference of the Government of the United States in this affair.

.

I hope there are but few of our fellow-citizens who, in their retrospects, do not now acknowledge the good that has come to our nation through this episode in our history. It has established the Monroe doctrine on lasting foundations before the eyes of the world; it has given us a better place

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

in the respect and consideration of the people of all nations, and especially of Great Britain; it has again confirmed our confidence in the overwhelming prevalence among our citizens of disinterested devotion to American honor, and last, but by no means least, it has taught us where to look in the ranks of our countrymen for the best patriotism.

*[Address at the McKinley Memorial Services,
Alexander Hall, Princeton, N. J., September
13, 1901.]*

To-day the grave closes over the dead body of the man but lately chosen by the people of the United States from among their number to represent their nationality, preserve, protect and defend their Constitution, to faithfully execute the laws ordained for their welfare and to safely hold and keep the honor and integrity of the republic. His time of service is ended, not by the lapse of time, but by the tragedy of assassination. He has passed from the public sight, not joyously bearing the garlands and wreaths of his countrymen's approving acclaim, but amid the sobs and tears of a mourning nation. He has gone to his home, not the habitation of earthly peace and quiet night, with domestic comfort and joy, but to the dark and narrow home appointed for all the sons of men and there to rest until the morning light of the resurrection shall gleam in the east.

All our people loved their dead President. His kindly nature and lovable traits of character and his amiable consideration for all about him will long live in the minds and hearts of his countrymen. He loved them in return with such patriotism and unselfishness that in this hour of their grief and humiliation he would say to them: "It is God's will; I am content. If there is a lesson in my life or death,

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

let it be taught to those who still live and have the destiny of their country in their keeping." Let us, then, as our dead is buried out of our sight, seek for the lessons and the admonitions that may be suggested by the life and death which constitute our theme.

First in my thoughts are the lessons to be learned from the career of William McKinley by the young men who make up the student body of our university. These lessons are not obscure or difficult. They teach the value of study and mental training, but they teach more impressively that the road to usefulness and to the only success worth having will be missed or lost except it is sought and kept by the light of those qualities of the heart, which it is sometimes supposed may safely be neglected or subordinated in university surroundings. This is a great mistake. Study and study hard, but never let the thought enter your mind that study alone or the greatest possible accumulation of learning alone will lead you to the heights of usefulness and success.

The man who is universally mourned to-day achieved the highest distinction which his great country can confer on any man, and he lived a useful life. He was not deficient in education, but with all you will hear of his grand career and his services to his country and to his fellow-citizens, you will not hear that the high plane he reached or what he accomplished was due entirely to his education. You will instead constantly hear as accounting for his great success that he was obedient and affectionate as a son, patriotic and faithful as a soldier, honest and upright as a citizen, tender and devoted as a husband, and truthful, generous, unselfish, moral and clean in every relation of life. He never thought any of those things too weak for his manliness. Make no mistake. Here was a most distinguished man, a great man, a useful man—who became distinguished, great and useful because he had, and retained unimpaired, qualities of heart

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

which I fear university students sometimes feel like keeping in the background or abandoning.

There is a most serious lesson for all of us in the tragedy of our late President's death. The shock of it is so great that it is hard at this time to read this lesson calmly. We can hardly fail to see, however, behind the bloody deed of the assassin, horrible figures and faces from which it will not do to turn away. If we are to escape further attack upon our peace and security, we must boldly and resolutely grapple with the monster of anarchy. It is not a thing that we can safely leave to be dealt with by party or partisanship. Nothing can guarantee us against its menace except the teaching and the practice of the best citizenship, the exposure of the ends and aims of the gospel of discontent and hatred of social order, and the brave enactment and execution of repressive laws.

The universities and colleges cannot refuse to join in the battle against the tendencies of anarchy. Their help in discovering and warring against the relationship between the vicious councils and deeds of blood, and their steadying influence upon the elements of unrest, cannot fail to be of inestimable value.

By the memory of our murdered President, let us resolve to cultivate and preserve the qualities that made him great and useful, and let us determine to meet any call of patriotic duty in any time of our country's danger and need.

[From Founder's Day Address at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg, Pa., November 7, 1901.]

Ladies and Gentlemen: When I yielded to the persuasive request of the founder of the Carnegie Institute and consented to appear here to-day and address you I waived a

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

resolution I had deliberately made to do all I could by resisting such persuasion, to bring about my retirement from service as a speaker on occasions like this. I found it impossible to escape the conviction that something had been done in this city by your founder which demonstrated such generosity and such disinterested public spirit that no good citizen should refuse to respond when called on to testify in recognition and appreciation of his noble work.

A most impressive exhibition is here laid before us of the immense accomplishments of patient, persistent work and intelligent industrial-enterprise; and by their side are seen splendid evidences of the free dedication of millions of the wealth gained as a reward of such work and enterprise to the education, the improvement and the elevation of the people without distinction or discrimination. The real impressiveness of this exhibition, however, consists in the fact that the hands and brain and heart of one man may have done substantially all this—thus demonstrating how surely in this land of ours the greatest material success in business follows industry and resolute effort, and at the same time suggesting that such success and the accumulation or possession of a large fortune, create obligations of beneficence which ought to be neither forgotten nor neglected. In point of fact the career of Andrew Carnegie and what he has done for himself and given to others constitute a most valuable object lesson, illustrating all the opportunities our country profusely offers, the invincibility of well-directed endeavors and the meaning of American good citizenship.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*From Address at the Pierce School of Business, Academy of Music, Philadelphia, Pa., December 21, 1901.*]

It is good to start out in life with the idea firmly in one's mind that the world owes you a living. Of course, you are not to give this the highwayman's meaning nor act upon it in a highwayman fashion. Neither should the proposition that the world owes you a living be construed as giving license for all sorts of sharp practices involving work only with the wits and a disregard for the Golden Rule and every other precept which maintains and cultivates human brotherhood.

There seems to be an inclination in these days to adopt the version of the Golden Rule proclaimed by the horse-trading, money-lending character portrayed in a late popular novel—"Do unto the other fellow the way he'd like to do unto you, and do it first." This interpretation of the rule, if seriously proposed, would arouse loud and extended protest, and yet thousands and thousands of those who would protest the loudest are daily and hourly acting in precise accordance with such interpretation. The true Golden Rule lies at the foundation of all that makes life worth living, and is the parent of every success worth gaining.

[*Address at the Augustinian College of St. Thomas of Villanova, Philadelphia, Pa., June 17, 1902.*]

Mr. President: I desire to express in a few words my appreciation of the honor just conferred on me by the College of St. Thomas of Villanova. It is certainly a great gratification to be deemed worthy of such notice by the governing

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

body of an institution of learning within whose walls are found in a marked degree opportunities for a thorough, substantial and useful education.

This incident prominently suggests to my mind the imperious edict of education, which forbids the hindrance or disturbance of its high mission by religious discrimination, social intolerance or any of the barriers that to a greater or less extent separate civilized humanity. The republic of education is based upon identical aim, equal rights in its opportunity and impartiality in the distribution of its rewards and honors. This, it seems to me, is impressively illustrated when the severely Catholic College of St. Thomas of Villanova bestows its highest honorary degree upon one connected with the management and holding an honorary degree in the severely Protestant Princeton University.

The processes of education as they exist in this country have, or always should have, in addition to other characteristics an especial harmony of purpose and design, as they are related to our government; and this should constitute between our institutions of learning a bond of close fraternity. Whatever other objects and purposes may be involved in educational efforts among us, one of its constant and prominent aims should be the cultivation and maintenance of a high standard of American citizenship. When we recall the fact that the beneficence of our scheme of government depends upon the virtue and education of the units of our citizenship, it is at once apparent that an important and common duty rests upon every agency that undertakes the instruction of the youth of our land.

It will be a sad day for our nation when the force of education and the teachers of moral living shall cease to strive in unity to leaven the entire mass of our citizenship, or when their influence in that direction shall be divided and circumscribed by religious and sectarian differences.

I hope I may be allowed to say in conclusion a word to

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

you who to-day complete your college course and receive from those who have taught and guided you a certificate of good scholarship. This is indeed an honorable decoration and indorsement, and one of which you may well be proud. But it means more than this. It involves a solemn and exacting trust; and it imparts a pledge on your part that the education you may have here received shall neither be hid in a napkin nor held tightly to your breast as a means of self-glorification and self-enjoyment. Your graduation is merely the entrance upon your life's work and your diploma may be regarded as only a muniment of title by which you are invested by your Alma Mater with the ownership and possession of an outfit placed in your hands to the end that you may fittingly discharge the service to which you are bound. Selfishness in the use of education, and its sordid possession as an instrument of self-indulgence, is as sinful and should be as strongly resisted as any other form of selfishness. Some of you will find careers in the duties and ministrations of your church; and I suppose others will enter in the busy and bustling arena of worldly activity. But whether in the church or in the world, none of you will avoid the compact with your fellow men which brings with it a grave responsibility to American citizenship—a responsibility infinitely more grave and serious as your influence over others is increased by your education—or holy calling, and more ever present and exacting as you appreciate the obligations of the trust you have assumed.

You may be sure that you will fail to meet these obligations if you are not constantly and solemnly impressed with the conviction that your educational advantages are only valuable as they better fit you to do your duty to your God, to your country and to your fellow men.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Address at Alexander Hall, Princeton, N. J.,
October 25, 1902.*]

Great changes have marked the life of the College of New Jersey since her second president was inaugurated, 154 years ago. The infant college has grown to strong and beautiful maturity. Her roll of graduates is resplendent with great names; her trophies are bright and countless; while the hosts of her alumni hedge her about with love and devotion tirelessly generous, and with a defending care constant and vigilant. And yet to-day she still holds fast to her democratic tendencies, as under a new and greater name she inaugurates her thirteenth president—again with exercises whose external solemnity and decorum tend to please even the unlearned, again with the hope that in her university advancement she will meet with due encouragement from all public spirited and generous minds, and again hoping that the lovers of mankind will wish prosperity and contribute to her support.

These inauguration ceremonies can hardly fail to especially impress by their sober significance those who as trustees of Princeton University are charged with the control and management of her affairs. To-day is revived the regretful memory of severed ties, which with genuine affection and admiration bound them to the president who has just retired after long and distinguished service; and to-day the comfort they have found in the hopeful promise of continued university usefulness and prosperity under a new administration is renewed. They realize in the atmosphere of this occasion, more actually than on other days, that it is a serious thing to be a trustee of Princeton University, and they are not unmindful of the admonition here given them, to seek with sincere endeavor the path that leads to duty

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

and to a just and happy acquittance from the obligations of their trust. If in this endeavor they remember that their trusteeship cannot arise above the source of its creation, they will turn for guidance to the mandates of the deed or grant under which they hold.

My concluding words shall be those of congratulation and assurance. How can Princeton's trustees do otherwise than to heartily congratulate themselves and the university upon the inauguration as her president of one of her sons (Woodrow Wilson), whose career has constantly reflected honor upon his Alma Mater, and whose notable successes and achievements have all been won under the inspiration of the true Princeton spirit. Charged by the mandate of the charter of the College of New Jersey with "the immediate care of the education and government of such students as shall be sent to and admitted into said college," we are certain that the oath by which he binds his conscience will furnish no better pledge than his high character and acute moral sense, that he will "faithfully and impartially perform the duties of his office." Our measure of hope and confidence is more completely filled when to all other reassuring conditions is happily added his extended experience as one of Princeton's most important teachers, and his familiarity with her ideals and aspirations.

It only remains for me to pledge to our newly chosen president the united, willing and effective co-operation of the trustees of Princeton University in all his labors for her prosperity and advancement. His success as president will be our joy as trustees, and neither he nor we can desire a wider opportunity for pride and satisfaction than the consciousness that we are sincerely and faithfully laboring together to accomplish Princeton's mission, and have appreciated the high duty and impressive significance of instructing the youth of our land in the learned languages, in the liberal arts and sciences and in religious truth.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[From Address at Dedication of the New Home of the Chamber of Commerce, New York City, November 11, 1902.]

It is a curious fact that, although the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York has sturdily and usefully lived for more than a hundred and thirty years, we are celebrating to-day its first possession of a permanent home. This circumstance has, however, a meaning and significance quite in keeping with the disposition and methods of the organization. Its purposes have been practical, and the occasions for its useful and beneficial work have been so constant, that it has been abundantly content to make a career and add lustre to its name before providing for itself a local habitation; but no architectural finish and no ornate decoration befits this beautiful edifice so well as the bright coloring reflected from the splendid achievements proudly borne by those who now enter upon its occupancy.

It need not surprise us if the popular estimate of this business organization should fail to take into account all that it had done to promote high and patriotic purposes not always related, in a narrow sense, to commerce. No associated body of our citizens felt more deeply and effectively the throbbing of patriotism and devotion to country when our government was threatened by armed rebellion; its protest and aid were immediately forthcoming when, afterward, an insidious attack was made upon our financial integrity through an attempted debasement of our currency; from no quarter has a more earnest and insistent demand been heard for the adjustment of international disputes by arbitration; its espousal of the cause of business education among our people has been hearty and practical; it has advocated enlarged reciprocity of business relations between nations, and

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

the removal of their vexatious hindrances; and last, but by no means least, it has promptly and with an open hand relieved distress and alleviated disaster.

Such incidents as these illustrate the organization's beneficent accomplishments in the advancement of civilization and in furtherance of the improvement of humanity. This occasion most palpably and prominently suggests the stupendous evolution of the enormous commerce of to-day from the beginnings of trade, when the brothers of Joseph went down into Egypt to buy corn, and since Tyre and Sidon rose and fell. From the littleness of trade and barter, limited to man's narrow necessities, or often arising from the needs of aggressive or subjugating war, there has been developed an agency which has not only made the activities of business as wide as the world in scope and volume, but which peacefully leads the way to brotherhood among the most distantly separated peoples, points out the path of universal civilization, and fixes for the nations of the earth the standard of national greatness.

What I have said must not be understood as in the least intimating that commerce should be an altruistic or a benevolent affair, managed on lines of amiability and concession. Such a conception would be absurdly at fault. Commerce is born of enterprise, and enterprise in this busy, bustling age, is born of struggle and competition. But the struggle and competition need not be to the death. Alertness and keenness in securing business opportunities do not by any means import unmindfulness of all else save ruthfulness and ravenous snatching.

I have attempted to suggest how practicable business activity can be mingled with enlightenment and social betterment, and how commercial organizations have already woven them together. They are estopped from disclaiming their obligation to continue the work. It rests with them

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

not only to enlarge and strengthen by increased enterprise the fabric they have thus produced, but to make it brighter and more beautiful by adding to it a larger infusion of that which touches the welfare of mankind in every moral and social phase and condition.

[From Address to Southern Educational Association, New York City, April 14, 1903.]

I have come here to-night as a sincere friend of the negro, and I should be very sorry to suppose that my good and regular standing in such company needed support at this late day either from certificate or confession of faith. Inasmuch, however, as there may be some differences of thought and sentiment among those who profess to be friends of the negro, I desire to declare myself as belonging to the Booker Washington-Tuskegee section of the organization. I believe that the days of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" are passed. I believe that neither the decree that made the slaves free, nor the enactment that suddenly invested them with the rights of citizenship any more purged them of their racial and slavery-bred imperfections and deficiencies than it changed the color of their skins.

I believe that among the nearly nine millions of negroes who have intermixed with our citizenship there is still a grievous amount of ignorance, a sad amount of viciousness and a tremendous amount of laziness and thriftlessness. I believe that these conditions inexorably present to the white people of the United States—to each in his environment and under the mandate of good citizenship—a problem, which neither enlightened self-interest nor the higher motive of human sympathy will permit them to put aside.

I believe our fellow-countrymen in the Southern and late

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

slave-holding States, surrounded by about nine-tenths, or nearly eight millions, of this entire negro population, and who regard their material prosperity, their peace, and even the safety of their civilization, interwoven with the negro problem, are entitled to our utmost consideration and sympathetic fellowship. I am thoroughly convinced that the efforts of Booker Washington and the methods of Tuskegee Institute point the way to a safe and beneficent solution of the vexatious negro problem at the South; and I know that the good people at the North, who have aided these efforts and methods, have illustrated the highest and best citizenship and the most Christian and enlightened philanthropy.

I cannot, however, keep out of my mind to-night the thought that, with all we of the North may do, the realization of our hopes for the negro must, after all, mainly depend, except so far as it rests with the negroes themselves, upon the sentiment and conduct of the leading and responsible white men of the South, and upon the maintenance of a kindly and helpful feeling on their part toward those in their midst who so much need their aid and encouragement.

I do not know how it may be with other Northern friends of the negro, but I have faith in the honor and sincerity of the respectable white people of the South in their relations with the negro and his improvement and well being. They do not believe in the social equality of the race, and they make no false pretence in regard to it. That this does not grow out of hatred of the negro is very plain. It seems to me that there are abundant sentiment and abundant behavior among the Southern whites toward the negro to make us doubt the justice of charging this denial of social equality to prejudice, as we usually understand the word. Perhaps it is born of something so much deeper and more imperious than prejudice as to amount to a radical instinct. Whatever it is, let us remember that it had condoned the negro's share in the humiliation and spoliation of the white

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

men of the South during the saturnalia of reconstruction days, and has allowed a kindly feeling for the negro to survive the time when the South was deluged by the perilous flood of indiscriminate, unintelligent and blighting negro suffrage. Whatever it is, let us try to be tolerant and considerate of the feelings and even the prejudice or radical instinct of our white fellow-countrymen of the South who, in the solution of the negro problem must, amid their own surroundings, bear the heat of the day and stagger under the weight of the white man's burden.

In summing up the whole matter, there is one thing of which we can be absolutely and unreservedly certain. When we aid Tuskegee Institute and agencies like it, striving for the mental and manual education of the negro at the South, we are in every point of view rendering him the best possible service. Whatever may be his ultimate destiny, we are thus helping to fit him for filling his place and bearing its responsibilities. We are sowing well in the soil at "the bottom of life" the seeds of the black man's development and usefulness. These seeds will not die, but will sprout and grow, and, if it be within the wise purposes of God, the hardened surface of no untoward sentiment or prejudice can prevent the bursting forth of the blade and plant of the negro's appointed opportunity into the bright sunlight of a cloudless day.

*[From Address at Dedication of Buildings of
the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St.
Louis, April 30, 1903.]*

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen: The impressiveness of this occasion is greatly enhanced by reason of an atmosphere of prophecy's fulfilment which surrounds it.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

The thought is in our minds that we are amid awe-inspiring surroundings, where we may see and feel things foretold a century ago. We are here in recognition of the one hundredth anniversary of an event which doubled the area of the young American nation, and dedicated a new and wide domain to American progress and achievement. The treaty whose completion we to-day commemorate was itself a prophecy of our youthful nation's mighty growth and development. At its birth prophets in waiting joyously foretold the happiness which its future promised. He who was the chief actor for the United States in its negotiation, as he signed the perfected instrument, thus declared its effect and far-reaching consequence: "The instrument which we have just signed will cause no blood to be shed. It prepares ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures. The Mississippi and the Missouri will see them succeed one another—truly worthy of the regard and care of Providence in the bosom of equality under just laws—freed from the errors of superstition and the scourges of bad government."

He who represented the nation with whom we negotiated, when he afterward gave to the world his account of the transaction, declared: "The consequences of the cession of Louisiana will extend to the most distant posterity. It interests vast regions that will become by their civilization and power the rivals of Europe before another century commences," and, warmed to enthusiasm by the developments already in view, and greater ones promised, he added: "Who can contemplate without vivid emotions this spectacle of the happiness of the present generation and the certain pledges of the prosperity of numberless generations that will follow? At these magnificent prospects the heart beats with joy in the breasts of those who were permitted to see the dawn of these bright days, and who are assured that so many happy passages will be accomplished."

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

There was another prophet, greater than all—prophet and priest—who, higher up the mount than others, heard more distinctly the voice of destiny, whose heart and soul were full of prophecy, and whose every faculty was tense and strong as he wrought for our nation's advancement and for the peace and contentment of his fellow-countrymen. From the fulness of gratitude and joy he thus wrote to one who had assisted in the consummation of this great treaty: "For myself and my country, I thank you for the aid you have given in it; and I congratulate you on having lived to give you these aids in a transaction replete with blessings to unborn millions of men, and which will mark the face of a portion of the globe as extensive as that which now composes the United States of America," and when, as President, he gave notice in a message to Congress of the actual occupancy by the government of its new acquisition, he happily presaged the future, and gave assurance of his complete faith and confidence in the beneficent result of our nation's extension in these words:

"On this important acquisition, so favorable to the immediate interests of our Western citizens, so auspicious to the peace and security of the nation in general, which adds to our country territories so extensive and fertile, and to our citizens new brethren to partake of the blessings of freedom and self-government, I offer to Congress and our country my sincere congratulations."

Our prophets do not live forever. They are not here to see how stupendously the growth and development of the American nation on the domain newly acquired in their day have during a short century outrun their anticipations and predictions. Almost within the limits of the territory gained by the Louisiana Purchase we have already carved out twelve great States—leaving still a large residue, whose occupants are even now loudly clamoring for Statehood. Instead of the five thousand white settlers who occupied

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

this domain in 1803, it now contains fifteen millions of industrious, enterprising, intelligent Americans, constituting about one-fifth of the population of all our States; and these are defiantly contesting for premiership in wealth and material success with the oldest of our States, and are their equals in every phase of advanced intelligence and refined civilization.

The States which composed the Union when its possessions were so greatly extended have since that time seen the centre of the nation's population carried more than five hundred miles westward by the swift and constant current of settlement toward this new domain, and the citizens of those States have seen flocking thither "new brethren to partake of the blessings of freedom and self-government" in multitudes greater than even Jefferson would have dared to foretell.

I shall not enter the field of statistics for the purpose of giving details of the development of the territory acquired under the treaty we commemorate. I have referred to such development in some of its general features, by way of suggesting how distinctly the century just ended gives assurance of a startling and superabundant final fulfillment of the prophecies of its beginning.

Thus we may well recall in these surroundings the wonderful measure of prophecy's fulfillment within the span of a short century, the spirit, the patriotism and the civic virtue of Americans who lived a hundred years ago, and God's overruling of the wrath of man and His devious ways for the blessing of our nation.

We are all proud of our American citizenship. Let us leave this place with this feeling stimulated by the sentiments born of this occasion. Let us appreciate more keenly than ever how vitally necessary it is to our country's weal that every one within its citizenship should be clean minded

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

in political aim and aspiration, sincere and honest in his conception of our country's mission, and aroused to higher and more responsive patriotism by the reflection that it is a solemn thing to belong to people favored of God.

*[From Address at Carnegie Hall, New York,
May 27, 1903.]*

We and all our countrymen protest in the strongest language at our command and with all the moral force which our American citizenship gives us against these murders and outrages, and we insist that swift and condign punishment ought to be visited upon their barbarous perpetrators. Nor is this all. We will, in a fashion quite American, and with an openhandedness always displayed when human distress appeals to us, assist the families made headless and robbed of support by murder, and those who, wounded and terrorized, and in hunger and want, have been driven from their homes.

I know how easily our indignation prompts us to the use of strong language; and I know how naturally we are tempted to indulge in overdrawn statements and extravagant demands on such occasions as this; but I am sure that in our characterization of the crimes we here contemplate, and in expressing our detestation of the criminals, we cannot go too far.

I desire to avoid sounding a discordant note; but yet I cannot refrain from the suggestion that the moral effect of our protest and the usefulness of this demonstration will not be lessened if we require indubitable proof before we accuse the government of Russia of guilty complicity in the crimes committed within her borders; and it seems to me we may well consider the proper relationship between

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

nations before we demand too pronounced interference on the part of our own government.

I do not say that the Russian Government may not, by sins of omission or commission, be justly deserving of our condemnation; but we should not be swift to assume this, when we remember that we ourselves have found it impossible to prevent mob violence and murderous assaults upon the Chinese in Wyoming and the Italians in Louisiana. I am distinctly and unequivocally in favor of informing our government in unmistakable terms of our indignant and deep condemnation of the late outrages upon the Jews in Russia; but I hope that, in obedience to the dictates of American conservatism and moderation, which are never long obscured, we may be even now just and fair, and that we will be content to forego perplexing and extreme demands upon our government for violent action.

Our public servants should hear us speak, but we certainly ought to be justified in trusting the care of our national honor and duty in the premises, and the enforcement of the humane instincts of our people, so far as this may be within governmental action, to those charged with the responsibilities of managing our public affairs.

In the mean time, let the people of the United States, gathered together in such assemblages as this, in every part of the land, fearlessly speak to the civilized world protesting against every pretence of civilization that permits mediæval persecution, against every bigoted creed that forbids religious toleration and freedom of conscience, against all false enlightenment that excuses hatred and cruelty toward any race of men, and against all spurious forms of government protection that withhold from any human being the right to live in safety and toil in peace.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Letter to Hon. E. Y. Webb, Princeton, N. J.,
March 2, 1904.*]

Dear Sir: It is a small concern to me that a Mr. Scott has seen fit to use my name in a display of his evil propensities on the floor of the House of Representatives.

In answer to your inquiry, however, I have to say of his statement that a colored man, C. H. J. Taylor, took luncheon with me at the White House, that it is a deliberate fabrication out of the whole cloth.

As far as Mr. Taylor is concerned, I understand, prior to his appointment as Registrar of Deeds at Washington, that he had served as an assistant in the office of the City Attorney at Kansas City. His nomination as Registrar was confirmed by the Senate, and he served in that place with intelligence and efficiency. He has since died. Some people restrain themselves from abusing the dead.

My inquiries concerning Mr. Taylor before his appointment, my observation of him during his incumbency, and the little I have known of him since satisfy me that his character is very unjustly attacked in the diatribe of Mr. Scott.

One charge is made against Mr. Taylor by Mr. Scott which he doubly clinches with truth when he declares: "He was a black negro." I am led, however, to doubt his familiarity with his subject when he adds, "as black as you ever saw."

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*Letter to Hon. Charles L. Bartlett, Princeton, N. J., March 14, 1904.*]

My Dear Mr. Bartlett: I have received a number of inquiries similar to yours touching my invitation to Fred Douglass to a wedding reception and signing, while Governor of New York, a bill providing for mixed schools.

I do not suppose that Mr. Thomas E. Watson believed or had any reason to believe either of the allegations when he made them. At any rate, they are both utterly and absolutely false.

I cannot afford to devote a great deal of time in denying such foolish tales. I shall, therefore, attempt to cover every phase of the subject once and for all. It so happens that I have never in my official position, either when sleeping or waking, alive or dead, on my head or on my heels, dined, lunched, or supped, or invited to a wedding reception any colored man, woman, or child. If, however, I have decided to do any of these things, neither the fear of Mr. Watson nor any one else would have prevented me.

When I was Governor a movement was made in the Legislature to abolish separate colored schools in New York City. I opposed the measure and it failed. I do not find that I interposed a veto, and have forgotten the course the matter took; but I know that whatever I did was in favor of maintaining separate colored schools instead of having them mixed.

[*From Lecture on the Chicago Strike, Princeton, N. J., May 2, 1904.*]

In the last days of June, 1894, a very determined and ugly labor disturbance broke out in the City of Chicago. Almost in a night it grew to full proportions of malevolence

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

and danger. Rioting and violence were its early accompaniments, and it spread so swiftly that within a few days it had reached nearly the entire Western and Southwestern sections of the country. Railroad transportation was especially involved in its attacks. The carriage of United States mail was interrupted, Inter-State commerce was obstructed, and railroad property was riotously destroyed. Attorney-General Olney, in his official report, correctly defined the purpose and design of this outbreak in these words: "To compel a settlement of disputes between the Pullman Company and a portion of its employees, nothing else was meditated or aimed at than a complete stoppage of all the railroad transportation of the country, State and Inter-State, and freight as well as passenger."

The widespread trouble had its inception in a strike by the employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company, which began on the 11th day of May, 1894, and was provoked by a reduction of wages. The cause of the Pullman strikers was taken up by the American Railway Union, an association designed to include the great mass of unorganized railway employees of all classes. Members of the American Railway Union refused to handle Pullman cars or trains bearing them. At that time three-fourths of the railroad mileage of the country was under contract to use Pullman cars.

The same railroad companies which had contracted to use these Pullman cars upon their lines had contracts with the United States Government for the carriage of mails, and were, of course, also largely engaged in Inter-State commerce. It need hardly be said that of necessity the trains which observed the purpose of Inter-State commerce, were, as a general rule, those to which the Pullman cars were also attached.

The officers of the railway Union established headquarters in the City of Chicago, and from there gave directions

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

for the maintenance and management of the strike. Reports soon came from various quarters that the mails were completely obstructed, trains were seized and destroyed, and other violent disorders committed. Thereupon the Attorney General immediately sent a dispatch to the United States District Attorneys instructing them to see that the passage of regular trains, carrying United States mails in the usual and ordinary way, be not obstructed.

Wherever there was interference with the mails or restraint of commerce the United States courts were appealed to for relief. In Chicago the United States Marshal was authorized to employ special deputies and special counsel for the Government.

In a letter to this special counsel, the Attorney General in making suggestions concerning legal proceedings, wrote: "It has seemed to me that if the rights of the United States were vigorously asserted in Chicago, the origin and center of the demonstration, the result would be to make it a failure everywhere else, and to prevent its spread over the entire country."

The desperate and far-reaching character of this disturbance was not in the least underestimated by executive officials at Washington, and it must be borne in mind that, while menacing conditions were moving swiftly and accumulating at Chicago, like conditions, inspired and supported from that central point, existed in many other places within the area of the strike's contagion.

Of course, it was hoped by those charged with the responsibility of dealing with the situation that a direct assertion of authority by the Marshal or a resort to the restraining power of the courts would prove sufficient for the emergency. Notwithstanding, however, an anxious desire to avoid measures more radical, the fact had not been overlooked that a contingency might occur which would compel

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

a resort to military force. The key to dispatches to the Federal officers at Chicago from the Attorney General may be found in the self-defensive authority of our nation to directly overcome resistance to the exercise of the legitimate and Constitutional functions as related to the transportation of mails, the operation of Inter-State commerce, and the preservation of the property of the United States, and in certain constitutional and statutory provisions. It was the intention of the Attorney General to suggest in these dispatches that immediate and authoritative information should be given to the Washington authorities if a time should arrive when under the sanction of general executive authority, or the Constitutional provisions, a military force would be necessary at the scene of disturbance.

The strike situation grew rapidly worse. Utter defiance of court orders, lawlessness, and rioting culminated in the formal request of the United States Marshal, supported by the Judge and attorneys of the Federal court, for Federal troops. This request was at once met by orders to the War Department, and soldiers from Fort Sheridan were soon on the scene. The dispatch containing the direction of this procedure concluded as follows:

“The mere preservation of peace and good order in the city is of course the province of the City and State authorities.”

An executive proclamation issued by the President calling upon all to refrain from unlawful obstruction, combinations, and assemblages, together with the wise use of Federal troops and the enforcement of the processes of the Federal courts resulting in the arrest of the officers of the American Railway Union stopped the rioting, the strike ended, and commerce and the mails proceeded unobstructed.

I hope I have been thus far successful in my effort to satisfactorily exhibit the extensive reach and perilous tend-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

ency of the convulsion under consideration, the careful promptness which characterized the interference of the Government, the constant desire of the National Administration to avoid extreme measures, the careful limitations of its interference to purposes which clearly seemed to be within its Constitutional competency and duty, and the gratifying and important results of its conservative but stern activity.

The Supreme Court of the United States has written the concluding words of this history, tragical in many of its details, and in every page provoking sober reflection. Nevertheless, even those most nearly related by executive responsibility to the troublous days whose story is told, may at this time congratulate themselves that they have had to do with the marking out the way and clearing the path, now unchangeably established, that shall hereafter guide our Nation safely and surely in the exercise of all the functions belonging to it which represent the people's trust.

[From Address at Installation of Dr. John Huston Finley as President of the College of the City of New York, Carnegie Hall, September 29, 1904.]

It is altogether appropriate that the advantages of a free collegiate education offered to the youth of every grade and condition in life should be first exhibited in the metropolis of our nation. By reason of the cosmopolitan character of its population the project has here the widest possible scope; and, as all look to the City of New York for leadership in the largest enterprises, as well as for the greatest generosity in every noble work, its free college, seen from

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

every direction, should serve as an example, an inspiration to every city in the land. It is well, too, that such an institution, founded to educate the poor on entire equality with the rich, should be supported by the wealth accumulated in the center of our country's trade and business—thus affording a constant denial of the accusations of those who seek to teach the thoughtless that the sport of wealth is the oppression of the poor.

I hope it will not be deemed ungracious if I suggest, in conclusion, that with all the city's generous appropriation of money for its free college, the duty the citizens of New York owe to it will not be fully met until they give absolute proof that in the highest sense "where their treasure is there will their heart be also." That this free college is a New York institution, in which is centered the hope and pride of every citizen of New York, will not be demonstrated by liberal city appropriations for its support, or by the voluntary service of public-spirited citizens to its management. In addition to these things there should be stimulated in every quarter a growing desire to secure its advantages to the end that the youth of New York, from every social plane and in every condition of life, shall crowd the largest structure that may be built for its use, and there, within its walls, the College of the City of New York, with all else it may impart, should constantly teach the democracy of American education.

[From Address at Carnegie Hall, New York City, October 21, 1904.]

A party may indulge in self-congratulation when it has effectually defended the people in their daily life from the rapacity of trusts and combinations which thrive as private

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

enterprise is strangled, and which grow fat, as, by their control of the cost of living, they cause the homes of our land to grow lean; but the people will hardly approve the vociferous pride which claims that a successful attack upon the merger of the stock of certain competing railroads has rescued them from their oppressors.

They will not fail to observe that the huge combinations which directly injure them still flourish, and they may also recall how the consternation among those implicated in such schemes who once feared a general pursuit was quieted when the soothing assurance reached them that the government did not intend to "run amuck." Nor will they probably accept the suggestion that repentance or a change of heart accounts for the manner by which the threats and animosity of many powerful trust magnates have been displaced by their approval and substantial support of the party which seeks to convince the people of its trust-destroying proclivities.

This item of the account will not be passed over without a reference to the platform statement that "protection, which guards and develops our industries, is a cardinal policy of the Republican Party," nor without noting the declaration of the candidate standing on this platform that the protective tariff policy ought now to be considered as definitely established." The question will be asked, Which are the American industries that at this time are in need of the shelter of such a tariff as that now in force; and is there never to be a time when American enterprise, American ingenuity and American opportunity will free our industries from their stage of infancy, and permit American aspiration and American self-reliance to cast away the leading strings of a "definitely established" protective policy?

The people know that this policy has given rise to reckless greed and to a worship of gain menacing patriotic sentiment and our love for high standards of national greatness,

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

and they know that at best it lays burdens on the consumers of our land.

With these tendencies and these burdens in mind they will ask the party professing its anxiety to restrain or destroy harmful combinations why a protective tariff policy should be considered definitely established which, in addition to its other sins, contributes to a situation that permits a combination or monopoly to sell abroad articles of our manufacture at lower prices than are exacted from our own citizens at home. They will see the sheer wrongfulness of this condition so clearly, and they will so firmly believe that in this way they are made to bear tariff burdens in order that they may be discriminated against in favor of foreign consumers, that they will not be satisfied with the assurance that the tariff has nothing to do with trusts.

They will consign such an explanation to the limbo of negation, to take its place with the outworn deception that the foreign exporter pays our tariff taxes, and with two other sadly weak pretences—one that the tariff should be reformed only by its friends, and the other that the party which believes that a protective tariff policy ought to be considered as definitely established loves reciprocity in trade.

When the platform boast is made that "in the Philippines we have suppressed insurrection, established order and given to life and property a security never known there before," the confession will be extorted that the insurrection suppressed was no more than the crushing out of resistance to the army of the United States while engaged in the subjugation of a people thousands of miles from our shores, whom an incident of a war undertaken by us in aid of those struggling for liberty and independence in another quarter had put within our power; and the people will ask under what sanction was this subjugation entered upon by a nation pledged to the doctrine that all just powers of

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

government are derived from the consent of the governed, and they will deny that imperialism and our forcible rule of foreign people have any place among the purposes of our national life.

When credit is claimed for securing a route for a long-desired interoceanic waterway, it will not be in a carping spirit that the people will look at the incidents accompanying this achievement. They do not undervalue the object gained, but they keenly appreciate the importance and value of our national honor, our national good name and, above all, our national morality. Not even the great worth of the thing accomplished will close the eyes of thoughtful Americans to the fact that in reaching the result we have exhibited such international ruthlessness and such selfish international immorality as have lastingly debilitated our reputation for good faith and established a precedent which, in time to come, may be invoked to justify the most startling and reprehensible abandonment of the high ideals which have made us an example of the best civilization—a people, happy as we are intelligently free, strong as we are scrupulously just, and everywhere trusted and honored as we undeviatingly follow in the way of uprightness and rectitude.

[*Letter to Thomas F. Ryan, Esq., 'Accepting Trusteeship in the Equitable Life Society, Princeton, N. J., June 12, 1905.'*]

I have this morning received your letter asking me to act as one of three trustees to hold the stock of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, which has lately been acquired by you and certain associates, and to use the voting power of such stock in the selection of directors of said society. After a little reflection, I have determined I ought to accept

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

this service. I assume this duty upon the express condition that, so far as the trustees are to be vested discretion in the selection of directors, they are to be absolutely free and undisturbed in the exercise of their judgment; and that, so far as they are to act formally in voting for the directors conceded to policy-holders, a fair and undoubted expression of policy-holding choice will be forthcoming.

The very general anxiety aroused by the recent unhappy dissensions in the management of the Equitable Society furnishes proof of the near relationship of our people to life insurance. These dissensions have not only injured the fair fame of the company immediately affected, but have impaired popular faith and confidence in the security of life insurance itself as a provision for those who, in thousands of cases, would be otherwise helpless against the afflictive visitations of fate.

The character of this business is such that those who manage and direct it are charged with a grave trust for those who, necessarily, must rely on their fidelity. In these circumstances they have no right to regard the places they hold as ornamental, but rather as positions of work and duty and watchfulness. Above all things they have no right to deal with the interests intrusted to them in such a way as to subserve or become confused or complicated with their personal transactions or ventures.

While the hope that I might aid in improving the plight of the Equitable Society has led me to accept the trusteeship you tender, I cannot rid myself of the belief that what has overtaken this company is liable to happen to other insurance companies and fiduciary organizations as long as lax ideas of responsibility in places of trust are tolerated by our people. The high pressure of speculation, the madness of inordinate business scheming, and the chances taken in new and uncertain enterprises are constantly present temptations, too often successful in leading managers

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

and directors away from scrupulous loyalty and fidelity to the interests of others confided to their care.

We can better afford to slacken our pace than to abandon our old, simple, American standards of honesty; and we shall be safer if we regain our old habit of looking at the appropriation to personal uses of property and interests held in trust, in the same light as other forms of stealing.

*[From Address at Unveiling of the J. Stirling
Morton Statue at Nebraska City, Neb.,
October 28, 1905.]*

None of us should go from this place untouched by the lesson which this statue teaches. Here we should learn that character, uncorrupted by the contagion of ignoble things and unweakened by the corrosion of sordidness and money madness, is the cornerstone of every truly useful life and of every genuinely noble achievement.

We have fallen upon days when our people are more than ever turning away from their old faith in the saving grace of character and flocking to the worship of money-making idols. Daily and hourly, in the light of investigation and exposure, characterless lives are seen in appalling numbers, without chart or compass, crowded upon the rocks and shoals of faithlessness and breach of trust. How ill have these wrecked lives exchanged the safe course and the harbor of honor and usefulness which character and rectitude point out for a wild and headlong rush over unknown seas in a consuming search for pelf.

If our people ever return again to their trust in character as a steady force in our restless enterprise and immense material growth, it will be when they take to heart the full significance of such a commemoration as this. We memo-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

realize a man who not only earned the lasting honor of his countrymen, but whose life, in all things worthy of high endeavor, was abundantly successful.

As a pioneer, who labored to improve the new country of his home, he lived to see it blossom as the rose; as a scholar he cultivated his own mental powers and acquired knowledge, in order that he might be able to instruct and benefit others; as a statesman he left the impress of high aspiration upon our citizenship and of usefulness and fidelity upon our public life, and as the father of tree planting he gained the grateful remembrance of the old and the young of the present generation and that of generations yet unborn. All these things he wrought out through the power of a strong, wholesome, patriotic and beautiful character.

Let those of us who were his fellow citizens and knew his life, heed his example, to the end that our work may be more unselfish and more loyal to the purposes of God and the betterment of our fellow men.

Let his sons, in whom was centred all his worldly pride, remember that the only success that is satisfying and honorable is that achieved in their father's spirit and high resolve. It is fitting that this monument should recall memories that must not die. It is well that it should arouse the living to noble endeavor. But to the dead it avails not. He has reared his own monument "more durable than brass or stone."

[From Address at Carnegie Hall, New York City, November 30, 1905.]

We join to-day in "the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in the United States." This event created such an important epoch in our coun-

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

try's development, and its relationship to our nation's evolution is so clearly seen in light of present conditions, that every thoughtful American citizen must recognize the fitness and usefulness of its commemoration. To those of the Jewish faith it recalls a foothold gained that meant for them a home and peaceful security after centuries of homelessness and ruthless persecution. To those of us professing a different religious faith it brings to mind the landing upon our soil of an element of population whose wonderful increase and marked traits of character have added a powerful factor to our national progress and achievement.

All nationalities have contributed to the composite population of the United States—many of them in greater number than the Jews. And yet I believe that it can be safely claimed that few, if any, of those contributing nationalities have directly and indirectly been more influential in giving shape and direction to the Americanism of to-day.

What our Jewish fellow citizens have done to increase the material advancement of the United States is apparent on every hand, and must stand confessed. But the best and highest Americanism is something more than materialistic. Its spirit, which should make it imperishable and immortal, exists in its patriotic aspirations and exalting traditions. On this higher plane of our nationality and in the atmosphere of ennobling sentiment we feel also the touch of Jewish relationship.

If the discovery of America prophesied the coming of our nation, and fixed the place of its birth, let us not forget that Columbus on his voyage in search of a new world was aided in a most important way by Jewish support and comradeship.

If the people of the United States glory in their free institutions, as the crown of man's aspiration for self-government, let them not be unmindful of the fact that the Jews among us have in their care and keeping the his-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

tory and traditions of an ancient Jewish commonwealth astonishingly like our own republic in its democracy and underlying intention.

When we recall the story of the war for our independence and rejoice in the indomitable courage and fortitude of our revolutionary heroes, we should not fail to remember how well the Jews of America performed their part in the struggle. Nor can we overlook the valuable aid cheerfully contributed by our Jewish fellow countrymen in every national emergency that has since overtaken us.

We have to-day only to look about us to discover that in every phase of present American enterprise and effort the Jews of the United States, with unrestricted toleration and equality, are making their impress more and more deep and permanent upon our citizenship. They accumulate wealth without exhibiting or encouraging harmful extravagance and business recklessness. They especially care for their poor, but they do it sensibly and in a way that avoids pauper-making.

On every side are seen monuments of their charitable work and evidences of their determination to furnish their children and youth equipment for usefulness and self-support.

It is time for the unreserved acknowledgment that the toleration and equal opportunity accorded to the Jews of the United States have been abundantly repaid to us. And in making up the accounts let us not omit to put to their credit the occasion presented to us through our concession to them of toleration and equality of strengthening by wholesome exercise the spirit of broadminded justice and consideration, which, as long as we are true to ourselves, we must inflexibly pronounce as the distinguishing and saving trait of our nationality.

I know that human prejudice—especially that growing out of race or religion—is cruelly inveterate and lasting.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

But, wherever in the world prejudice against the Jews still exists, there can be no place for it among the people of the United States, unless they are heedless of good faith, government and insensible to every pledge involved in their boasted equality of citizenship.

We celebrate an event in the history of our country fraught with important results, deeply concerning us all as citizens of the United States. In the spirit of true Americanism let us all rejoice in the good which the settlement we commemorate has brought to the nation in which we all find safety and protection; and uninterrupted by differences in religious faith, let us, under the guidance of the genius of Toleration and Equality, here consecrate ourselves more fully than ever to united and devoted labor in the field of our common nation's advancement and exaltation.

*[From Address at Centennial Meeting of the
Medical Society of the State of New York,
Albany, January 30, 1906.]*

For the purpose of our argument, let us divide humanity into two sections—one composed of a few doctors, and the other embracing the many millions of their actual or prospective patients.

I appear for myself and these millions, and I claim at the outset that, notwithstanding our large majority, the medical section of mankind has in one way or another curtailed the opportunity of freedom of thought and considerate hearing, to which we are entitled by the laws of nature and of nature's God. We acknowledge that the world owes this minority a living. With a generous delicacy which reaches sublimity, we are, on their account not

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

overobedient to the laws of health: and we sometimes pay their bills. When sick we submit with more or less humility to their orders. If we recover it is only to take our place on the waiting list still subject to further advice. If we do not recover it is left to us to do the dying.

We have come to think of ourselves as worthy of confidence in the treatment of our ailments; and we believe if this was accorded to us in greater measure it would be better for the treatment and better for us. We do not claim that we should be called in consultation in all our illnesses, but we would be glad to have a little more explanation of the things done to us. We do not like to think of our doctors as veiled prophets or mysterious attendants, shut out from all sick-bed comradeship except through cold professional ministrations, and all the time irresponsive to our utmost needs of sympathetic assurance. Nor should it be considered strange if thousands among us, influenced by a sentiment just now astonishingly prevalent, should allow themselves to be disturbed by the spectre of a medical trust in mystery and like all who are trust affrighted should cry out for greater publicity between physician and patient.

[From Address at Annual Banquet of the Periodical Publishers' Association, Atlantic City, N. J., May 4, 1906.]

I don't like the introduction of the chairman. He twitted me of my age, and there comes a time in a man's life when the reading of the burial service is no joke. I am simply here to give you a greeting, and accordingly I extend a hearty greeting to the publishers and their guests, and wish for them all the happiness and good fortune they

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

respectively deserve. You can divide that up as you think best.

I hope I may be allowed to gain the better of my modesty and trespass sufficiently beyond my limit of speech to express a thought and a desire which I believe are shared by thousands of our countrymen who read the daily newspapers as well as the periodicals. We feel that in the present circumstances these should in scope and purpose be distinctly separated. We mean by this that so long as our newspapers keep the field they seem to have chosen for themselves nothing should tempt our periodicals to follow them. We read daily papers in the hope of keeping pace with the daily news and for the opportunity they furnish for the cultivation of our alertness of judgment in attempting to determine the truth and falsity of their contents.

However good or however bad they may be, I suppose we must abide the daily newspapers as they are. Perhaps under the laws of their environment, the most of them do the best they can.

If, supplementary to the daily news, there is presented to us as often as once a week or once a month, a comprehensive view of passing events, with the deliberate judicial and helpful suggestions of those who by study and experience are fitted to interpret current conditions, no thoughtful open-minded citizen who reads need lack either valuable information or stimulating instruction.

I beg to conclude with one other thought touching the relation of our periodicals to certain tendencies now distinctly apparent in both our private and public life. We have fallen upon a time of such unrest and awakening that a disposition to tear down, to uproot, seems to prevail on every side. This has grown to be a manifestation of intense resentment on the part of our people, aroused by a situation challenging their love of our good name and

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

their devotion to the purposes of our free institutions. I believe there is a danger that stands opposite this passionate temper that should be carefully watched. I refer to our liability to forget in the heat of our righteous indignation that whatever may be pulled down or uprooted something better must be put in its place.

We cannot act safely or hope for reformatory results unless we look beyond the confusion and rubbish and unsightly waste of demolishing activity. The ultimate consequence of demolition and precisely what should be built and planted when the stage of pulling down and uprooting has been passed, should be clearly in the minds of those who assume to lead in the crusade against existing evils.

[From Address at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Academy of Music, Philadelphia, Pa., May 9, 1906.]

This national conference of charities and correction in view of the object it seeks to accomplish, may well be described as a general clearing house of charitable and benevolent work. Through its constituent agencies it touches the individual, and through the betterment of the individual it serves the nation.

As often as the poor and needy are wisely and properly fed and clothed, not only is human want and misery relieved and God's law of charity obeyed, but the grateful sentiment and the renewed interest in life aroused among the beneficiaries together with the stimulation of sympathetic feeling among the benefactors, brings them all within a closer brotherhood of good citizenship.

As often as the sordidness of employers or the reckless selfishness and indifference of parents are routed in the

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

battle against the wicked abuses of child labor, not only are careless mirth and cheerful health, the gifts of God, stolen from childhood, restored to the children of our land, but the nation regains the assurance that the embryo citizens thus redeemed will in due time be found among its sturdy, wholesome and contented supporters.

As often as sad-faced and forlorn orphans are gladdened by tenderness and wisely fostered and cared for, not only is the Father of the fatherless well pleased, but our country gains by so much as the promise of future thrift and usefulness is better than the degradation and vice threatened by the neglect of evilly surrounded orphans.

As often as the dependent insane and mentally defective are humanely and kindly restrained, not only is the requirement placed upon those who have the least claim to charitable disposition fulfilled, and these unfortunates saved from the hopelessness of incurability, but society is protected against irresponsible tragedy, and the country is given the only chance it can have for the improvement and restoration of submerged reason to sanity and mental strength.

As often as those who for transgression of the law have become convicted criminals are made to feel that they have not been inexorably condemned to lifelong ostracism and resentment, and that a kindly hand awaits any effort of theirs for self-reformation, not only will those who benevolently aid and encourage them to be rewarded by an approving conscience, but they will save to the state many who can serve it well and will protect from those who, once disgraced, are easily driven by intolerance and angry neglect to a continuance in evil doing.

My thoughts dwell upon the duty of individual charity. In a sense all that is done in discharge of this duty, whether done by individuals or through governmental agencies, representing us all, may be said to rest in personal respon-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

sibility and may be traced to one source—a recognition of the fact that in the field of charity we are our brothers' keepers. The field is so large and the labor so delicate that none of us can secure acquittance without personal service. It is this element of personal service represented in this national conference that gives the occasion its greatest importance and significance.

I have sometimes wondered if those active in charitable work fully appreciate how extensively, under the guise of charity, schemes are put on foot that are either so illegitimately related to it or so unimportant and impracticable as to abundantly excuse a denial of their appeal for aid; and I often fear it is not realized as it should be in charitable circles that these schemes are presented so constantly and with such importunity and so often prove to be unworthy, disappointing or faddish as to perplex and discourage those willing to give us sensible and properly organized charity. It is thus that quite frequently all charitable movements are discredited or prejudiced.

I hope I will not be misunderstood when I say that better assurance to those willing to give to charity, and consequently the interests of the cause, seem to be involved in the establishment somewhere and under some responsible auspices of an agency for the sifting and testing of enterprises claiming to be charitable—to the end that the benevolent may have reliable guidance in determining how and where they can wisely and usefully give.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

[*From Address at First Annual Meeting of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, Hotel Belmont, New York City, December 6, 1907.*]

You who manage life insurance companies cannot afford to risk weakness in a single of its threads. Their disintegration through breaches of good faith, through broken promises or through delusive misrepresentation, means a loss of strength which no actuarial mystery or managerial calculation can repair. Nor can you, with any pretence of conscientious susceptibility, overlook the fact that, as a direct consequence of this popular conception of life insurance and of your responsible connection with its management, your fellow citizens, whose confidence you have invited, have put upon you a trust, made sacred by the pathos of its purposes, and more unescapable in morals and good conscience than any that the law can create.

Of course you do not need the least reminder that life insurance has sadly suffered, and still suffers, from a dislocation of such ideal accompaniments, and it would be folly to avoid the disgraceful fact that this dislocation began in faithlessness of those occupying places of the greatest influence in life insurance circles and the self-invited discredit and humiliation of some of the largest and strongest companies in life insurance leadership. Much has been done by way of repairing damages. The companies have purged themselves of those directly responsible for wrongdoing. Economies have been introduced, vigor and industry have been stimulated, and an enlarged study of the conditions that make for the safest, cleanest and best life insurance is more than ever deemed essential.

The upheaval of investigation which exposed life insur-

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

ance abuses in high places has also been followed by the avalanche of legislation which inevitably results from violently aroused public sentiment. Some of this legislation is so palpably remedial and so wisely restrictive that all life insurance companies who really desire the reform of abuses should welcome it as in aid of their own efforts in that direction. Some of it, while more drastic and not so plainly necessary, make obedience not impossible, and perhaps should be patiently borne.

But this is not the entire story. Sometimes, when uprisings, beginning with a moral awakening, passing from stage to stage, reach a hand-to-hand conflict of violence and deadly blows, there appears on the scene the noisy adventurer, who seeks leadership in the confusion and clamor of the fight, while in his wake others more quiet and stealthy, but not less diligent, filch from the wounded and helpless.

Life insurance companies not accused of wrongdoing but caught in the storm of virulent and indiscriminate attack have, as well as the guilty, failed to find friends in quarters where they should have found them; and their policyholders, who should have been their allies and defenders, have, by thousands, been quite willing to join the ranks of their enemies.

*[Letter to Hon. John Fox, read at Jackson Day
Dinner of the National Democratic Club,
New York City, January 8, 1908.]*

My Dear Sir: I very much regret that I am inexorably obliged to decline the courteous invitation I have received to attend the Jackson Day dinner to be given by the National Democratic Club on the 8th.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

I am intensely interested in every effort to revive genuine and effective Democratic sentiment and to restore the Democratic courage, consistency, and confidence, whose necessity to our party's success and usefulness has been so often demonstrated in the past. It is but natural that those who have followed all their lives the Democratic standard should longingly desire their party's success; but this success cannot be gained by either shouting our party name or attempting undemocratic experiments.

I am profoundly impressed by the conviction that the situation now confronting the people of our land has directed their attention more to their relief from conditions that alarm and startle them than to the empty satisfaction of partisan supremacy. Our country needs conservatism, recuperation from nervous prostration, reinstatement of constitutional observance, buoyant but none the less safe and prudent Americanism; scrupulous care of every person and every interest entitled to care, and a "square deal" that means exact and honest equality before the law and under constitutional guarantee.

These things are still among the possessions of true Democracy, and Democratic patriotism, sincerity and wisdom demand that our party in this time of need should unitedly offer them to our countrymen.

My regret that I must be absent from a Jackson Day dinner, where the atmosphere must be so thoroughly Democratic, is intensified by my close friendship and admiration for the guest whom your club will especially honor on the occasion. It would be an unusually and memorable gratification if I could add my tribute of praise to one who by nature, by conviction, by clean party service and by clear understanding of party doctrine has so well earned Democratic confidence and devotion as Morgan J. O'Brien.

OF GROVER CLEVELAND

[*Letter to the Editor of the New York World,
Princeton, N. J., March 14, 1908.*]

Dear Sir: I have received your letter asking me to make a response to the following question: "What is the best principle and what is the best policy to give the Democratic party new life?"

As a general proposition I might answer this question by saying that in my opinion this could be most surely brought about by a return to genuine Democratic doctrine and a close adherence to the Democratic policies which in times past gave our party success and benefited our people.

To be more specific in my reply, I should say that more than ever just at this time the Democratic party should display honest and sincere conservatism, a regard for constitutional limitations and a determination not to be swept from our moorings by temporary clamor or spectacular exploitation.

Our people need rest and peace and reassurance; and it will be quite in line with true Democracy and successful policy to impress upon our fellow-countrymen the fact that Democracy still stands for those things.

LIFE OF CLEVELAND

Grover Cleveland was born on March 18, 1837, at Caldwell, Essex County, N. J. The first Cleveland to settle in this country was Moses Cleveland, who emigrated from Ipswich, England, in 1635, and settled at Woburn, Mass. William Cleveland, one of his descendants, was a silversmith and watchmaker at Norwich, Conn.

Dr. Aaron Cleveland was the grandfather of Grover Cleveland's grandfather. He was an Episcopal minister at Philadelphia, and Benjamin Franklin wrote in eulogistic terms of his career in recording his death in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1737. Politics and the clerical profession seem to have alternately attracted the intellectual representatives of the family. The father of Grover Cleveland was the Rev. Richard Talley Cleveland, who was a graduate of Yale, and entered the Presbyterian ministry in 1829. In the same year he married Anne Neale, who was the daughter of a prosperous Baltimore bookseller of Irish descent, while her mother, whose maiden name was Real, was of German extraction, and a member of the Society of Friends.

Thus Grover Cleveland's ancestors were of English, Irish, and German origin. He was christened Stephen Grover Cleveland in honor of the Rev. Stephen Grover, the first occupant of the parsonage at Caldwell, but the name of Stephen was dropped, and he signed his name as Grover Cleveland.

In 1841 his father accepted a call to Fayetteville, near Syracuse, N. Y., and it was there that the future President received whatever education the place afforded, and served for a short time as a clerk in a country store. The removal

LIFE OF CLEVELAND

of the family in 1850 to Clinton, N. Y., gave him the opportunity to enjoy the educational advantages of the local academy. When his father died at Holland Patent, Oneida County, N. Y., in 1853, he became an assistant teacher in the New York Institution of the Blind, in New York City, obtaining that position through the influence of his elder brother, Rev. William Cleveland, who was a teacher in the same institution.

In 1855, after returning for a short time to Holland Patent, where his mother resided, he started for the West in search of employment. While on his way West he stopped at Black Rock, now a part of the city of Buffalo, and his uncle, Lewis F. Allen, who resided there, engaged him to assist in the compilation of a volume of the "American Herd Book." Subsequently, he assisted in the compilation of several other volumes of this work.

During the summer of 1855 he secured a position as clerk and copyist for the law firm of Rogers, Bowen & Rogers in Buffalo at a salary of \$4 per week. After he was admitted to the bar he became managing clerk for this firm at a salary of \$600 a year, a part of which he contributed to the support of his mother, who died in 1882. From 1863 to 1866 he was assistant district attorney of Erie County. In 1868 he was the Democratic candidate for district attorney, but was defeated by his friend, Lyman K. Bass, who ran for the same office on the Republican ticket. He then formed a law partnership with Isaac V. Vanderpoel, and in 1869 became a member of the law firm of Lanning, Cleveland & Bissell. He continued to practise law with marked success till 1870, when he was elected sheriff of Erie County. He held that office for three years, and then resumed his law practice as a member of the firm of Bass, Cleveland & Bissell. After the retirement of Lyman K. Bass, owing to failing health, the firm was known as Cleveland & Bissell.

LIFE OF CLEVELAND

In 1881 Mr. Cleveland was nominated on the Democratic ticket for mayor of Buffalo, and was elected by the largest majority ever given to a candidate in that city. Owing to his fearlessness in checking illegal and extravagant appropriations and unwise expenditures he became widely known as the "veto mayor." His integrity and ability, of which he gave ample evidence as mayor of Buffalo, made him known all over the State of New York, and led to his being nominated for governor at the Democratic State Convention in Syracuse on September 22, 1882, in opposition to the Republican candidate, Charles J. Folger, then Secretary of the Treasury. At the election in November he received a plurality of 192,854 over Mr. Folger. As governor of New York he continued to exhibit the same efficiency and to apply the same principles of probity that had controlled his administration as mayor of Buffalo, thereby attracting attention from the press and people all over the United States.

It was owing to the national reputation he thus acquired that he was nominated for the presidency by the Democratic National Convention in Chicago on July 11, 1884. James G. Blaine was the Republican candidate. At the ensuing election Mr. Cleveland received 219 and Mr. Blaine 182 electoral votes. On June 6, 1888, Mr. Cleveland was renominated for the presidency at the National Democratic Convention in St. Louis. Benjamin Harrison was the Republican candidate. At the November election Mr. Cleveland was defeated, as he only received 168 electoral votes, while 233 were cast for Mr. Harrison. This defeat was by no means an indication of his decline in personal popularity, as he received 5,540,329 of the popular vote, against 5,439,853 votes cast for Mr. Harrison.

After completing his presidential term, March 4, 1889, he resumed the practice of law in New York City. On June 11, 1892, he was again placed in nomination for the

LIFE OF CLEVELAND

presidency at the National Democratic Convention which met in Chicago, receiving more than two-thirds of the votes on the first ballot. The November election proved the wisdom of the delegates in deciding on his nomination, as Mr. Harrison, who had been renominated by the Republicans, only received 145 electoral votes against 277 cast for Mr. Cleveland. James B. Weaver, the candidate of the People's Party, received 22 electoral votes. It may be noted as a remarkable circumstance in connection with this election that Mr. Cleveland was the first President to be elected to a second term without being elected as his own immediate successor.

It may also be noted that Mr. Cleveland's marriage, on June 2, 1886, to Frances Folsom, daughter of his deceased friend and law partner, Oscar Folsom, was the first instance of a President becoming a Benedict during his term of office. In fact, James Buchanan, the last Democratic President before the Civil War, and Grover Cleveland were the only bachelors elected to the presidency. Mrs. Cleveland, who was born in Buffalo in 1864, was one of the youngest of the various "ladies" who had hitherto presided at the White House. She was the only one to give birth to a child in the White House, her daughter, Esther, having been born there in 1893. The first child of Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland, "Baby" Ruth, was born in 1891, and died in 1906. The other children are Marion, Richard, and Francis Grover.

In the campaign of 1896 Mr. Cleveland supported the Palmer and Buckner ticket, as his political views were not in accordance with those of William Jennings Bryan, the candidate of the other section of the Democratic party.

After the close of his second term on March 4, 1897, Mr. Cleveland took up his residence at Princeton, N. J., spending his summers for a number of years at Gray Gables, Buzzard's Bay, and in later years at Tamworth, N. H., in the White Mountains. During the last ten years of his life

LIFE OF CLEVELAND

he delivered public addresses from time to time, including two lectures a year for several years at Princeton. In 1897 he received the degree of LL.D. from Princeton University, and was also a trustee of that institution.

In 1904 he delivered a notable address at the St. Louis Purchase Exposition. In the same year he supported Judge Alton B. Parker for the Democratic presidential nomination. After the memorable investigation of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, Mr. Cleveland was made one of the trustees to hold the majority of the stock of that corporation.

Mr. Cleveland died on the morning of June 24, 1908, at his home in Princeton, with his wife and three physicians at his bedside. His children were away at his New England summer home. He had been in ill health since the previous fall. His grave is in Princeton cemetery alongside of the grave of his favorite child, "Baby" Ruth, for whom, it is said, he called repeatedly in the delirium of his last illness. A number of prominent men have headed a subscription fund to erect a Cleveland monument in Princeton.

The development of Mr. Cleveland as one of the greatest factors in American politics between the years 1882 and 1896 presents a most singular case. He was comparatively untrained in statesmanship and important public affairs when he assumed the office of governor. He was almost overwhelmed by the magnitude and difficulties of the office of President. To the duties of both offices he addressed himself with unremitting industry, and from the country politician he developed to be a statesman who ignored political methods, who rose above his party, and who endeared himself to the public by the manner in which he overrode State bosses and organization machinery. He was one of the few great characters remaining in American politics at the beginning of the twentieth century, and he won a place for himself as one of the great figures in the nation's history.

LIFE OF CLEVELAND

He was greatly beloved and admired, irrespective of party opinion.

William H. Taft, afterwards elected to the presidency on the Republican ticket, said at the time of Mr. Cleveland's death: "He was one of the really great men of the country. He was a great man and a great President."

In the proclamation which he issued on June 24, 1908, on hearing of Mr. Cleveland's death, President Roosevelt said: "Grover Cleveland, President of the United States from 1885 to 1889, and again from 1893 to 1897, died at 8:40 o'clock this morning at his home in Princeton, N. J. In his death the nation has been deprived of one of its greatest citizens. By profession a lawyer, his chief services to his country were rendered during a long, varied, and honorable career in public life. As mayor of his city, as governor of his State, and twice as President, he showed signal powers as an administrator, coupled with entire devotion to the country's good, and a courage that quailed before no hostility when once he was convinced where his duty lay. Since his retirement from the presidency he has continued well and faithfully to serve his countrymen by the simplicity, dignity, and uprightness of his private life. In testimony of the respect in which his memory is held by the Government and people of the United States, I do hereby direct that the flags of the White House and the several departmental buildings be displayed at half mast for a period of thirty days, and that suitable military and naval honors, under the orders of the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, be rendered on the day of the funeral."

THE STORY OF THE BOOK

Although Grover Cleveland had the gift of literary expression he never posed as a professional author. He was essentially a lawyer and statesman, and cared more for lucidity of expression than for any rhetorical polish of style. Nevertheless, in his political writings and addresses he frequently gave utterance to epigrammatic phrases that have since been added to the list of standard quotations.

Most of the addresses collected in the present volume were delivered after Mr. Cleveland was elected to the Presidency, and they were invariably the outcome of careful preparation. He knew just what ideas he wished to present to the public, and knew also how to present these ideas with telling effect. Thus he never made speeches for the sake of public applause, but because he believed that he had something of importance to communicate. While making no pretension of being an orator, he certainly may be classed as an effective public speaker.

In 1892 Mr. George F. Parker issued an authorized edition of "The Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland," which were classified under twenty-five chapter headings, but there has hitherto been no collection embodying the writings and speeches of Mr. Cleveland from 1892 to the time of his death.

In the present collection, the "Addresses, State Papers, and Letters" are arranged in chronological sequence, and those who desire to read the various utterances or writings of Mr. Cleveland on any particular subject, are referred for the classification thereof to the index at the end of the volume.

STORY OF THE BOOK

Those who desire to consult other volumes written by or about Mr. Cleveland are referred to the bibliographical list of authorities carefully prepared by Mr. A. P. C. Griffin, the Chief Bibliographer of the Library of Congress. Acknowledgment is due to Mr. Griffin and to Mr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, for their courteous co-operation in supplying this bibliography for the present work. Most of the publications cited in this bibliographical list may be found in the larger libraries of the United States.

The present volume, however, will suffice for those who are in search of a representative collection of the "Addresses, State Papers, and Letters" of Grover Cleveland. It will give the reader a correct conception of the great democratic President as reflected both in his public and private utterances. It embodies his opinions on all important topics upon which he has written or spoken.

Especially interesting are the extracts from the annual messages he sent to Congress during his occupancy of the Presidential chair. These extracts contain his criticisms and recommendations on Naturalization, Civil Service reform, Taxation, Tariff reform, Capital and Labor, the National Finances, and many other subjects of equal importance. It would have been manifestly impossible to have given the messages complete within the scope of the present volume, but care has been taken to select the passages that, in the opinion of the editor, would prove of general interest to the reading public.

The exigencies of space also made it prohibitive to give all of the speeches in full. Those who desire to peruse the portions omitted here from some of the public addresses delivered by Mr. Cleveland from the time he was renominated for the Presidency in 1892 down to the year 1908 are referred to the annual indexes of the *New York Tribune*. These indexes, under the heading of "Cleveland," give the dates when these speeches were delivered, thus enabling the

STORY OF THE BOOK

reader in most cases to find a full report of them in the files of the *Tribune* and other daily papers.

The truth of the maxim that "the style is the man" was never more in evidence than in the style of Grover Cleveland. The keynote of his writings and speeches was expressed in his famous epigram, "Public office is a public trust." Again and again he dwells on the necessity for patriotic effort, and insists that the welfare of the citizens either of a city like Buffalo, of a State like New York, or of a great nation like the United States, should be the guiding principle of the men entrusted with public office. He lays particular stress on the duty of public economy and private thrift, and insists that every man in office ought to apply to every public question the same moral principles and the same good judgment and discretion that ought to govern men in their private business relations.

An examination of his speeches, however, will show that he does not confine himself to a didactic presentation of his ideas. Mr. Cleveland had a keen sense of humor, and knew how to wield the sharp weapon of ridicule in exposing the unworthy motives of degraded politicians. In his occasional addresses there are frequent flashes of wit and humor, and he was by no means averse to the introduction of an apt anecdote or a funny story to offset any political sermonizing he might resort to in the course of an after-dinner speech.

One of his most famous speeches was in response to the toast, "The Principles of True Democracy." In this speech he defined true democracy to mean a sober conviction or conclusion touching political topics, which, formulated into a political belief or creed, inspires a patriotic performance of the duties of citizenship. The address is a serious and statesmanlike effort that was widely circulated in the public press as an important presentation of Mr. Cleveland's political doctrines. In the course of this address, Mr. Cleve-

STORY OF THE BOOK

land showed a sentimental vein by quoting poetry, and a humorous vein by introducing an anecdote of a confirmed Jacksonian Democrat who, becoming involved in a dispute as to whether his hero had gone to heaven or not, was prompted by Democratic instinct to dispose of the question by declaring, "I tell you, sir, that if Andrew Jackson has made up his mind to go to heaven, you may depend upon it he's there."

As a rule, however, Mr. Cleveland was too intensely in earnest to care much for anything but a straightforward presentation of the points at issue, and his writings and speeches will prove of signal interest to those who delight in the discussion of political topics that affect the welfare of our great republic.

In an after-dinner speech at the Holland Society dinner of 1901 Mr. Cleveland said: "I cannot resent the charge that I am apt to preach a sermon on occasions of this kind, for I am afraid this accusation is justified. It has been my lot to be much on the sober side of life and to feel the pressure of great responsibilities. Besides, I believe it sometimes happens that an excess of light-hearted gayety creates a condition of popular thought and impulse that may profitably be steadied by sedate suggestions and the expression of conservative sentiment—even though it may be called sermonizing."

Mr. Cleveland believed that principle as well as policy was to be considered whenever he was called upon to express an opinion on any important question. He was relentless in denouncing the abuse of the taxing power. He was constantly exhorting to watchfulness and economy in the public service, and was tireless in his efforts to bring about civil service reform.

He seldom lost an opportunity to denounce insolent partisanship. He was a partisan in the best sense of the word. He believed that "party honesty is party expediency," and

STORY OF THE BOOK

that the adherents of the Democratic party ought at all times to be true to the ideals and principles of the loftiest patriotism.

His moral courage was one of his most striking characteristics. After once making up his mind that he was right, he had the courage to stick to his conviction. His famous Venezuela message is a notable instance of this characteristic. The message sent a thrill through the civilized world. It read, as most persons thought at the time, like a direct invitation to war with Great Britain; but, as a matter of fact, by this bold stroke of statesmanship Mr. Cleveland prevented war, and established a precedent for the supremacy of the Monroe doctrine.

Grover Cleveland had the highest civic and patriotic ideals, which he knew how to expound with a lucidity and felicity of style and an epigrammatic vigor of expression that entitle his writings and speeches to rank as a most valuable contribution to the political literature of his period.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

11 *Veto Mayor.* It was Mr. Cleveland's vigorous use of his veto power against the Common Council of Buffalo which first attracted attention to him, at a time when complaints of jobbery were heard from nearly every city in the Eastern States. It was thus he became known as the "Veto Mayor," and the capacity shown by him in the administration of the city of Buffalo soon convinced the public that such rare qualities ought to be given a larger sphere of exercise.

22 *Nomination for Governor.* On the second day of the Democratic State Convention at Syracuse in 1882 Mr. Cleveland was nominated on the third ballot for Governor, receiving 211 votes out of 382. The Republican nominee was Charles J. Folger, then Secretary of the Treasury in President Arthur's Cabinet. The election in November was one of the most remarkable in the annals of New York. Mr. Folger had honorably filled high State and Federal offices, and there was no opposition to him personally among Republicans, but there was widespread dissatisfaction in the party because of a belief that his nomination was accomplished by improper practices in the convention and by the interference of the Federal administration. The result was the election of Mr. Cleveland by a very large majority, indicating the extent to which Republicans stayed at home or voted the Democratic ticket to rebuke certain phases of party management. In a total vote of 918,894, Cleveland received a plurality of 192,854 over Folger, and a majority over all, including Greenback, Prohibition, and scattering, of 151,742.

26 *Civil Service Reform.* Mr. Cleveland was one of the first to advocate publicly civil-service reform by the adop-

NOTES ON THE TEXT

tion of the merit system, and he was no sooner in office than he took steps to put his ideas into practice. He recommended in his first annual message to the New York Legislature that a State Civil Service Commission be created, that the competitive system be extended to all incorporated cities, and that the political assessment of public officers be prohibited. His personal efforts aided materially in putting these reforms on the statute books. When he became President he was no less a firm upholder of reform in the making of appointments. In 1896 he signed an order adding 44,004 posts to the civil-service lists, making the total number of competitive places 86,932. When he began his first term in 1885, only 13,000 out of 130,000 appointments were on the civil service lists.

41 *Legal Career.* Mr. Cleveland laid the foundation of his legal acquirements in the law offices of Messrs. Brown & Rogers, where he was employed for some time after his arrival in Buffalo in 1855. In 1857 he was called to the bar. In 1863 he became Assistant District Attorney for Erie County, and after the expiration of his term of office he became a member of the firm of Laning, Cleveland & Folsom. Subsequently he was head of the firm of Cleveland, Bissell & Sicard. His success as a lawyer was due principally to his grasp of facts and lucidity of statement.

49 *Election to the Presidency, 1884.* The Democratic National Convention of 1884 was held at Chicago, on July 11th. Grover Cleveland was nominated on the second ballot. Of the 820 votes of the whole number of delegates, he received 683, a two-thirds vote being necessary for a nomination. James G. Blaine was the nominee of the Republican National Convention. After a vigorous campaign Mr. Cleveland was elected by a majority of 37 electoral votes. In a total popular vote of 10,067,610, Cleveland received 4,874,986 and Blaine 4,851,981. New York proved to be

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

the pivotal State and gave Cleveland a small plurality. Its 36 electoral votes thus decided the contest in his favor. Cleveland and Hendricks were elected respectively President and Vice-President by 219 votes against 182 for Blaine and Logan. Of the 38 States then voting, 20 were carried by Cleveland, including New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, and Kentucky.

59 *Inaugural Address.* When Cleveland entered on his first term of the Presidency he had not yet completed his forty-eighth year. On March 4, 1885, innumerable crowds attended him to the Capitol at Washington, where he took the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution. He delivered his Inaugural Address from the steps of the Capitol. This impressive function had special significance from the fact that it symbolized the conclusion of the fierce conflict of a generation. From North and South the victors and the vanquished met under the leadership of the Democratic party, which, largely owing to its historic affiliation with the seceding South, had been excluded from office for more than twenty years. Mr. Cleveland took advantage of his professional experience as a speaker to adopt a course which various political orators who had preceded him in office may have thought beneath the dignity of the occasion. Instead of a written address, he delivered a brief speech in which he expressed his sense of his great responsibilities and his faith in a system of "government by the people."

64 *Grant.* General U. S. Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822, and died at Mount MacGregor, near Saratoga, N. Y., July 23, 1885. His body rests in a magnificent tomb in Riverside Park, New York City, overlooking the Hudson River.

68 *First Annual Message.* Nearly a third of this message is devoted to a review of the business of the State Department. The President treats at considerable length important questions concerning foreign relations, currency,

NOTES ON THE TEXT

and the revenue, and civil-service reform. He recommends a reorganization of the Federal judiciary, a complete reconstruction of the Navy Department, land-law legislation to restrict excessive ownership of large areas by single individuals, a new Indian policy, and the prohibition of Mormon immigration.

78 *Thurman*. Allen Granbery Thurman was born at Lynchburg, Va., November 13, 1813; died at Columbus, Ohio, December 12, 1895. He served as United States Senator from Ohio, 1869-1881, and was the Democratic nominee for vice-president in 1888 on the Cleveland ticket, which was defeated by Harrison and Morton.

79 *Hancock*. General Winfield Scott Hancock was born February 14, 1824, at Montgomery Square, Pa., and died at Governor's Island, February 9, 1886. In 1880 he was made the Democratic nominee for President, but was defeated by the Republican candidate, James A. Garfield.

92 *Arthur*. Chester Alan Arthur was elected Vice-President on the Garfield ticket. On the death of President Garfield, September 19, 1881, he became the twenty-first President of the United States. He was born at Fairfield, Vt., October 5, 1830, and died in New York City, November 18, 1886.

92 *Second Annual Message*. The central idea of this message is the recognition and enforcement of American labor. Devotion to this great object controls the recommendations regarding traffic and taxation, agriculture and the public courts, as well as the suggestions made for legislation having for its direct purpose the passage of labor-protection laws and the adjustment of disputes between the workingmen and the employers. The portions of the message which proved of special interest to the general public relate to the reform of the pension system, the reform of the civil service, the maintenance of a sound currency, and the reduction of taxation.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

119 *Third Annual Message.* In this message Mr. Cleveland made reduction of the tariff the principal topic. The message, it was felt, was addressed to the country at large in view of the coming election, and produced almost as much dismay among the wire-pullers of his own party as in the ranks of the Republican protectionists. The message, however, recalled the Democrats to the old principle of the party, "taxation for the purpose of revenue only." A tariff reduction bill was carried through the House of Representatives, with only four Democrats voting in the minority, but in the Senate where the Republicans still had a majority, a bill was introduced changing the tariff in the direction of increased protection. Both schemes were intended as declarations of policy to influence the coming election. The Republicans, who won the election, were wise enough to know that the tariff reform fight was not over, and put through the famous McKinley bill in their endeavor to give some appearance of symmetry and logical strength to their tariff system.

132 *Beecher.* Henry Ward Beecher was born at Litchfield, Conn., June 24, 1813, and died at Brooklyn, N. Y., March 8, 1887. Although he had always been a Republican, he made campaign speeches in behalf of Mr. Cleveland during the Presidential campaign of 1884.

136 *Campaign of 1888.* The Democratic National Convention at St. Louis in June, 1888, nominated Grover Cleveland by acclamation for a second term, an honor of which no one except General Grant had been the recipient since the second nomination of Jackson. The defeat of James G. Blaine in 1884 made the Republicans unwilling to risk their cause under his leadership a second time. The convention finally adopted General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, as the Republican candidate. Mr. Cleveland's position prevented him from taking any direct part in the campaign. General Harrison made ninety-four speeches in the course

NOTES ON THE TEXT

of the campaign, and devoting special attention to his own State, succeeded in securing its fifteen electoral votes. The victory in Indiana, coupled with the success of the Republicans in New York, Cleveland's own State, restored the Republicans to power. The defection of New York from Mr. Cleveland was accounted for in various ways. Some attributed it to the discontent of the independents at the failure of Mr. Cleveland to carry out their opinions in connection with civil-service reform. Others attributed the loss of New York to the hostility of Tammany Hall. It was alleged that Tammany Hall had instructed their supporters to vote for General Harrison in exchange for Republican votes for certain State offices. The real explanation, however, seems to be that the Republicans showed in defence of their interests great energy and ability, backed by a lavish expenditure of money for campaign purposes, while the Democrats were over-confident and lacked organization. Of the total electoral vote of 401, Harrison received 233 and Cleveland 168. Of the popular vote Cleveland had a plurality of 98,017, having received 5,538,233 votes against 5,440,216 for Harrison.

138 *Sheridan*. General Philip H. Sheridan was born at Albany, N. Y., March 6, 1831, and died at Nonquitt, Mass., August 5, 1888.

151 *Cox*. Samuel Sullivan Cox, American statesman, humorist, and author, was born at Zanesville, Ohio, September 30, 1824, and died at New York, September 10, 1889. He served many years in Congress, and was for a short time the United States Minister to Turkey. He was familiarly known as "Sunset" Cox, owing to an exuberant article he wrote, entitled "The Great Sunset," and this sobriquet stuck to him through his career, as the word "Sunset" chanced to correspond with his two initials.

153 *Fourth Annual Message*. Outside of the revenue-reform argument, the most striking portion of this message

NOTES ON THE TEXT

is that which sharply criticises Congress for permitting the consideration of private interests and claims to subordinate and postpone action upon subjects of great public importance, but involving no special, private, or partisan interest. In accordance with the recommendation of this message the Mills bill was introduced, which removed duties aggregating \$50,000,000 per annum. The bill passed the House, but was defeated in the Senate. A new tariff bill, known as the Wilson bill, was introduced December 19, 1893, during Mr. Cleveland's second administration. The bill reduced the duties on many articles in the existing schedules. It was passed both by the House of Representatives and the Senate, and the President allowed it to become a law without his signature.

226 *Hendricks*. Thomas Andrews Hendricks was born near Lanesville, Ohio, in 1819, and died on November 25, 1885. He ran for vice-president on the unsuccessful Tilden ticket in 1876, but was elected to that office on the Cleveland ticket in 1884.

355 *First Annual Message (Second Term)*. The President in this message commends the moderate Wilson bill and he insists that only the necessity of revenue justifies the imposition of tariff duties. Foreign relations are fully reviewed, and attention is called to leading questions then occupying public attention, with certain recommendations in reference to the various departmental reports.

363 *Second Annual Message (Second Term)*. This message gives considerable information on the standing of the United States Government and its relations with other nations. It also gives a concise presentation of the condition of every department of the Government.

372 *Third Annual Message (Second Term)*. Of this message one half is devoted to foreign relations and the other half to the national finances. The Cuban question is duly considered, but the portion of the message that at-

NOTES ON THE TEXT

tracted wide attention was the position President Cleveland took on the Venezuelan boundary dispute and his emphatic endorsement of the Monroe Doctrine that there shall be no European encroachment on the American hemisphere. This was subsequently still further emphasized in his special message on the Venezuelan question.

376 *Venezuelan Message.* The United States had striven for some time to get Great Britain and Venezuela to arbitrate a boundary dispute, when in July, 1895, matters came to a crisis. The Secretary of State, Richard Olney, authorized Thomas F. Bayard, the American Ambassador to Great Britain, to inform Lord Salisbury that Great Britain's occupation of the territory in question would be considered by the United States a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. In November, Lord Salisbury replied that Great Britain did not consider the Monroe Doctrine applicable to the case and would not arbitrate. On December 17th, President Cleveland sent a message to Congress asking for an appropriation to pay the expenses of a commission which should determine what action should be taken. In both Great Britain and the United States this message was regarded as equivalent to a threat that war would follow the insistence by England on the course she had outlined. The commission was appointed, but before it was ready to report Great Britain and Venezuela agreed to arbitrate. Nearly four years later, on January 15, 1899, the tribunal met in Paris, and on October 3d of the same year rendered what is said to have been a unanimous decision, which, in the main, was favorable to the Venezuelan claims.

381 *Parker.* Hon. George W. Parker was the American Consul, and President of the Birmingham Dramatic and Literary Club. The letter from Mr. Cleveland was read at the thirty-second annual Shakespeare commemoration of the club. The *Daily News* of London maintained that Mr. Cleveland's letter to Consul Parker was written with the

NOTES ON THE TEXT

deliberate intention of facilitating the closing of an unpleasant episode [the Venezuela boundary dispute] in the relations between Great Britain and the United States. The *Daily News* added that it reciprocated the intentions.

383 *Fourth Annual Message (Second Term)*. The portion of this message which referred to Cuba received the largest measure of attention from the public press, and was eagerly read throughout the country. The President gives excellent reasons why the United States Government should move with caution and wisdom until Spain had shown beyond cavil her inability to cope with the Cuban situation.

389 *Presidential Election of 1892*. The majority of Democrats were in favor of Grover Cleveland as the Presidential candidate for 1892 even before the preparations for the National Convention at Chicago on June 23d were begun. Tradition, on the other hand, discouraged the nomination of a candidate who had once suffered defeat. This consideration, however, had no weight with the mass of the delegates, and Cleveland was nominated on the first ballot by an overwhelming majority. Benjamin Harrison was nominated for a second term by the Republican National Convention. Mr. Cleveland was elected by a larger majority than that which he had secured in 1884. Of the total number of electoral votes (444) Cleveland received 277, Harrison had 145, and Weaver, the Populist candidate, had 22. Of the popular vote Cleveland received 5,553,808 votes; Harrison 5,180,911; Weaver, 1,035,572; and Wing, the Socialist candidate, 21,145.

401 *Jefferson*. Joseph Jefferson, the famous American comedian referred to here, was born at Philadelphia, February 20, 1829, and died at Palm Beach, Florida, April 3, 1905. Grover Cleveland and Joseph Jefferson were great friends and frequent companions on fishing excursions at Buzzard's Bay and elsewhere.

405 *Schurz*. Carl Schurz, the German-American states-

NOTES ON THE TEXT

man, editor, and author, was born at Liblar, near Cologne, Prussia, March 2, 1829, and died on May 14, 1906. He was Secretary of the Interior in the Cabinet of President Hayes. In the canvasses of 1884, 1888, and 1892 he supported Cleveland.

407 *Harrison*. Benjamin Harrison, the twenty-third President of the United States, was born at North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833, and died at Indianapolis, March 13, 1901.

412 *McKinley*. William McKinley, the twenty-fifth President of the United States, was born at Niles, Ohio, January 29, 1843, and was shot by an assassin, Czolgosz, while holding a public reception at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, N. Y., on September 6, 1901. It was thought, after the wound had been operated on, that he might survive, but the wound proved fatal and he died on September 14th.

416 *Doctor of Jurisprudence*. On this occasion the honorary degree of doctor of jurisprudence was conferred for the first time in the United States. The recipient was ex-President Cleveland, who had already received the degree of LL.D. from Princeton University. The ceremony of conferring the degree upon Mr. Cleveland was a part of the commencement exercises of the college, Archbishop Ryan presiding.

420 *Wilson*. Woodrow Wilson, the American educator and historian, was born at Staunton, Va. He graduated at Princeton in 1879. In 1890 he became Professor of Jurisprudence and Politics at Princeton, and upon the resignation of President Patton in June, 1902, Dr. Wilson was elected President of Princeton University by the unanimous votes of the trustees, and on October 25th he was formally inaugurated.

429 *Kishineff*. On April 23, 1903, twenty-five Jews were killed and several hundred were wounded, many of

NOTES ON THE TEXT

them fatally, during the anti-Semitic riots at Kishineff in Russia, when a number of workmen organized an attack on the Jewish inhabitants. The houses of the Jews were wrecked, their shops were sacked, and thousands of them were made homeless and destitute.

432 *Chicago Strike.* The conflict with the American Railway Union at Chicago was started by a dispute between the Pullman Car Company and their employees. The employees struck and their places were filled by others. Then the union of railway men, on the advice of their president (Debs), took up the question and demanded that the railways should boycott the Pullman Company. When this edict was not complied with they not only went on strike themselves, but stopped the working of the railway lines by others. Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, had already attracted attention by pardoning some of the individuals who were undergoing imprisonment for the Anarchist outrages of 1880. In this instance he refused to take the necessary measures to enable the companies to carry on their business. The postmasters in Chicago, as Federal officers, appealed to Washington for help to distribute the mails, and Mr. Cleveland at once sent troops to Chicago, which brought about the collapse of the strike. In the case of several similar conflicts elsewhere the troops of the United States had been called in during the summer, but in each of these instances they entered the State at the request of the governor. They were sent to Chicago, however, not only without Governor Altgeld's consent, but against his protest. This dispatch of an armed force would have involved a serious constitutional question if acts had not been passed since 1860 which authorize the President to send troops into any State where he has reason to believe that Federal business is not adequately protected, or that the lives or property of American citizens are exposed to danger which the local authorities fail to avert.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

Cleveland, Grover, President United States.

Fishing and Shooting Sketches. Illustrated by Henry S. Watson. New York: The Outing Publishing Company, 1906. 209 pp. Frontispiece. Illustrations. Plates. 12mo.

The Independence of the Executive. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900. 27 pp. 8vo.

Presidential Problems. New York: The Century Company, 1904. 281 pp. 8vo.

Principles and Purposes of our Form of Government as set forth in Public Papers of Grover Cleveland. Comp. by Francis Gottsberger. New York: G. G. Peck, 1892. 187 pp. 8vo.

The Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland, selected and edited with an Introduction by George F. Parker. Authorized edition. New York: Cassell Publishing Company, 1892. 571 pp. Portrait. 8vo.

New York *Times*.

The Venezuela Dispute. Prof. McMaster's History of the Monroe Doctrine. The President's Message and the other Official Documents. New York: The New York *Times*, 1896. 35 pp. Map. 8vo.

United States. Department of State.

Correspondence in Relation to the Boundary Contro-

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

versy between Great Britain and Venezuela, being a reprint of Senate Executive Document No. 226, Fiftytieth Congress, first session, and Senate Document No. 31, Fifty-fourth Congress, first session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896. Map. 8vo.

—President.

A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897. Published by authority of Congress. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896–99. 10 vols. Plates. Portraits. 8vo. Issued also as House Miscellaneous Document No. 210, Fifty-third Congress, second session. Vol. VIII, Grover Cleveland, 1885–1889, pp. 296–852. Vol. IX, Grover Cleveland, 1893–1897, pp. 387–801.

—President, 1893–1897 (Cleveland).

President's Message relating to the Hawaiian Islands. December 18, 1893. Accompanied by Commissioner Blount's Report, the evidence taken by him at Honolulu, the instructions given to both Commissioner Blount and Minister Willis, and correspondence connected with the affair. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893. 684 pp. Map. 8vo. Fifty-third Congress, second session, House Executive Document No. 47.

Biery, James S.

King Grover. Chronicles of His Reign, according to Simonides, the scribe of the tribe of Lechay. First book. Allentown, Pa.: Published by the author, 1894. 128 pp. 12mo. In scriptural style.

Boyd, James Penny.

Biographies of President Grover Cleveland and Hon. Allen G. Thurman, with full Proceedings of the St. Louis Convention and authorized text of the National

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

Platform. Philadelphia: Franklin News Company, 1888. Portraits. 8vo.

Men and Issues of '92. A grand national portrait gallery, containing photographs of leading men of all parties; with a full and fair presentation of the great national questions of the day. Also the lives of Republican and Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President, with national platforms. Philadelphia: Publishers' Union, 1892. 656 pp. Portraits. 8vo.

Dieck, Herman.

The Life and Public Services of our Great Reform President, Grover Cleveland, to which is added the Life and Public Services of Allen G. Thurman. Philadelphia: S. I. Bell & Co., 1888. 554 pp. Illustrations. Plates. Portraits. 12mo.

Goodrich, Frederick E.

The Life and Public Services of Grover Cleveland, with incidents of his boyhood and an account of his rise to eminence in his profession; also containing his addresses and official documents as Mayor of the City of Buffalo and Governor of the State of New York. Portland, Me.: H. Hallett & Co., 1884. 504 pp. Plates. Portraits. 12mo.

Handford, Thomas W.

Early Life and Public Services of Hon. Grover Cleveland, the fearless and independent Governor of the Empire State, and candidate for President of the United States, reciting the annals of his successful career from obscurity to the eminent position which he now holds in the admiration of the people. Also the Life of Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, candidate for Vice-President. Including a history of the Democratic party, and life sketches of prominent Democratic

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

statesmen. Together with the platforms of both parties and a mass of useful political information. Chicago and New York: Caxton Publishing Company, 1884. 510 pp. Plates. Portraits. Facsimiles. 12mo.

Harlow, Louis K.

At Gray Gables and Walks Along the Shore of Buzzard's Bay. With illustrations from water-colors and sketches by L. K. Harlow, and with an historical and descriptive sketch of Buzzard's Bay and poems by well-known writers illustrative of the scenery. New York: R. Tuck & Sons, 1895. 15 pp. Illustrations. Plates. 12mo.

Hensel, William Uhler.

Life and Public Services of Grover Cleveland, twenty-second President of the United States, and Democratic nominee for re-election, 1888. An introductory sketch by the late William Dorsheimer, enlarged and continued through the present administrations to the date of publication. Together with a sketch of the Life of Allen G. Thurman, ex-United States Senator from Ohio and Democratic nominee for Vice-President. An account of the Democratic National Convention, St. Louis, 1888; statement of Democratic principles, and a handbook of useful political information. Philadelphia and Chicago: Hubbard Brothers. Boston: Guernsey Publishing Company, 1888. 588 pp. Plates. Portraits. 12mo.

Life and Public Services of Grover Cleveland, twenty-second President of the United States, and Democratic nominee for re-election in 1892. An introductory sketch by the late Hon. William Dorsheimer, enlarged and continued through his administration, with a statement of the Democratic principles and a handbook of

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

useful political information. Also a sketch of the Life and Services of Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, Vice-Presidential nominee, by Prof. Charles Morris. Philadelphia: Edgewood Publishing Company, 1892. 556 pp. Plates. Portraits. 8vo.

King, Pendleton.

Life and Public Services of Grover Cleveland. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1884. 224 pp. Plates. 16mo.

Kintz, Henry J.

The Inauguration of Grover Cleveland, the President-elect. March 4, 1885. A book for fifty million people. Alexandria, Va. [Philadelphia: W. F. Fell & Co., Printers], 1885. 159 pp. Plates. Portraits. 12mo.

Le Fevre, Benjamin.

Campaign of '84. Biographies of S. Grover Cleveland, the Democratic candidate for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, with a description of the leading issues and the proceedings of the National Convention, together with a history of the political parties of the United States, comparisons of platforms on all important questions, and political tables for ready reference. Philadelphia: Fireside Publishing Company, 1884. Portraits. 8vo.

Norton, Charles Benjamin.

The President and his Cabinet, indicating the progress of the government of the United States under the administration of Grover Cleveland. Boston: Cupples & Hurd, 1888. 249 pp. Plates. Portraits. 12mo.

Parker, George Frederick.

A Life of Grover Cleveland; with a Sketch of Adlai E. Stevenson. New York: Cassell Publishing Company, 1892. 333 pp. 12mo.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

Perry, Frances M.

Four Great American Presidents. Garfield, McKinley, Cleveland, Roosevelt; a book for American readers. New York: J. M. Stradling & Co., 1903. 309 pp. Illustrations. 12mo.

Schreiber, Bessie Rhoda.

An Acrostic to President Grover Cleveland on his Inauguration. Containing the names of all the newspapers in New York State. New York: H. Seibert & Brother, Lithographers, 1885. Broadside. Folio.

Stoddard, William Osborn.

Grover Cleveland. New York: F. A. Stokes & Brother, 1888. 263 pp. Frontispiece. Plates. 12mo.

Watkins, Walter Kendall.

New England Ancestry of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States of America. Privately printed. Salem, Mass.: The Salem Press, 1892. 25 pp. Charts. Frontispiece. Folio.

Welch, Deshler.

Stephen Grover Cleveland. A sketch of his life, to which is appended a short account of the Life of Thomas Andrews Hendricks. New York: J. W. Lovell Company, 1884. 222 pp. Plates. Facsimiles. 12mo.

Whittle, James Lowry.

Grover Cleveland. London: Bliss, Sands & Co., 1896. 240 pp. Portraits. 12mo.

These histories of the United States covering President Cleveland's administration may also be consulted:

Andrews, E. B. History of the Last Quarter Century in the United States, 1870-1895.

Dewey, D. R. National Problems, 1885-1897.

Peck, H. T. Twenty Years of the Republic, 1885-1905.

Wilson, Woodrow. A History of the American People.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

The usual indexes will guide to the articles about Mr. Cleveland as follows:

Fletcher, W. I. (A. L. A.). Index to General Literature, second edition, 1901. Followed by Annual Library Index, edited by W. I. Fletcher, 1902-1907.

Poole's Index to Periodical Literature.

Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.

INDEX

- Academy of Medicine, New York, address at the laying of the corner stone of, 177-179.
- Actors' Home, 199.
- Adams, John P., letter to (September 12, 1890), 235.
- Addresses: at Albany, N. Y., 31-33, 34-36, 41-43, 48, 49, 49-51, 446, 447; at Ann Arbor, Mich., 318-329; at Atlantic City, N. J., 447-449; at Boston, Mass., 184-192; at Brooklyn, N. Y., 241-246, 309-313; at Buffalo, N. Y., 9, 10, 11, 15-17, 17-20, 20-22, 45-47, 109-111, 299-304; at Cambridge Mass. (Harvard University), 89-91; at Clinton, N. Y., 105-109; at Columbus, Ohio, 256-263; at Fredericksburg, Va., 365, 367; at Ithaca, N. Y. (Cornell University), 192-196; at Kansas City, Mo., 117, 118; at Lawrenceville, N. J., 403, 404; at Nebraska City, Neb., 442, 443; at Newark, N. J., 55-57; at New York City, 29-31, 36-39, 151-153, 165-170, 170-172, 173, 177, 180-183, 196-200, 206-210, 211-215, 215-220, 221-225, 236-241, 246-250, 263-267, 267-270, 271-279, 288-291, 291-296, 313-318, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343-345, 394, 395, 395-399, 406, 407, 421-423, 423-425, 429, 436, 437-440, 443-446, 452-453, 453, 454; at Philadelphia, Pa., 112, 113, 113-116, 116, 117, 134, 135, 279-287, 367-369, 416, 416-418, 449-451; at Pittsburgh, Pa., 414, 415; at Princeton, N. J., 382, 383, 399-401, 408, 409, 410-412, 412-414, 419, 432; at Providence, R. I., 305-309, 330-338; at Richmond, Va., 87-89; at Rochester, N. Y., 43-45; at Sandwich, Mass., 228-235; at St. Louis, Mo., 425-429; at Washington, D. C., 59-64, 102-105, 129, 130, 136-138, 201-203, 347-353.
- Adirondack Park, address in regard to, 288-291.
- Agricultural Fair, Richmond, Va., 87-89.
- Albany, N. Y., addresses at, 31-33, 34-36, 41-43, 48, 49, 49-51, 446, 447; needed reforms at the Capitol, 289, 290.
- "Alliance" incident, 375.
- Ambassador, conferring the title of, on U. S. envoys to Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany, 357.
- American artists, unjust discrimination in favor of, 71.
- American character, 102.

INDEX

- American citizens imprisoned abroad, protest against the treatment of, 15-17.
- American citizenship, 214, 256-263, 403, 404.
- American commerce, revival of, 369.
- American Fishery Union, letter to (April 7, 1885), 99-102.
- American flag, 368, 369.
- American home, 258, 260.
- American industries, 221-225.
- American Jews, celebration of the 250th anniversary of settlement of, 443; as patriots, 445.
- American life, important factors in, 257.
- American motherhood, 366.
- American progress and achievement within a century, 426.
- American Railway Union, 433.
- American sentiment of fair play, 225.
- Ann Arbor, Mich., address at, 318-329.
- Anderson, E. Ellery, 204.
- Andrew, John F., 254.
- Arbitration between the republics of America and Europe, 357.
- Arbitration of labor disputes, 79-83.
- Arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain, 392, 393.
- Army of the Cumberland, 102.
- Arthur, Chester Alan, executive proclamation on the death of ex-President (November 18, 1886), 92.
- Assessments for partisan purposes, 23.
- Atlantic City, N. J., address at, 447-449.
- Ballot reform, necessity of, 188-192.
- Barnstable County, 229, 230, 232, 233, 235.
- Bartlett, Charles L., letter to (March 14, 1904), 432.
- Bean Hill, 310.
- Bedloe's Island, 87.
- Beecher, Henry Ward, tribute to, 132, 133.
- Beecher, Mrs. Henry Ward, letter to (May 22, 1888), 132, 133.
- Berne, international copyright conference at, 69.
- Birmingham, England, 381.
- Bissell, Dr., 106.
- Blount, James H., 355.
- Boston, Mass., address at, 184-192.
- Boston commerce, 185.
- Boston merchants, 185, 186.
- Boston Tea Party, 185.
- Boyhood, Cleveland's, 105-107.
- Bragg, Edward S., letter to (March 9, 1892), 329, 330.
- Bridgeport, Conn., address at, 58, 59.
- British Guiana, 372, 373.
- Brooklyn, N. Y., address at, 241-246, 309-313.
- Brooklyn Democratic Club, letter to (April 16, 1898), 402.
- Brown, Edgar A., 204.
- Buffalo, N. Y., addresses at, 9, 10, 11, 15-17, 17-20, 20-22, 45-47, 109-111, 299-304; inaugural message as Mayor of (January 2, 1882), 11-13; position of City Auditor in, 13; Saengerfest, 300.

INDEX

- Builders, address at banquet of New York National Association of, 296.
- Building contracts, 294, 295.
- Building trade, antiquity and importance of, 293.
- Bunker Hill, 251.
- Business Men's Democratic Association of New York, addresses before, 246-250, 313-318.
- Business methods in government, 181.
- Butler, Benoni, 106.
- Buzzards Bay, 231, 406.
- Caldwell, N. J., 55.
- Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard University), address at, 89-91.
- "Campaign of Education," the, 271-279.
- Canton, Ohio, letters to the Young Men's Democratic Club at (November 22, 1889), 183; (November 25, 1890), 270, 271.
- Cape Cod, 229, 231, 232, 235.
- Cape Cod Canal, 232.
- Capital and Labor, relations of, 95, 96.
- Carnegie, Andrew, 414, 415.
- Carnegie Hall, N. Y., address at, 443-446.
- Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa., 414.
- Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., 117.
- Catholic Club, Philadelphia, Pa., 98, 99.
- Centennial of Clinton, N. Y., address at the, 105-109.
- Centennial of Constitution, Philadelphia, Pa., address at the, 113-116.
- Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, letter to the Committee of the (November 4, 1887), 118, 119; address at the dedication of the new home of, 421-423.
- Charities and Correction, address at the national conference of, 449-451.
- Charity and charitable work, 449-451.
- "Cheap merchandise, cheap men, cheap country," 258-262.
- Chicago labor disturbances, 432.
- Chicago strike, lecture on (May 2, 1904), 432-436; attitude of Government in, 434, 435.
- Citizens, duties of, 19, 59, 96, 103, 110, 113, 184, 186, 188-190, 192.
- Citizenship, American, 96, 173-177, 256-263.
- Citizenship and naturalization, 70, 71.
- Civil Service and Civil Service Reform, 26-28, 74-76, 96, 97, 191, 358, 359.
- Civil Service Commission, report of, 74.
- Civil Service Reform Association of New York, letter to (October 28, 1882), 26-28.
- Civil Service rules amended, 389, 390.
- Civil War, the, 46, 47; Germans in, 302.
- Classes, formation of two widely opposite, 155.
- Cleveland family, 309.
- Cleveland, Rev. William N., letter to (November 7, 1882), 28, 29.

INDEX

- Clinton, N. Y., address at Centennial of, 105-109.
- Codman, Charles R., 254.
- Coinage of silver, 204.
- College of the City of New York, address at, 436, 437.
- Collins, Hon. P. A., 136, 139.
- Columbus, Ohio, address at, 256-263.
- Commerce, necessity of freedom of, 38; reflections on, 422.
- Committee on Notification, address before, 136, 137.
- Communism, views on, 158.
- Constitution Centennial, Philadelphia, Pa., address at the, 113-116.
- Consular service, recast of laws relating to, 357, 358.
- Continental Congress, 117.
- Co-operation of capital and labor, 96.
- Cooper Union, New York, addresses at, 151-153, 236-241.
- Copyright. See International copyright.
- Corn, shipments of, from New Orleans, 37.
- Cornell Alumni Society, address before, 192-196.
- Cornell, Governor, 31.
- Cornell University, address at, 193-196.
- Coronation of Czar of Russia, 373.
- Corporations, 24; stockholders in, 40, 41.
- Cox, Samuel S., tribute to, 151-153.
- Cuba, disturbances in, 374, 375; insurrection in, and policy as to, 384-388.
- Cumberland, survivors of the Army of the, 102.
- Currency, a stable and safe, 348, 353; depreciated, 397.
- Czar of Russia, coronation of the, 373.
- Declaration of Independence, 227, 228.
- Democracy, Democratic Party, or Democrats, references to, 10, 35, 50, 56, 57, 78, 132, 147, 151, 165-170, 205, 206, 237, 241-246, 246-250, 250-255, 258, 271-279, 281-287, 296-299, 314-318, 337-340, 343-345, 354, 369-372, 395-399, 402, 406.
- Democratic Club, New York; address at, 296-299.
- Democratic Editorial Association, letter read at banquet of (May 24, 1895), 369-372.
- Democratic Government, 62, 63.
- Democratic League of Clubs, address at, 339, 340.
- Depew, Chauncey M., 265-267.
- Depreciated currency, 397.
- Diplomatic service, 357.
- Douglass, Fred., 432.
- Dramatic profession. See Actors' Fund.
- Drexel, Joseph W., 86.
- Dutch conservatism, 407.
- Eastmond, A. H., 402.
- Economy, public and private, 258, *et seq.*
- Education, relation to politics, 89.
- Educational processes, 417.
- Election frauds, 22, 23.
- Elections, primary, 22, 23.
- Eliot, Charles W., 254.

INDEX

- Employers, arbitration of disputes between laboring men and, 79-83.
- Employers, to laboring men, relations of, 95, 96.
- England, reciprocity with, 264.
- Equitable Life Assurance Society, trusteeship, 440.
- Erie County Bar Association meeting, memorial tribute to Oscar Folsom before the, 7-9.
- Evacuation-Day celebration, New York, address at, 36-39.
- Evangelical Alliance, address to the 129, 130.
- Everett, Dr. William, 254.
- Expatriation, right of, 70.
- Ex-Presidents, concerning the disposition of, 182, 183; rights of, and popular ideas concerning, 234, 235.
- Extravagance, public, 297.
- Farmers' Alliance, letter to Steubenville Lodge of the (March 24, 1890), 220, 221.
- Farmers and the trusts, 390.
- Farmers, position with regard to New York canals, 38; effect of protective tariff on, 144; their interest in taxation, 143; movement of crops, 144; decrease of interest in life of, 157.
- Federal system, 201-203.
- Federal taxation, 141, 351.
- Fellowcraft Club, New York, address before, 173-177.
- Finances, condition of the national, 119-128.
- Financial policy, 140.
- Finley, Dr. John Huston, 436.
- Fishery disputes, 99-102.
- Folsom, Oscar, memorial tribute to, 7-9.
- Foreign policy, 62, 63.
- Foreign relations, perplexity in, 355.
- Founder's Day at Lawrenceville School, address at, 403, 404.
- Fox, Hon. John, 453.
- France, reciprocity with, 264.
- Franklin, Benjamin, 116, 117.
- Fraudulent and corrupt practices, 25.
- Frazier, John W., 104.
- Fredericksburg, Va., addresses at, 365-367.
- Free library movement, 215-220.
- Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, 112.
- Frugality in home and government, 258-260.
- Furey, William A., letter to (February 2, 1888), 190-192.
- G. A. R. banquet in Buffalo, address at, 45-49.
- Garfield, James A., tribute to, 103.
- Garfield statue, address at the unveiling of the, 102-104.
- Garrison, William Lloyd, 254.
- German-Americans, 299-304.
- German character, 300-302.
- German citizens, 300-304.
- German literature, 300, 301.
- German reformers, 399.
- German Young Men's Association, Buffalo, address at the semi-centennial of, 299-304.
- Gettysburg, letter to reunion of Union and ex-Confederate soldiers at (June 24, 1887), 104, 105.

INDEX

- Gibbons, Cardinal, 98; letter to a member of the Cardinal Gibbons reception committee (January 26, 1887), 98, 99.
- Gilder, Richard Watson, 401.
- Gloucester, Mass., letter to American Fishery Union at (April 7, 1885), 99-102.
- Golden rule, 416.
- Governor, serenade speech at Buffalo upon nomination for, 20-22; letter accepting nomination for (October 7, 1882), 22-26; policy to be adopted as, 28; address as, at Albany, N. Y., 31-33.
- Governorship, letter to his brother, on being elected to (November 7, 1882), 28, 29; address at the Manhattan Club, New York, after election to, 29-31.
- Grant, Gen. U. S., proclamation on the death of (July 23, 1885), 64, 65.
- Great Britain, arbitration treaty, 392, 393.
- Hancock, Gen. Winfield Scott, executive order on the death of (February 9, 1886), 79.
- Harrison, Benjamin, tribute to ex-President, 407, 408.
- Harvard College, address at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of, 89-91.
- Havana, 384.
- Hawaii, treaty and relations with, 355, 356.
- Hendricks, Thomas A., executive order on the death of Vice-President (November 25, 1885), 67, 68; monument to, 226.
- Hepworth, Rev. G. H., letter to (August 26, 1900), 406.
- Herwig, A., 225.
- Hibernian Society, Philadelphia, Pa., address at the banquet of, 112, 113.
- Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, 254.
- Hill, J. A., 220.
- Historical and Scientific Societies of Philadelphia, Pa., address at the dinner of the, 116, 117.
- Hoar, Sherman, 254.
- Holman, John A., 226.
- Holland Society dinner, address at, 406.
- Home Rule, 255.
- Immigration, views on, 63.
- Inaugural addresses: first to Congress (March 4, 1885), 59-64; second to Congress (March 4, 1893), 347-352.
- Independence, American, 62, 227.
- Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., 117.
- Indian policy, 63.
- Indian problem, 161.
- Indiana Tariff Reform League, letter to (February 15, 1890), 204, 205.
- Indians, relations with the, 351.
- Indianapolis (Hendricks) Monument Committee, letter to (June 18, 1890), 226.
- Individual rights, 53, 54.
- Industries, American, 221-225.
- Insurance investigation, 452, 453.
- International American conference at Washington, D. C., 357.

INDEX

- International copyright, 69, 70.
Ithaca, N. Y., 192.
- Jackson, Andrew, 162, 282, 314-316.
- Jackson Club, Columbus, Ohio, 78.
- Jackson Day, dinner of the National Democratic Club, letter read at, 453, 454.
- Jefferson, Joseph, 401.
- Jefferson, Thomas, 62, 168, 236, 280, 281, 297.
- Jewelers' Association of New York, address before, 267-270.
- Jewish character, 445.
- Jewish charity, 445.
- Jews in Russia, protest against murder and persecution of the, 429, 430.
- Jews in the United States, address at the 250th anniversary of the settlement of the, 443-446.
- Kansas City, Mo., address at, 117, 118.
- Kensington Reform Club, letter to (May 9, 1890), 225.
- Kings County, Democratic Club, letter to (February 2, 1888), 130-132; Democratic headquarters, 235; loyal Democracy of, 241, 242.
- Kishineff Massacre, 429, 430.
- Labor, dignity of, 53; the strength of a State, 56; protection of, 57, 163, 190; arbitration of disputes, 79-83.
- Labor and capital, 80, 81, 95, 96.
- Labor Bureau established, 82, 83; enlargement of, 95.
- Laboring men to employers, relations of, 95, 96.
- Lafayette, Marquis de, 366.
- Land League, Irish, 11.
- Lands, laws relating to public, 160.
- Launch of steamship *St. Louis*, address at, 367-369.
- Law, practice of, as an incitement to patriotism, 319.
- Lawrenceville, N. J., address at 403, 404.
- Lecture, first, on the Venezuela boundary dispute (May 27, 1901), 408, 409; second, on the Venezuela boundary dispute (May 28, 1901), 410-412.
- Legal profession, importance and responsibility of, 41, 42.
- Legislation, unduly influenced, 25.
- Legislative interference with municipalities, 23, 24.
- Leslie, Frank, 28.
- Letters: to Thomas C. E. Ecclesine, accepting nomination for Governor, 22-26; to New York Civil Service Reform Association, 26-28; to Rev. William N. Cleveland, 28, 29; accepting nomination for President, 51-55; to Allen G. Thurman, 78; to member of the Cardinal Gibbons reception committee, 98, 99; to George Steele, President American Fishery Union, 99-102; to John W. Frazier, Secretary of Reunion of Union and ex-Confederate soldiers, 104, 105; to Committee of New York Chamber of Commerce, 118, 119; to William A. Furey, 130-132; to Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher, 132,

INDEX

- 133; to Hon. Patrick A. Collins and others, 139-151; to Committee of Massachusetts Tariff Reform League, 164, 165; to Young Men's Democratic Club at Canton, Ohio, 183, 270, 271; to Edgar A. Brown, President Indiana Tariff Reform League, 204, 205; to J. A. Hill, Secretary Steubenville Lodge of the Farmers' Alliance, 220, 221; to F. A. Herwig, 225, 226; to John A. Holman, Secretary of the Thomas A. Hendricks Monument Committee, 226; to Abraham B. Tappan, Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society, 227, 228; to John P. Adams, 235, 236; to John McConvill, 255; to Hon. Edward S. Bragg, Lakewood, N. J., 329, 330; to Hon. W. J. Northen, 353, 354; to John A. Mason, 369-372; to Hon. George W. Parker, 381, 382; to Richard Watson Gilder, 401, 402; to A. H. Eastmond, 402; to Gustav H. Schwab, 405; to Rev. G. H. Hepworth, 406; to Hon. E. Y. Webb, 431; to Hon. Charles L. Bartlett, 432; to Thomas F. Ryan, accepting trusteeship in Equitable Life Society, 440-442; to Hon. John Fox, 453, 454; to the editor of the *New York World*, 455.
- "Liberty Enlightening the World," message relating to acceptance and inauguration of the statue of (May 11, 1886), 85-87.
- Libraries, free, 215-220.
- Life-Insurance Presidents, 452.
- Literature, pernicious, 218.
- Log-rolling system, 307.
- Louisiana Purchase Exposition, address at dedication of buildings of, 425-428.
- Luther, Martin, 259, 399.
- McConvill, John, letter to (November 11, 1891), 255.
- McKinley memorial services, address at, 412-414.
- McKinley, William, tribute to, 412-414.
- Manhattan Club, New York City, address at the, 29-31.
- Mason, John A., 369.
- Masonic banquet at Fredericksburg, Va., address at, 366, 367.
- Massachusetts, patriotism of, 85; leadership in civil service and ballot reform, 191, 192; residence in, 250; history, tradition, achievements, 251; education in, 252; independence of party trammels, 254; Tariff Reform League, letter to (December 24, 1888), 164, 165.
- Mayor of Buffalo, address accepting nomination for, 9-10; inaugural message as (January 2, 1882), 11-13.
- Medical Alumni Association of New York, address before, 206-210.
- Medical profession, importance of, 178, 179; fifty years ago, and today, 394, 395.
- Merchants' Association of Boston, address before, 184-192.
- Misappropriation of public funds, 350.

INDEX

- Memorial services for President McKinley at Princeton, N. J., 412-414.
- Messages: as Mayor of Buffalo (January 2, 1882), 11-14; first, to New York Legislature (January 2, 1883), 33, 34; second, to New York Legislature (January 1, 1884), 39-41; first annual, to Congress (December 8, 1885), 68-78; special, on arbitration of labor disputes (April 12, 1887), 79-83; relating to Statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World" (May 11, 1886), 85-87; second annual, to Congress (December 6, 1886), 92-98; third annual, to Congress (December 6, 1887), 119-129; special, on death of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan (August 6, 1888), 138, 139; fourth annual to Congress (December 3, 1888), 153-164; first annual, to Congress (second term, December 4, 1893), 355-363; second annual, to Congress (second term, December 3, 1894), 363, 364; third annual, to Congress (second term, December 2, 1895), 372-376; special, on Venezuela boundary dispute (December 17, 1895), 376-381; fourth annual, to Congress (second term, December 7, 1896), 383-392; on arbitration treaty (January 11, 1897), 392, 393.
- Michigan, University of, 318.
- Militia, 24.
- Mississippi River, 426.
- Missouri River, 426.
- Monroe doctrine, 62, 376-381.
- Monroe, James, 377.
- Mormons, importation of, 74.
- Morton, J. Stirling, address at unveiling of statue of, 442, 443.
- National Democratic Club of New York, letter to (January 8, 1908), 453, 454.
- National prosperity, 342.
- Naturalization and citizenship, 70, 71.
- Navy, reconstruction of the, 71-73; Department, reflections on, 71-73.
- Nebraska City, Neb., address at unveiling of the J. Stirling Morton statue, 442, 443.
- Negro problem, 423-425; 431, 432.
- Newark, N. J., address at, 55-57; population and industries of, 56.
- New England, love for, 310; farming in, 311; principles, 311.
- New England Society of Brooklyn, address before, 309-313.
- New Jersey, farming and manufacturing interests of, 56.
- New Orleans, battle of, 314, 315.
- New York, address before Southern Society of, 211-215; address at College of the City of, 436, 437.
- New York Academy of Medicine, addresses before, 177-179, 394, 395.
- New York Business Men's Democratic Association, addresses before, 246-250, 313-318.
- New York Chamber of Commerce, letter to (November 4, 1887), 118, 119; addresses at, 180-183, 341, 342, 421-423.
- New York City, addresses at, 29-

INDEX

- 31, 36-39, 151-153, 165-170, 170-172, 173-177, 180-183, 196-200, 206-210, 211-215, 215-220, 221-225, 236-241, 246-250, 263-267, 267-270, 271-279, 288-291, 291-296, 313-318, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343-345, 394, 395, 395-399, 406-407, 421-423, 423-425, 429, 436, 437-440, 443-446, 452-453, 453, 454; necessity of caring for commerce of, 36; Evacuation Day celebration, 36-39; importance of maritime position, 36, 37; Statue of Liberty, 85-87; Washington Inauguration Centennial, 170-172; letter read at Joseph Jefferson dinner (March 29, 1898), 401, 402; letter read at Carl Schurz dinner (March 2, 1899), 405; National Democratic Club, letter read at the Jackson Day dinner (January 8, 1908), 453, 454.
- New York Civil Service Reform Association, letter to (October 28, 1882), 26-28.
- New York Democratic Club, addresses at, 165-170, 296-299.
- New York Democratic Editorial Association, letter to (May 24, 1895), 369-372.
- New York Equitable Life Assurance Society, letter to (June 12, 1905), 440-442.
- New York Holland Society, address at, 406, 407.
- New York Legislature, first message to, 33, 34; second message to, 39-41.
- New York Reform Club, letter to (February 10, 1891), 204; addresses before, 271-279, 345, 346, 395-399.
- New York State, importance of, 44; population, 44; administration of justice, 45; leader of all the States, 46; greatness and grandeur of, 47.
- New York State Bar Association, address before, 41-43.
- New York State Medical Society, address at centennial meeting of, 446, 447.
- New York *World*, letter to (March 14, 1908), 455.
- Niagara Falls Park, 289, 290.
- Noah, pioneer in building, 293, 294.
- Nomination for Governor, speech at Buffalo upon, 20-22; letter accepting (October 7, 1882), 22-26.
- Nomination for President, response to official notification of first, (July 29, 1884), 49-51; letter accepting first, (August 18, 1884) 51-55.
- Northen, Hon. W. J., letter to (September 25, 1893), 353, 354.
- Norwich, Conn., 310.
- Northern and Southern Presbyterian Assemblies, address before, 134, 135.
- O'Brien, Morgan J., 454.
- O'Farrall, Governor, 365.
- Officeholders, conscience of, 12, 13.
- Office holding a duty of citizenship, 328.
- Olney, Richard, 433.
- Organ, the, in American families, 224.

INDEX

- Organization of Supreme Court, 201-203.
- Panama Canal, 440.
- Parnell, Charles S., tribute to, 255.
- Partisanship, 26, 27, 29, 76, 296.
- Pauncefote, Sir Julian, 376.
- Pendleton bill, Civil Service reform principles in, 26.
- Pension bill, veto of the Andrew J. White (May 8, 1886), 83-85.
- Pension bills, reasons for signing and for disallowing, 84, 85.
- Pension Bureau, reforms in, 83, 84.
- Pension laws, revision of, 161, 163.
- Pensions, liberality in granting, should not be tempered with fraud, 83; inexpediency of special legislation for, 84; reflections concerning, 93-95.
- Periodical Publishers' Association, address at annual banquet of, 447-449.
- Perplexity in foreign relations, 355.
- Personal preferences, 21.
- Personal property, laws of taxation in regard to, 83.
- Philadelphia, Pa., addresses at, 112, 113-116, 116, 117, 134, 135, 279-287, 367-369, 416, 416-418, 449-451; letter to Catholic Club (January 26, 1887), 98, 99; Constitution Centennial, 113-116; letter to Kensington Reform Club (May 9, 1890), 225, 226.
- Philadelphia Brigade, 104.
- Philadelphia Young Men's Democratic Association, address before, 279-287.
- Philippines, suppressed insurrection in the, 439, 440.
- Physicians and patients, 446, 447.
- Piano, the, in American families, 224, 225.
- Piano and Organ Manufacturers, address at banquet of, 221-225.
- Pickett's Division, reunion of, 104.
- Pierce, Henry L., 254.
- Pierce School of Business, Philadelphia, Pa., address at, 416.
- Pilgrim Fathers, 311, 312.
- Pittsburg, Pa., address at, 414, 415.
- Plymouth Rock, 231, 251.
- Polygamy, suppression of, in Utah, 73, 74.
- Presbyterian Assemblies at Philadelphia, address before, 134, 135.
- Presbyterianism, 134, 135, 196, 197.
- President, response to official notification of nomination for, 49-51; letter accepting nomination for (August 18, 1884), 51-55; inaugural addresses as, 59-64, 347-353.
- Presidency, law relating to the succession to the, 77.
- Presidential office, estimate of, 108, 109, 233-235, 329, 330.
- Press, the, 173, 174, 177, 448.
- Primaries, protection of, 22.
- Princeton, N. J., addresses at, 382, 383, 399-401, 408, 409, 410-412, 412-414, 419, 420, 432-436.
- Princeton University, address on Commemoration Day at, 399-401; inauguration of Woodrow Wilson as President of, 420.

INDEX

- Principles of true democracy, 279-284.
- Proclamation, on the death of Gen. U. S. Grant, ex-President, 64, 65; on the death of Vice-President Thomas A. Hendricks, 67; on the death of Gen. W. S. Hancock, 79; on the death of ex-President Chester A. Arthur, 92.
- Protection, a cardinal policy of the Republican Party, 438.
- Providence, R. I., addresses at, 305-309, 330-338.
- Public anxiety in regard to the succession to the Presidency, 77.
- Public expenditures, 9.
- Public lands, reforms in regard to, 160.
- Public office to be held as a public trust, 328.
- "Public officers are the people's servants," 12, 23.
- Public officials considered as the trustees of the people, 10.
- Publishers, 447.
- Pulitzer, Joseph, letter to, 455.
- Pullman Palace Car Company, 438.
- Quincy, Josiah, 254.
- Railroad commissioners, action of, on filing of quarterly reports by railroad companies, 39.
- Ratification meeting, Brooklyn, N. Y., address at, 241-246.
- Reciprocity, 276.
- Reform Club, New York, letter to (February 10, 1891), 204; addresses at, 271-279, 345-346, 395-399.
- Religious teaching, 171.
- Religious toleration, 171.
- Republican Party, protection a cardinal policy of the, 438.
- Response to official notification at Albany, N. Y., 49-51.
- Revenue, reduction of, 158, 159.
- Rhode Island, address to Democracy of, 330-338; demand for free raw material, 337, 338.
- Richmond, Va., address at, 87-89.
- Rights and protection of American citizens, 15-17.
- Rochester, N. Y., address at semi-centennial of, 43-45.
- Roman Catholic Church, 98.
- Rules for conducting municipal affairs, 12.
- Russia, coronation of the Czar of, 374.
- Russian Jews, massacre of, 429, 430.
- Ryan, Thomas F., letter to, accepting trusteeship in Equitable Life Society (June 12, 1905), 440-442.
- Sandwich, Mass., address at, 228-235.
- St. Louis, Mo., Louisiana Purchase Exposition, address at, 425-429.
- St. Thomas of Villanova, Philadelphia, Pa., address at Augustine College of, 416, 417.
- Schurz, Carl, 265; dinner to, 405.
- Schwab, Gustav H., 405.
- Scollard, Dr., 106.
- Scott, Congressman, 431.

INDEX

- Self-made man, reflections concerning the, 399-401.
- Semi-centennial, Buffalo, N. Y., address at the, 17-20; Rochester, N. Y., address at the, 43-45; New York Academy of Medicine, address at the, 394, 395.
- Serenade speeches at Albany, N. Y., 34-36, 48-49.
- Shakespeare Commemoration, Birmingham, England, letter read at (April 21, 1896), 381, 382.
- Shakespeare, William, 197, 381, 382.
- Sheehy, Father, 11.
- Sheridan, Fort, 435.
- Sheridan, Gen. Philip H., tribute to, 138, 139.
- Silver, free coinage of, "16 to 1," 397.
- Southern Educational Association, address to, 423.
- Southern Society of New York, address before, 211-215.
- Spanish-American War, 404.
- Spanish interference with American ships, 375.
- Spanish-speaking people, reciprocity with, 263.
- Stage, influence of the, 197-199.
- State Papers; inaugural message as mayor of Buffalo, 11-14; messages to New York Legislature, 33, 34, 39-41; first annual message to Congress, 68-78; special message on arbitrament of disputes between laboring men and employers, 79-83; veto of pension bill, 83-85; message on acceptance of statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," 85-87; second annual message to Congress, 92-98; third annual message to Congress, 119-129; special message on death of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, 138, 139; fourth annual message to Congress, 153-164; first annual message to Congress (second term), 355-363; second annual message to Congress (second term), 363, 364; third annual message to Congress (second term), 372-376; special message on Venezuela boundary dispute, 376-381; fourth annual message (second term), 383-392; message on arbitration treaty between United States and Great Britain, 392-393.
- Steele, George, letter to (April 7, 1887), 99-102.
- Steubenville, Ohio, letter to Farmers' Alliance Lodge (March 24, 1890), 220, 221.
- Suffrage, right of, 249.
- Supreme Court of the United States, address at the centennial celebration of the organization of the, 201-203; concluding words on Chicago strike by, 436.
- Surplus. See Treasury Surplus.
- Tammany Society, letter to (June 30, 1890), 227, 228.
- Tappan, Abraham B., 227.
- Tariff, necessity for revision of, 122; interests of labor to be considered in readjustment of, 122; recommendation of reduction of, 128; adjustment of, 225.

INDEX

- Tariff laws, considerations of existing, 122-128, 156-160.
- Tariff policy, new, 363, 364.
- Tariff question, 142, *et seq.*
- Tariff reform, interest of farmers in, 142, 143; benefits to labor from, 157; advocacy of, 158; extent of benefit of, 164; activity in, 205; advocated by Democratic Party, 272; Republican hilarity over message on, 274; advocating the cause of, 278; the shibboleth of true democracy, 331; vindicated in 1890, 334; Republican ideas of, 335, 336; how the people understand, 335, 336; the Democratic Party pledged to, 351; considered in first annual message to Congress (second term), 360-363.
- Tariff taxation, 141-151.
- Taxation, municipal, 9; existing scheme of, 122, 156; federal, 141; Democratic principle in regard to, 315.
- Taylor, C. H. J., 431.
- Thanksgiving proclamation (November 2, 1885), 66, 67.
- Thomas Jefferson Building, Brooklyn, N. Y., 235, 236.
- Thurman, Allen G., letter to (January 4, 1886), 78; birthday banquet, Columbus, Ohio, address at, 256-263.
- Tilden, Samuel J., 131.
- Transportation, cheap, 54.
- Treasury, the public, 120.
- Treasury surplus, influence and effect of an immense, 145.
- Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass., address in, 250-255.
- Trusts, combinations, and monopolies, 148, 155, 350, 390-392, 437-439.
- Trusts and the artisan, 390.
- Trusts and the farmers, 390.
- Trusts and the small trader, 390.
- Tuskegee Institute, 425.
- Tyre and Sidon, 422.
- Uncle Tom's Cabin, days of, 423.
- United States Bank, Jackson's position in regard to, 316.
- United States Congress. See Messages.
- United States Consuls, 357, 358.
- United States Constitution, 60, 61, 170, 171, 201, 202, 339, 340.
- United States Constitution Centennial, Philadelphia, Pa., 113-118.
- United States Navy, rebuilding of, 71-73.
- United States Supreme Court, crowded condition of calendar of, 160; address at centennial of organization of, 201-203.
- United States Treasury, proper functions of, 120.
- University, relations of the State to the, 194.
- University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, address at, 318-329.
- Utah, suppression of polygamy in, 73, 74.
- Venezuela, boundary dispute, acute stage of, 372, 373; special message on (December 17, 1895), 376-381; submitted to arbitration, 389; first lecture on (May

INDEX

- 27, 1901), 408, 409; second lecture on (May 28, 1901), 410-412.
- Veto of the Andrew J. White pension bill (May 8, 1886), 83-85.
- Villard, Henry, dinner, address at, 343-345.
- Virginia, agriculture in, 87-89.
- Virginia State Fair, Richmond, address at, 87-89.
- Washington, D. C., addresses at, 59-64, 102-105, 129, 130, 136-138, 201-203, 347-353; International American Conference at, 357.
- Washington, Booker T., 423.
- Washington, George, 60, 62, 112, 115, 176, 201, 211-215, 318-329.
- Washington, Mary, dedication of monument to, at Fredericksburg, Va., 365, 366.
- Washington Inauguration Centennial, address at, 170-172.
- Waste of public moneys, 349.
- Watson, Thomas E., 432.
- Webb, E. Y., letter to (March 2, 1904), 431.
- White, Andrew J., pension bill, veto of, 83-85.
- Williams, George Fred., 254.
- Woman, sphere of, 218.
- Workingmen's Tariff Reform Association, 225.
- Young Men's Christian Associations, addresses before, 109-111, 117, 118.
- Young Men's Democratic Association of Philadelphia, Pa., address before, 279-287.
- Young Men's Democratic Club, Canton, Ohio, letters to (November 12, 1889), 183; (November 25, 1890), 270, 271.