THE CAMPAIGN ITSELF.

The outstanding feature of this campaign between the classes was the fear and terror which each side inspired in the hearts of the other. The Republicans and all those who favored a high tariff, a gold standard, and were connected in any way with big business seem to have been especially frightened. Bryan and his followers were constantly depicted as being worse than Robespierre, as being devils incarnate, in most of the important papers and magazines and in the millions of campaign documents distributed by McKinley men. A few examples: Francis E. Leupp, press correspondent for "Harper's Weekly" sent the following report to his magazine after Altgeld, the Illinois governor who had pardoned Anarchists, had made a speech in the National Convention at Chicago:

"John P. Altgeld, with his sharply chiselled French Revolution face, his high ringing voice, his bitter vehemence of manner, and his facility for epithet, was the most picturesque figure in the assemblage---No one could listen to the flow of natural eloquence from Altgeld's lips without feeling that here was a guiding spirit in the lower social plane of any community in which he might dwell. He manifestly understood the weaknesses of human nature, and knew how to play on them with Satanic shrewdness. No personality in the convention was less obtrusively in evidence than he; no orator was more eagerly heard when he spoke; none knew so well in what order to spring his half-truths at his audience and where to shut off the stream; none measured with such cleverness the meaning of the plaudits in response, or realized so promptly when he had reached a climax which he could safely cap with a bit of his keen invective. One could not help marking him, at short notice, as the most dangerous influence in the convention-the stamp of agitator who, when the bludgeon had failed of its full work, would be ready with his poisoned knife, and who, in leading a victory-drunken mob, would not hesitate to follow pillage with the torch." (Harper's Weekly, July 18, 1896.)

On October 17, 1896 the same Weekly contained the following analysis of the situation: "Governor Altgeld, aswe have already said, is the brain and inspiration of the movement for which Mr. Bryan stands. He is the candidate's most trusted adviser. It is he who chose Mr. Bryan in preference to Mr. Bland, and induced the convention to nominate the friend fervid and plastic young Nebraska orator--Governor Altgeld preferred the impulsive, susceptible, imaginative, yielding Mr. Bryan, who had always shown himself ready to make war on society, who was accepted as a Populist by the Populists themselves, and who would be as clay in the hands of the potter under the astute control of the ambitious and unscrupulous Illinois communist, who had become the leader of all the disturbing forces in the country by reason of his defense and pardon of the Chicago anarchists. To Governor Altgeld the passage of a law establishing free coinage of silver would be but a step towards the general socialsim which is the fundamental

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doctrine of his political belief. The money question is but one of the issues on which he seeks to overturn the old parties, the old traditions, and the essential policies which have controlled the government since its foundation. He favored Mr.Bryan because he knew that he would be the power in Mr.Bryan's administration; and he is not seeking merely to make money cheaper, but through a war on capital to revolutionize politics and society."

(I might note at this point that the Bryanites were nearly always called "anarchists and socialists." The epithets were always applied together and yet, it is impossible for a person to be both an anarchist and a socialist at the same time, for, as I have read someplace, "an anarchist wants no law and all freedom, while a socialist wants all law and no freedom.")

Waldo R.Browne in his "Altgeld of Illinois" gives a graphic account of how Altgeld's name was used to frighten the people in voting against Bryan. He says:

"Every conceivable effort was made to place upon the national Democratic party and its candidate the odium attaching in the public mind to Altgeld and his alleged 'criminal sympathies and anarchistic tendencies.' The cry of 'anarchy' was incessantly trumpeted to the four winds by every Republican agency capable of emitting a noise. As the campaign progressed, these tactics became more reckless and violent and discursive. Altgeld was 'an enemy of the Constitution'; he stood for 'all the essential doctrines of Jeff Davis and Herr Most'; and his 'final aim and purpose' were declared to be nothing less than the 'overthrow of law and order, the rights of property, and conservative government in the United States.' Oddly enough, the most active active and thorough-going practitioners of this sort of moral assassination were the revered clergymen, the urbane 'scholars in politics,' these knightly Civil War heroes, the respected 'journals of civilization'* identified with eastern sweetness and light. Dr.Lyman Abbott denounced from his pulpit 'the crowned hero and worshipped deity of the anarchists of the Northwest' who had the 'magnificent effrontery' to go to New York to deliver an address in answer to a scathing attack that had been made upon him there by a prominent Republican orator. Theodore Roosevelt, before an audience of 13,000 persons in Chicago, characterized Governor Altgeld as 'one who would connive at wholesale murder,' who 'condones and encourages the most infamous of murders,' and who 'would substitute for the government of Washington and Lincoln a red welter of lawlessness and dishonesty as fantastic and vicious as the Paris Commune.' General Sickles, the warrior of Gettysburg, traveled through Illinois informing the people that their Governor--was a 'wolf who needed skinning.' A fairly complete vocabulary of vituperation might have been compiled from the names applied to Altgeld by the hysterical swashbucklers of press, pulpit, and platform. Such appellations as 'anarchist,' 'socialist,' 'communist,' 'fool,'

* Harper's Weekly called itself a "journal of civilization."

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'fraud,' 'crank,' etc.,were worn threadbare early in the campaign,and were gradually discarded in favor of 'lunatic,' 'ruffian,' 'thug,' 'snake,' 'viper,' 'serpent,' 'dog,' 'ass,' 'hoodlum,' ' traitor.' 'conspirator,' 'murderer,' 'arch devil,' and the like. (Pp. 286-288)

The Nation for 1896 contained numerous articles of which the following are typical:

"The one comic touch in the Chicago platform is its denunciation of the Republicans for their 'threat to business.' This,coming from men who propose not only to threaten,but to throttle,business,to make property and life itself unsafe,shows that they have lost all sense of humor as well as honor. No such collection of inflammatory and reckless men ever put themselves on exhibition in a national convention. Beside them the Populists are lamb-like,and the Socialists sucking doves. The country has watched their mad proceddings with disgust and shuddering,only impatient for the coming of November to stamp out them and their incendiary doctrines. Yet these objects of alarm have the impudence to accuse somebody else of threatening business." (July 16,1896, Vol.63,P.39) Again,

"The Popocratic*appeal for campaign funds puts the Bryan campaign on the Altgeld-Tillman level. There is not a word in it about Democratic principles. It is a frantic effort to array the 'plain people' against the 'favored classes,' and it is expressed in the language which has been familiar to us in the Ocala platform and in the speeches of all the Populist and Anarchist orators for the past dozen years or more. We must be 'big enough and strong enough to have our own financial policy; if not,then we are the serfs of the money-changers of Europe,and are doomed to a vassalage more ignominious and more degrading than that against which our fathers fought a century ago..' 'We have allied against us in this contest not only the financial forces of Europe,but the subsidized press and all the monopolies and Trusts here at home.' 'To the overflowing treasury of the money-powers,we will oppose the accumulated offerings of the masses fighting to be free,and ask the Ruler of the Universe for his blessing.' These are the ravings of despair as well as of pure Populism. The writer of the address has clearly given up all hope of any assistance from the respectable and intelligent section of the Democratic party, and is placing all his hopes of success upon the ragtag and bobtail of all parties." (August 27,1896,Vol.63,P.150)

* Popocrats is the name that was given to the combination of Democrats and Populists.

"Bryan is a harum-scarum young man of thirty-six who has been in several professions,making no mark in any and leaving behind him in all no impression of either strong ability or steadfast character. He is something of a lawyer,a little of a journalist,and more of a politician than either. His speeches leave no doubt in any trained mind that he is only a ~~half-trained man~~ half-educated man. He is worse than untried,for he has been

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tried and found wanting. He is going about the country pouring forth at every railway station silly and ignorant talk about finance,currency,government,syndicates,railways,bankers, and property owners. All that is stable in the country,all that has tended to its development as a civilized state,he denounces and as President promises to overturn and destroy. His associate on the ticket who will be most generally supported with him is Tom Watson,a roaring,ignorant demagogue who is totally unfit for any public office,and whose nomination would have been possible in no national convention except one which represented the discontent and ignorance of the land." (Sep't. 10,1896, Vol.63: 185) And after the election the Nation said:

"We have emerged from what a large number of people supposed was an immense dahger,the danger of having our currency adulterated and our form of government changed,and a band of ignoramuses and Anarchists put at the head of what remained of the great American republic. Probably no man in civil life has succeeded in inspiring so much terror,without taking life, as Bryan. Attila and Tamerlane frightened more people,but they killed or threatened to kill them; they hardly destroyed more property. Bryan succeeded in persuading hundreds of thousands that the great fabric of government which was built up by the custom and experience of a thousand years,and cemented by hundreds of thousands of lives,was,almost in the first century of its existence,about to be handed over by the vote of its own people to a knot of silly,half-taught adventurers and Anarchists. We were to exchange the Constitution and the Supreme Court for the decrees of Altgeld and Debs and Bryan and Teller, whose principal occupation was to be striking off 'cheap money' for the poor man.' The whole episode has been utterly discreditable to our politics,as conducted by politicians." (Nov.5.1896, Vol.63: 337)

The following view of the campaign by an "ignorant but unprejudiced Englishman traveling in America" (G.W.Steevens) is interesting: After referring to the great part played by Mr.Hanna,whom he calls "the great merchant,shipowner,coalowner, everything-owner of Cleveland," in the campaign,he continues: "If the Republicans win,the cause will be very simple and easily explicable. It will be because of the influence of men of business. It is impossible to convey even to the English mind the idolatry with which these States bow down before the man of business.--Now,as soon as the issue became clearly marked between the two parties,business,as was to be anticipated,threw all its weight on the side of the existing currency and of gold. The Business Men's Sound Money League,the Board of Trade Sound Money League,the Dry Goods Sound Money League,the Commercial Travelers' Sound Money League-they sprang up in every corner of the country and entered upon an active propaganda for Mr. McKinley. It-is-true-that-clothes-and ----- Business went further

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than sound money leagues. It promised a world-shaking panic if Mr.Bryan were elected.---Even now business is sick almost unto death. Commercial travelers complain bitterly that nobody will give an order until after the election; what few orders are booked are,as a rule,strictly conditional on the election of Mr.McKinley. It is true that clothes and machinery and railway carriages will be wanted whoever is President of the United States. But though stocks are running very low,and prices are very low too,tradesmen reckon to buy what they want, in the evnt of Mr.Bryan's election,at the still lower rates of forced sales and bankrupt stock. A big shop in the very centre of Chicago has a board up to this effect! 'Twenty-seven days'- or twenty-six or twenty-five,as the days go by-'to the return of prosperity; buy while the panic prices prevail.' No doubt that shop knows what it is about,and as is not quite so candid as it looks. But the effect of such announcements goes very far indeed." (Steevens, Land of the Dollar, Pp. 167 ff.)

I have found the following advertisements in the newspapers indicated: In the"Nebrska Farmer" of August 20,1896, Vol.XX P.544:

"If silver wins and if farm produce,labor and labor products double in price,then metals must also double in price, as they are 95% labor. If labor doubles in cost and the product of the mine doubles in cost,Aermotors,Pumps,Spiral Pipe,Fittings, Cylinders,Tanks and Substructures,being the product of the mine and labor,must also double in cost and price: therefore your $1 now will buy as much as 2 of the same dollars if silver wins,or if people think it will win. It is 2 to 1 in favor of buying now. The advance may come in a month or in a week. Aermotor prices will not advance unless compelled by an advance in labor and material--Great saving can be assured and advance avoided if you buy now." The Aermotor Company,with offices in all big cities of the United States.

The October 5,issue of the New York Sun,as well as other issues,contained the following advertisement: "The 40 acres of the Irvington Heights Association can be bought before election or if Bryan is elected,for $25,000. If McKinley is elected,price advanced to $40,000 Nov.4. Finest 40 acres in Westchester----(etc.)--Address or call J.W.Doolittle,Agent, 171 Broadway,New York." (Page 9 of the number.)

Such advertisements must undoubtedly have had an influence on the mind of many of people,at least of those who believed that the"business men had the best heads in the country." Furthermore,despite frequent denials,the Republicans, or at least gold standard employers,often resorted to indirect co-ercion in order to induce the workmen to vote for McKinley. This co-ercion consisted in letting the workmen know that they might expect to be discharged or have their wages lowered in the event of Mr.Bryan's election,and the promise of plenty of work,and better wages if McKinley won. Bryan,in his "First Battle" quotes the following advertisement from the Wilmington

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Morning News of November 3,1896:

"The Harlan and Hollingsworth Company,of this city, have received a contract for a boat costing $300,000. One clause in the contract provides that in the event of Bryan's election the contract shall be canceled. If the boat is built here $160,000 of its cost would be paid to Wilmington workmen for wages. The corporation wanting the boat feel that it would not be justified in having it constructed if Bryan should become President." (P.617)

In addition such post-election announcements like the following indicate pretty clearly that the Democratic accusations were not unfounded: In a statement to the New York Sun on November 6,1896,Alexander Brown,head of the banking-house of Alexander Brown and Sons,Baltimore,said: "Some time ago I said that $16,000,000 was ready for investment in the event of McKinley's election. While I cannot give the details regarding the transactions involving this money,I can say that it is available and that it will be immediately invested in pulp mills,iron mills,various other manufactories,and in the promotion and development of the industrial interests of Baltimore and the State,and that thousands of men will be benefited thereby." Again,in the same issue,

"R.S.Crawford,President of the Crawford bicycle works, expects to soon put to work a large force of hands. Before the election he received an order for $200,000 worth of bicycles from a Boston firm,but in the event of Bryan's election the order was to be cancelled. The order stands good and the community is rejoicing that this large industry will soon be again in operation. The works employ at times nearly 2000 men." Further,and this is a classic example: "The Snead & Co.foundry in this city (Louisville,Ky.) cut the pay of its employees twenty per cent. in September,with the promise of restoration if sound money triumphed,and it will keep its word."(Sun,Nov.6,1896)

In St.Louis,one Mr.Crawford was arrested in October, 1896,for having discharged some Populist workmen of his,on the ground that he had tried to "prevent a qualified voter from freely exercising his right of suffrage." (Sun,October,15,1896) Things had come to such a pass that,as the Sun reported it, a marriage between two members of the Republican national headquarters was made contingent upon the election of McKinley.

The fear of the gold men stands out clearly from the articles and editorials in the newspapers too,of course. And this was not confined to Republican papers either as the following citations from the Democratic New York Sun will show:

July 10,1896: (On the Chicago platform) "It would have been difficult for the silver fanatics,aided by the Tillmans and the Altgelds of the new revolution,to have constructed a creed more dangerous and more repulsive. The date line is Chicago, but the spirit is that of Omaha and Ocala. It is the murmur of

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the assailants of existing institutions, the shriek of the wild-eyed, the tramp of the Coxeyite army marching again upon Washington.--Is this the banner under which Democrats are invited to march to the polls in 1896? Repudiation, robbery, inequitable taxation, a free hand for the forces of socialism, a clear field for the advance of the skirmish line of communism and anarchy. It seems to us that the issue has been made plainly at Chicago, not between Democracy and Republicanism, but between Democracy and the enemies of the institutions and principles which it has been Democracy's mission for a century to defend."

September 26, 1896: "Mr. William J. Bryan is a candidate for President on a platform which calls for the reign of mob law, and forbids the Government of the United States to enforce the laws of the United States whenever an outbreak of Debsism and Altgeldism and Bryanism occurs. The Chicago platform is for the destruction of free government."

When the students of Yale University broke up a meeting at which Bryan was speaking, the Sun defended their attitude as follows: "It would have been surprising if it had not occurred; and instead of meriting reproach, the Yale students deserve commendation for keeping their indignant resentment within the bounds of spoken remonstrance. They did not proceed to physical violence, but contented themselves with the exercise of their undoubted, inalienable, and necessary freedom of speech. Their behavior was not outrageous. The sentiment they manifested was honorable and commendable."

September 30, 1896: "The Bryan campaign is not a campaign for the free coinage of silver. It is a campaign for free deviltry, for freedom to upset and destroy, and to produce social chaos. That is the spirit to which Bryan is now appealing distinctly. ---The brains of the country are against him and he knows it. Hence he is addressing himself to the insanity and the turbulence of the enemies of social order." And on the same date: "It is --- apparent that if William J. Bryan should become President, his supporters and allies of the Debs type would be at liberty whenever occasion offered or inclination prompted, to obstruct the transportation of the mails and the movement of inter-State trains by force and arms, as they did at the time of the great Chicago railway strike, which was so efficiently checked by the celebrated Debs injunction. With Mr. Bryan in the White House, they would be secure against the employment of any Federal agency to repress their unlawful acts. In short, they would have acquired virtual immunity from legal consequences of insurrection. This would be a long step in the direction of the desires of these Anarchists, which point toward eventually securing a vested right to forcibly prevent the operation of any railroad whose management will not, and perhaps can not, comply with the demands of its multifarious employees."

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Apparently the rich people here were not the only ones who feared that our Government and our constitutional principles were in serious danger from the Bryanites,for a distinguished foreign observer,Goldwin Smith,writing in the"Saturday Review" (London) said: "I have never thought the Republic in so serious peril as I do now,when I see the organization of the Democratic party captured by Anarchism and Repudiation. Bi-metallism---is the least part of the matter: even Repudiation is not the greatest. The greatest is the uprising of disorder,in all its forms and grades,,against the institutions of the American Republic. There can be no mistake about the character of the Chicago platform,or about the character of the party from which it emanates. The platform condemns the Federal Government for putting down the labor rebellion at Chicago; and in front of the party is the Governor of Illinois,who lent his moral countenance to riot and outrage. The attack on the Supreme Court of the United States is not the less expressive because it comes from such a quarter.

"All the elements of revolution or disturbance are combined under the Nebraskan candidate against the Republic.----- On the whole,I believe as well as hope,though not without trembling,that the good genius of the American Republic will once more prevail,and that the motley host of Silver-State cupidity,repudiationism,Socialism,barbarism,and blind disaster which Mr.Bryan leads against her will in November meet its doom." (Vol.82, Pp. 103-105)(August 1,1896)

At a later date the same writer declared: "A crisis has arrived of which the Silver craze is the least,and even repudiation is not the greatest part. Under the banner of the 'Nebraska Kid'-as,it seems,Mr.Bryan is fondly called-all the elements of ditress,chaos,hatred,social revolution,craziness, and anarchy have combined against the American Republic as a commonwealth founded on the right of property and on the principles of self-help,free contract,and personal liberty under the law.---The Democratic and Populist platforms together assail not only the integrity of the currency and the commercial credit of the nation,but the conservative safeguards of the Constitution; the authority of the Supreme Court,and the right of property, professedly in railroads,telegraphs and telephones,really in anything that the majority choose to seize; while they propose to make the State the capitalist and general mortgagee. They also point towards a confiscatory system of taxation. In November the Republic of the Fathers-not less that of Jefferson than that of Washington and Hamilton-will be fighting for its life." (Ibid 82:251)

Furthermore Bryan and his platform were attacked even from the pulpit. On Sunday,October 11,the Rev.Dr.J.O.Wilson in St.Andrew's Methodist Episcopal church,New York,thundered: "And what of the Chicago platform? Observe,I call it the Chicago platform,not the Democratic platform,for there is nothing about it Democratic. I will not so far forget myself as to insult

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self-respecting Democrats by even insinuating that they had any share in producing the most vicious and revolutionary document that has been flaunted in the face of decency and order since the half-demented clubs of Paris, when the old French civilization was rocking in its fall, issued the daily defiances to all existing institutions. When a platform not only attacks the best government under the sun, but threatens the very life of that government, then simple patriotism requires me to array myself with all men who have sworn that the platform, and not the country, shall perish. When a platform requires me to vote the Eighth Commandment out of the Decalogue and asks me to steal when God says: 'Thou shalt not steal,' my duty as a teacher of ethics is to denounce the platform as a product of perdition.---Am I talking politics? Not at all. I am denouncing a platform, the most revolutionary, anarchistic and immoral that has ever asked indorsement at the hands of a self-respecting and God-fearing people." (N.Y.Tribune, October 12)

On September 27, at the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, the Rev.Dr.Chas.H.Parkhurst declared: "I am not here to argue the financial question. The present conditions illustrate the truth I am trying to drive home. National prosperity will come back when confidence comes back, when the nation gets its feet out of the quagmire and back onto solid ground. The business of the nation is done on credit. Credit is based on mutual confidence. Mutual confidence does not exist to-day and attempts are being made, deliberate and hot-blooded, to destroy what little of it remains. I dare, in God's pulpit, to brand such attempts as accursed and treasonable." (Bryan, "First Battle", 471)

The Rev.Cortland Myers expressed himself as follows at the Baptist Temple, Brroklyn, on September 13: "This pulpit is absolutely non-partisan but it is positively patriotic and Christian. It does not stand for party, but as long as it stands for Christ it must stand for principle. The chief issues of this campaign directly affect the Gospel of Christ of Calvary. I must be heard and will be heard against all dishonesty and anarchy and kindred evil. I love the blood-stained banner of the cross, and it is ever in danger. I love every stripe and every star of Old Glory, and it is at this moment in danger. I must speak every Sunday from now until November. I shall denounce the Chicago platform. That platform was made in hell. Dishonesty never came from heaven; anarchy never came from heaven; class-making and disunion never came from that upper world."

The Rev.Thomas Dixon Jr. was especially bitter. At the Academy of Music, on October 4, he ~~went so far as to say:~~ preached a sermon(?) which was reported in the New York World on the following day as follows: "The collection and benediction were about all that distinguished the morning service of the People's Church, in the Academy of Music, yesterday, from a rousing Republican mass-meeting.---A great many of the Rev.Thomas Dixon's supporters are members of the labor organizations. They resented his bitter attacks on Bryan with occasional hisses. Some of them

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went out. But the vast majority of the audience applauded to the echo of every savage thing he said against the silver candidate. When he called Bryan 'a mouthing,slobbering demagogue, whose patriotism was all in his jawbone,' the audience howled." Dixon concluded his talk with: "Bryan's attempt to revive the bitterness of section against section,of masses against classes,in this country is wicked. We are one flag and all fighting for one ideal on a united continent. There are no masses and classes here. It should be masses and asses. In his speeches Bryan descends to the lowest type of demagoguery." (N.Y.World, October 5,1896, P.7)

(Among the epithets applied to Bryan was that of "blasphemer" because he spoke of "crucifying mankind upon a cross of gold." By what name could these preachers appropriately be called,using the pulpit as they did,to discuss politics and heap invectives upon a Presidential candidate. Even though he was absolutely wrong in the solution which he proposed for the difficulties of the country,he certainly was sincere and well-meaning,and,as far as patriotism is concerned,he once fervently declared: "There is no man in the country more deeply attached to the our republican institutions than the candidate of the Democratic party." In several instances the audiences, I hesitate to call them congregations,actually applauded by clapping hands IN A CHURCH! It can be accounted for only by the intense excitement which prevailed throughout the campaign.)

~~but it is enough to make any Protestant indignant.)~~

The following oft-quoted "immortal example of journalistic phrenitis," as Waldo R.Browne calls it,appeared in the New York Tribune after the election,and when the Bryan nightmare was over at last:

"The Bryan movement was conceived in iniquity and was brought forth in sin. It had its origin in a malicious conspiracy against the honor and integrity of the nation. It gained such monstrous growth as it enjoyed from an assiduous culture of the basest passions of the least worthy members of the community. It has been defeated and destroyed because right is right,and God is God. Its nominal head was worthy of the cause, Nominal,because the wretched,battle-pated boy, posing in vapid vanity and mouthing resounding rottenness,was not the real leader of that league of hell. He was only a puppet in the blood-imbued hands of Altgeld,the anarchist,and Debs,the revolutionist,and other desperadoes of that stripe. But he was a willing puppet-Bryan was,willing and eager. Not one of his masters was more apt than he at lies and forgeries and blasphemies and all the nameless iniquities of that campaign against the Ten Commandments. He goes down with the cause,and must abide with it in the history of infamy. He had less provocation than Benedict Arnold,less intellectual force than Aaron Burr,less manliness and courage than Jefferson Davis. He was the rival of them all in deliberate wickedness and treason to the Republic. His name belongs with theirs,neither the most brilliant nor the most hateful in the list. Good riddance to it all,to conspiracy and conspirators,and to the foul menace of repudiation and anarchy against the honor and life of the Republic."

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The class aspect of the campaign is further illustrated by Bryan's speeches, by the opinions expressed by various rural newspapers and farm magazines, and by various other organizations. Thus on October 29, at Chicago, the Trade Unionists' Silver Club adopted a resolution presented by the Carpenters' International Union declaring that they recognized "in William J. Bryan, the candidate of the hosts of the plain people, battling under the standard of Free Silver and Reform, for liberty and humanity, a man of splendid abilities, of tried courage and unquestioned integrity and stainless private character, who owes his candidacy to no special interest, but to the movement in behalf of the whole people, who is free from all entangling alliances which might tend to fetter his actions in behalf of justice and the commonweal, and who, when elected to the Presidency, will owe that election to the manhood suffrage of the nation country and not to money, to the plain people and not the plutocracy, to the masses and not those who style themselves the classes, to the self-sacrificing labor, the loyal support and enthusiastic championship of the hosts who labor, and not to the contributions of the rich." (Bryan, "First Battle", 590-591)

The "Silver Knight and National Watchman," the national silver organ, edited by Senator Stewart of Colorado, is of course, full of praise and commendation of Bryan and his platform. In no instance, however, does it stoop to using the invectives against McKinley and the Republicans and gold men, which the latter used so prodigally. The issue of August 13, gives a description of a Virginia barbecue which was at the same time a Populist meeting and enabled the Popocrat orators to present their case "while the ox was roasting." Such picnics and barbecues were numerous throughout the campaign and testify to the great general interest which all classes felt in the coming election. In this case, as in practically all instances, the class struggle was emphasized by every speaker. "Now, my fellow-citizens, the cause is the case of the people as against the case of colossal and unjustly acquired wealth.---Who are arrayed against us? The banks, the millionaires, the corporations, the trusts. Who are for us? Only the people and God, and we shall win."

An editorial of October 22, in the same paper said: "The campaign now drawing to a close had had no precedent. On one side are arrayed the money powers of this country and of England, expending their millions lavishly for the sole purpose of debauching the people of the United States by purchasing the election with a view to enslaving the people of the United States and placing them under a vassalage more cruel, more wicked and more destructive than was that of the African slave before his emancipation.---On the other hand we find arrayed the people, the great producing masses of the citizens of these United States, determined in their honesty and convinced of (the) justice of their contention, with a grim determination, that, let come what may, their liberties shall not go down without a struggle."

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The "Silver Knight" of July 16,quoted the Inter-Mountain Advocate of Salt Lake City,Utah,as follows: "The Republican party is the party of plutocracy,cold,calcutaing plutocracy; devoid of one d rop of the milk of human kindness. Its policy is that of each fellow for himself and the devil take the hindmost one; God help the rich; the poor can beg or get off the earth." And on August 6,it quoted the Jennings (Kansas) Echo thus: "The people should strike fearlessly for freedom now. Delay means danger. A very few more years of plutocracy rule will rivet the chains more securely,will crowd the people more nearly to serfdom."

On July 9,it contained a mock advertisement as follows:

Teacher Wanted-A politician who is obliged to make some speeches during the campaign upon the money question wishes to take lessons upon the subject from a teacher who fully understands the sub-/~~ject~~ question. Apply by letter,stating experience and giving references,to Wm.McKinley,care of Mark Hanna,at Sea.

Professor J.M.Lee,in his "History of Journalism" says, regarding the campaign: "When Bryan was nominated for President on the Democratic ticket in 1896,there was great consternation among bankers lest his election should disrupt existing monetary standards and ruin the country. While there was no concerted action,independent bankers holding notes of newspapers did have several heart to heart talks with editors and proprietors and threatened to demand immediate payment of financial obligations if Bryan was supported.---A large advertiser in a certain metropolitan daily did withdraw his advertising because the paper supported Bryan in his presidential aspirations,but later,on finding that he was losing business on account of the absence of this advertising,he tried to have it inserted again." The paper refused to let him use its columns for advertising for a year in order to "teach him a lesson." (P.439)

In the St.James Gazette (London) for November 6,1896, there is a letter by an observer of the campaign in America, in which the writer states that agents of some the Eastern Insurance Companies which held mortgages on Western farms,were sent to the West to tell the farmers that if McKinley were elected ~~were elected~~,their mortgages would be extended for five years at a low rate of interest. This promise was to be given "in writing even" if necessary. His authority is a relative in Iowa who was thus approached. Furthermore,in many cases laborers,when they received their pay envelopes on the Saturday preceding the election,were notified that their services would be no longer required in the evnt of Mr.Bryan's election.

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"From the beginning it was apparent that the campaign was to be more thoroughly educational than any ever before known.---One specially notable feature of the literature of the canvass was the large quantity prepared and distributed by private individuals. Thousands of business men,merchants, manufacturers,grain dealers,railroad officers,building associations,insurance companies,newspapers and others published at their own expense brief and pointed documents on the currency question,distributing them through their daily correspondence and by other methods. The Protective Tariff League also distributed from its headquarters in New York literature aggregating many million copies,relating especially to the tariff and labor questions." The earliest supply of campaign literature came from members of Congress who sent their speeches broadcast over the country to the number of 50,000,000 copies. (Annual Cycl.1896,669) This aspect of the campaign applied mostly to those who favored McKinley's election,because it was these business men who had the money. There was much less of this private campaigning on the part of Bryan's supporters,although practically all the rural weeklies prepared,published,and sold at cost,similar literature,pamphlets and "financial catechisms," the prices ranging from one to five cents a copy,with some larger volumes costing only twenty-five cents apiece. The amount of such material sold testifies further to the widespread interest in the campaign.

The Bryanites relied more on personal contact and lecturing to further their ends. The Rev, Newell Dwight Hillis, after spending sometime traveling through the West and obsering these methods,wrote an article in the Review of Reviews, describing what he saw as follows: "The outline of an --- address assembly of farmers in a country school-house in Iowa will interpret the methods and arguments used throughout the entire West. The chief feature of the speaker's address was his charts. Upon one end of a blackboard was written an estimate of the number of millions of bushels of oats raised this year by the farmers of Iowa,and a further estimate of the value of the crop at the market price of thirteen cents a bushel. The Populist portrayed the farmer working like a slave through eight months of the year to produce this thirteen-cent bushel of oats,while the railway in a single day and night hauled the grain to Chicago,where it receives seven of the thirteen cents as its recompense. Now the first cent of the seven will,urged the orator, take away all hope of the farmer paying the interest on his mortgage; the second cent will take from wife or daughter woolen dress warm against the winter; the third willt take the boy and girl out of school and college and condemn them to the drudgery of the farmhand or the housemaid; the fourth cent will take away all possibility of purchasing the review,the newspaper,the book, and drive men back to barbarism. When the orator reached this point in his discussion the audience was influenced to the highest point. At that moment self-interest and prejudice armed his listeners against all arguments for sound money. Had the

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Republican committee been there when the assembly dispersed to present each farmer with a library devoted to the exposure of the silver heresy, even the multitude of books would not have availed for reversing the farmer's judgment or convincing him that the gold standard is not responsible for his misfortunes, or that free silver is not the unfailing panacea for all his ills.

"In many of the rural districts class hatred and sectionalism are invoked against McKinley and the Republican party. The farmer is told that the reason why the railroads extort seven cents out of the thriteen paid for the bushel of oats is that the railroads must pay interest on watered stock representing two or three times the cost of building the road. Now the argument of the Populist is that this water must be squeezed out of the stock before the farmer can hope for better rates. As a means to this desired end it is urged that since railways cannot increase the fare of three cents a mile, the success of free silver will throw the railway into the hands of a receiver and force an entire re-adjustment. Like dynamite, class-hatred is a powerful weapon, and the farmer is urged to use it against his ancient enemy, the corporation.---

"The zeal of the silver orator is something to stir the wonder and alarm of all intelligent men. Like the zealot of old, the silverite rises yet a great while before day to compass one convert before milking his cows or finding his way into the fields. All day long he hastens his footsteps that he may have an hour in the evening for visiting some unconvinced neighbor. He returns from the field to take up the argument where he dropped the thread in the morning. He counts himself the divinely ordained apostle of the new financial movement. He goes to church on Sunday and obtains inspirations for prosecuting his mission during the week. Farmer's picnics by streams and in groves are held. The bicycle race, the horse race, the wrestling-match and the silver debate increase the crowds." (Rev. of Reviews, 14:304-305)

In order to counteract these activities, which, in a greater or lesser degree had really been going on continuously since the elections of 1894, the Republicans under the able management of "Uncle Mark" resorted to a wholesale scheme of educating the public to teach it the fallacies of the silver platform. At first they had hoped to fight the campaign on the issue of the tariff, in fact, at the time of the Nati onal Convention McKinley had remarked: "After thrity days you won't hear anything about silver," but Judge Wm.R.Day replied: "After thirty days you won't hear of anything else." And events proved the latter to be right when the Democrats took up the issue so thoroughly and enthusiastically. But in order to educate the public, the party had to have immense funds. The National Committee collected a body of 1400 campaigners, paid their expenses and sent them wherever their services were most needed. The agents of the committee penetrated, wherever necessary, into every election district and held small local meetings. Hand in hand with these meetings went an equally thorough circulation of campaign literature.---Over 100,000,000 documents were shipped from the

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Chicago office (of the National Committee), whereas---20,000,000 were sent out from New York. In addition the Congressional Committee at Washington circulated a great deal of printed matter. The material was derived from many sources,-chiefly from Mr.McKinley's own speeches and from those which various congressmen had made at different times on behalf of sound money. A pamphlet of forty pages, dealing with the silver question in a conversational way, although one of the longest of the documents, proved to be one of the most popular. A majority of these pamphlets dealt with the currency question issue; but towards the end of the campaign, as the effect of the early hurrah for Bryan and free silver wore off, an increasing demand was made upon the Committee for protectionist reading matter. Something like 275 different pamphlets and leaflets were circulated, and they were printed in German, French, Spanish, Italian, Swedish, Nowegian, Danish, Dutch and Hebrew, as well as Enlgish.-------
The Committee also distributed material direct to the newspapers. Country journals with an aggregate circulation of 1,650,000 received three and one-half columns of specially prepared matter every week. Another list of country newspapers with an aggregate weekly circulation of about 1,000,000 were furnished with plates, while to still another class were supplied ready prints. Of course cartoons, posters, inscriptions and buttons were manufactured by the carload-the most popular poster being the five-colored single-sheet lithograph circulated as early as the St.Louis Convention, bearing a portrait of Mr.McKinley with the inscription underneath, 'The Advance Agent of Prosperity.'" (Croly, Hanna, 217-18)

In order to carry on this enormous activity, huge sums of money were necessary, and Mark Hanna made it his business to get the money required. With his characteristic energy, Hanna proceeded to "systematize and develop" the existing practice of securing money from the big business interests who were most concerned in the outcome of the election. He levied definite assessments on the great railways and industrial corporations and on the commercial houses and banks, thus definitely making it a campaign of big business for protection and gold. "It was a campaign for the insurance of big business, and business must be willing to pay the necessary premium." (Muzzey, II: 284) The Standard Oil Company gave $250,000* (Croly, 220) "Mr.John A. McCall, President of the New York Life Insurance Company, had, in 1896, ordered the sum of $50,000 paid to the Republican National Committee, and this without the knowledge or consent of his Board of Directors or his financial committee. The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York contributed, in the same secet way, the sum of $15,000." (Peck, 20 Years of the Republic, 512 ff.) "Other corporations and many individual capitalists and bankers made substantial but smaller donations. Mr.Hanna always did his best to convert the practice from a matter of political begging on the one side and donating on the other into a matter of systematic assessment according to the means and of the individual and institution."* (Croly, 220)

see A. p 120.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Bryan had no such support in his campaign. Except for the owners of the silver mines in the Western States, he could count on comparatively little support from wealthy people or from big business and monetary interests. "The funds for his campaign were slender. All the financial interests of the country were arrayed against him. His managers had no great sums to lavish in subsidizing newspapers, in circulating documents, in hiring bands, and in decorating whole cities with political banners." A large portion of his funds came from the contributions of the "plain people."

McKinley conducted his part of the campaign by remaining at home in Canton and addressing delegations from all over the country from his front porch. These delegations, which often numbered thousands, were made up of cigar-makers, railroad employees, teachers, business men, wholesale merchants, clergymen, farmers, bankers, representatives of all sorts of societies etc. In every case McKinley found out what the leader of the delegation would say, often making corrections in the speech before-hand, and then he always had an answer already carefully prepared and written out, to be delivered from memory or read. These speeches, after they had been delivered before the respective delegations, were then printed by the million and distributed throughout the country by the campaign managers. They consisted generally of arguments in favor of protection and the gold standard.

G.F.Parker in his "Recollections of Grover Cleveland," p.401 relates an amusing incident of the campaign which at the same time serves to show how McKinley changed from being a champion of bimetallism to the standard bearer of gold monometallism. "Mr.B—, a Republican candidate for Congress in a Southern mountain district, was making free silver speeches. Mr. Hanna wrote to him, calling his attention to the platform and telling him he must 'line up' with the party. Mr.B—, who is a man of character, made a characteristic reply. It was that he did not claim to know much about the coinage question, or to be an orator; that before he began his canvass, and when in search of information, he had happened on a certain speech made by a certain Mr.McKinley to the Farmers' Alliance of Ohio. This struck him as the finest thing he had ever seen, so he had memorized the arguments and had been making them to his people. But, he said, as a good Republican he recognized the right of the party to dictate, and would now set out on a new tack. And then he added, 'If William changes again, please let me know by telegraph!'" The following is an example of the campaign material which the Republican Committee sent to the rural papers, ~~this being taken from "The Rural Northwest" of October 1, 1896, p. 25: (I am giving the exact wording of the insertion, but I cannot duplicate the form used, on the typewriter):~~

A FEW COMMON SENSE FACTS! For Agriculturists and Home-Owners.

First. Every business man, every farmer, and every working-man (and they are all working men, whether ~~they~~ working with hands or brains) wants and shall have FULL VALUE for his work.

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Second. The gold standard is recognized as the basis of actual value in all of the civilized nations of the world.

Third. Ina any and all markets of the world to-day it takes thirty pounds of silver to buy ONE pound of gold. Now,

Fourth. Why,oh! why,should a few (less than 100 mine owners) ask any reader of this paper,as conscientious voter, to allow them an UNLIMITED coinage and insist on the Government stamp being put upon it,AT THE RATIO OF 16 POUNDS TO 1? What does this mean? It simply means an enormous profit to them (the few) and a big loss to every producer.

The American Voter Must Think!

AND if he thinks,he will NOT vote for unlimited free silver.

Fifth. The present limited or restricted coinage is all right,and to-day $1 in silver is 100 cents' worth: BUT with unlimited coinage a silver dollar will be worth only its weight in metal-or about fifty cents to the dollar.

Do you,reader,want to work on this proportion or sell your products,whether of your farm,your hands,or your brains, on this reduced basis? Not if you have common sense.

Put On Your Thinking Cap!

A Vote for McKinley and Hobart with a Gold Dollar Basis will be the thing.*

In contrast with this it is interesting to note one of the popular Democratic campaign ditties:

"You may say what you will of the fifty cent dollar,
But I tell you it beats none at all, all holler."

#

*The Rural Northwest - Oct 1 1896 - p 2 -

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On August 8th, before leaving on the train for New York, where he was to receive his official notification, Bryan made a speech in which he declared: "In ordinary times I would have desired to have the notification take place at my home. But this is not an ordinary campaign, and, feeling that the principles in which we are interested should rise above any personal preferences which we may have, I expressed the desire to be notified in New York, in order that our cause might be presented in the heart of what now seems to be the enemy's country, but which we hope to be our own country before this campaign is over." (First Battle, 300) This phrase, "the enemy's country," was attacked very bitterly by the press throughout the country and was pointed out as proof of the contention that Bryan meant to foment a class struggle, another rebellion, this time with the West and South aligned against the East.

When he arrived in Chicago, a reception was held at which Bryan spoke as follows: "When I see this assemblage to-night and remember what the newspapers of this city say, I am reminded of an expression recently made by one of our friends: 'There is nobody on our side but the people.' And as I look into the faces of these people and remember that our enemies call them a mob, and say that they are a menace to free government, I ask: Who shall save the people from themselves? I am proud to have in this campaign the support of those who call themselves the common people. If I had behind me the great trusts and combinations, I know that I would no sooner take my seat than they would demand that I use my power to rob the people in their behalf. But having rather the support of the great toiling masses, I know that when they give me their ballot they unite in saying, 'Do your duty and we will be repaid.' These are the people who ask no favors of government; these are the people who simply ask for equality before the law. They demand equal rights to all and special privileges to none. I am glad to have the support of these people because I know that when the nation is in peril every able-bodied man among them is willing to shoulder his musket to save his country; and I believe that those who are good enough to offer their blood upon the altar of their country in time of danger are good enough to trust in the hour of peace and quiet." (Ibid, 303-304)

The announcement that he would receive his notification at New York, and that he would make a speech there, created consternation in the ranks of the Republicans. They feared a repetition of what had happened at Chicago, after his wonderful "cross of gold" speech, especially since it soon became evident that thousands of people in New York would try to secure admission to listen to him. To the disappointment of these thousands, however, Bryan read his speech from a carefully prepared manuscript. He himself realized full well that this course would prove a disappointment to the listeners but he concluded "that it was the part of wisdom to disappoint the few thousands who would be in the hall in order to reach the hundreds of thousands who would read it in print," (Ibid, 299) and to make sure of an accurate report in the papers it was necessary that he hand in an exact copy of what he would say, beforehand. The conditions under which the speech was read were very disadvantageous too. For one thing, the heat in the hall was such that the mercury stood in the nineties. In the

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words of Peck: "His intention (of being notified in New York) created a genuine panic among the Republicans. Although in their public prints they had sneered at Mr.Bryan's oratorical powers,although they had derisively styled him'the Boy Orator of the Platte,' and although they had absurdly described the famous peroration of his convention speech as 'blasphemous,' they were secretly afaid lest his eloquence should produce the same effect in New York as it had in Chicago. But Mr.Bryan himself knew better. He was wise enough to understand that the conditions in Chicago could not possible be reproduced in New York. He was aware that public expectation had been worked up to so extravagant a pitch that were he Demosthenes and Cicero in one,he must inevitable fail to satisfy it. He therefore sensibly declined to attempt what would have been impossible-in other words,he refused to compete against himself. When he appeared before the immense audience in New York,he read a very carefully prepared address,well-reasoned, temperate,and persuasive,but with no at empt at eloquence whatever. His opponents at once set up a howl of derision,and even many of his own supporters were for the moment much chagrined. Nevertheless,he had acted wisely,and he had followed an excellent precedent: for Mr.Lincoln, when he first came to New York after receiving the Republican nomination in 1860,had also read his speech and had declined to trust to his gift of improvising. But the circumstances of the meeting at the Madison Square Garden were undoubtedly unfortunate for Mr.Bryan. The night was one of intense midsummer heat. The sweltering audience was kept waiting in extreme discomfort. The notification speech of Governor W.J.Stone of Missouri was inexcusable long,while Mr.Bryan himself spoke for nearly two whole hours. A feeling of relief was experienced by the Republicans when they found that their formidable adversary had at least performed no miracle of eloquence in 'the enemy's country.'" (Twenty Years,Pp. 506-508)

As to the distance he travelled etc. during the campaign, Bryan said: "The total number of miles travelled,as shown by the schedules,was about 18,000. I have no way of ~~estimating~~ stating the exact number of speeches made,but an estimate of 600 is not far from correct. It is difficult to make an estimate of the number of persons addressed. Mr.Rose of the Associated Press,thought about 5,000,000 the total number in attendance at my meetings,while Mr.Oulahan,of the United Associated Presses,places the number at 4,800,000." (~~The~~ First Battle, 618).

Another interesting feature of his campaign is this: "The ratio of sixteen to one was scrupulously adhered to during the campaign, and illustrated with infinite variety. At one place our carriage was drawn by sixteen white horses and one yellow horse; at any number of places we were greeted by sixteen young ladies dressed in white and one dressed in yellow,or by sixteen young men dressed in white and one dressed in yellow. But the ratio was most frequently represented in flowers,sixteen white chrysanthemums and one yellow one being the favorite combination." (Ibid,619)

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Campaign of 1896:

William I.Hood in his "Betsy Gaskins (Dimicrat),wife of Jobe Gaskins (Republican)",gives a pathetic picture of the struggling, suffering farmers and their blind groping for relief where relief apparently was not to be found. The following passages are typical of the book and probably typical of the farmers' philosophy: (A soliloquy of Jobe Gaskins'):
(as recorded by Betsy Gaskins)

"Ive been made a fool of and I know it. Ive marched up to the ballot-box for nigh onto 35 years and voted men into office that cared no more for Jobe Gaskins and his likes than they did for a good fox-hound,and not as much. They said it was necessary to destroy the Greenbacks,and I said 'Destroy them.' They said 'We ort to demonetize silver,'and I said,'Demonetize her.' I seed that times was gittin harder but they said way back in the seventies that the tariff ort to be higher,and the next year higher,and higher,and higher. And every time they said higher I said hollered,and the higher they made it the louder I hollered,and kept a-hollerin until to-day about all I have to show for my hollerin and votin is the holler,and there is dummed little of that left now.

"Here I am an old man. I have worked hard year in and year out,and have been fool enough to vote a ticket that was enslavin me for thirty years or more. The wealth that I have produced by my hard work has been taken from me by the laws they have made,while the fellers I have voted for have got rich, and say that it is my fault if I am poor. Me and my likes had to be made poor in order that others might be made rich. Its no fault of mine. Ive tried to be honest and scorn dishonesty,and am to-day nearly without a home for bein sich and for votin the strait ticket and not askin what they was doin; while the fellers I have voted for looked on dishonesty as a honor,and have made laws by which the product of my labor has been taken from me and given to themselves and others no more honest. Ime dummed if I know what to do.

"If I leave the party the polerticians and office-seekers will call me a sorehead and sich names; if I stay I am doomed to distress.

"I wish the Republicans would make some of them Populist ideas into law." (Pp.69-70)

And some of Betsy's thoughts: "I wonder when the Dimicratic,or Republican party either,will begin to do somethin to make it easy for people to buy homes,and pay for them,by makin it easy for people to borrow money when they need it,by reducin interest and taxes and sich.

"Every election since Jobe and me was married,fust one party and then the other has been promisin to do somethin to help the people git along in the world,but I declare to goodness I have nearly got discouraged waitin for them to do it." (P.139)

Again, "Yes,neither Dimicrat or Republican has ever proposed to abolish interest or in any way make it easier for the hard-workin poor people to git homes and pay for them. And the more I think of what they did do that they oughtent a done,and what they haint done that they ort a done,the more I wonder that there are enough men left of either of them,or,for that matter, of both,to hold a county convention." (P.149)

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The intense interest which was aroused by the campaign is strikingly illustrated by the climax to which it was brought in New York City on the Saturday previous to Election Day. This climax was in the form of a monster parade in which over 100,000 marched up Broadway from the Battery to Fortieth Street, while hundreds of thousands of on-lookers thronged the side-walks and the houses were decorated with myriads of flags and decorations, all in favor of sound money and the election of McKinley. The ranks of the marchers were filled with merchants, bankers, lawyers, insurance men, laborers, officials, authors, professors, clergymen, clerks etc. etc. Similar demonstrations were held in most of the other big cities of the country. The New York Times described the parade, using two full pages to do so. The following extract is from this description:

"The business men's parade in behalf of sound money---- broke the world's record as a civic demonstration.

"Never before in the world's history have so many citizens in time of peace in any country rallied to march under their country's flag. Never before in this Nation's history have so many flags been waved as were waved by the army that mustered in the streets of New York City yesterday.---

"Three quarters of a million was the estimate made of those who witnessed the parade between the Battery and the disbanding place, at Fortieth Street.---

"The call for all who believe in sound money to join in an expression of that sentiment brought a response from the mercantile, the professional and industrial world that was mighty. The great and the small business houses joined in declaring for a gold standard. Millionaires and their employees carried the same flag in the same line, keeping step to the same music.----

"The individual composition of this aggregate makes a parade such as New York has bever seen before. Men who stand at the head of the greatest mercantile concerns and financial institutions of the country, men who have international reputations in the professions, scholars, journalists, politicians, men who have held high offices, found time and had the inclination to quit business to fall in shoulder to shoulder with their clerks, their assistants, men who are not known beyond the limits of the house in which they sleep and their business places, and walk the three or four miles as evidence that their hearts and souls are in the campaign for sound money, and each carried a flag.

"Men were in the procession shouting for McKinley and Hobart and sound money who have forgotten to register at previous elections-men who are so far away from politics that they neglected their duties as citizens last year. This year they are awake, and a three mile tramp over the granite pavement was welcomed as an opportunity to show their sentiments. And in this the parade was a record breaker." (Times, Nov. 1, 1896)

The parade actually took seven and a half hours to pass the reviewing stand.

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As a result of the definiteness of the issue in this campaign; because of the tremendous circulation of educational material, pamphlets, and lecturers on both sides; because of the fear and terror which each side struck in the hearts of the other, that is, the class feature of the campaign; because of the wide interest aroused by such means as Bryan's prodigious "stumping" tours across the country and McKinley's novel "front-porch" campaign; because it was felt on all sides that this was to be the deciding vote as to whether or not the Federal Government was to be committed to a policy of currency inflation, a struggle for which had been going on for twenty years; because big business and all the most powerful financial and commercial interests of the country were panic-stricken and feared a tremendous social upheaval, and because they demonstrated to their hundreds of thousands of employees that the latter's interests were bound up with the prosperity of the former; because there was a general feeling of bitter antagonism to trusts throughout the country; because the strained relations between creditor and debtor reached a climax in 1896, resulting in the lining up of the West and South against the East, and probably for many more reasons, the election of 1896 drew the unprecedented poll of 13,937,527.

(The relation between frontier communities and established settlements is thus described by James Truslow Adams in his "Revolutionary New England," P.12: "The relations between established settlements and their outlying frontiers seem everywhere and in all periods to follow certain simple and well-defined lines. In the first place, the older settlement has accumulated capital seeking investment, whereas the frontier, in spite of its natural resources, needs for their exploitation capital in the form of money or credit. The frontier, therefore, is always and everywhere in debt to the old settlement, and this relation breeds all those feelings a debtor seems by nature to entertain toward his creditor. As contrasted with one another, the older settlement is always conservative, the frontier always radical.--The East has therefore always feared and sought to check the political growth of the West.--It has trembled for its investments in the too rapid expansion that the frontier always breeds. It has distrusted radical thought and has feared above all else that economic expansion might increase political power and transfer control to a section whose philosophy and outlook have seemed revolutionary.")

In the election McKinley carried all the States north of the Mason and Dixon line as well as the four border States of Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia and Kentucky (which latter State gave Bryan one electoral vote) and also the Western States of Minnesota, North Dakota, Iowa, Oregon and California, which also gave Bryan one electoral vote. Bryan got practically the Solid South with the Western mining States and Kansas, Nebraska and Missouri. McKinley's popular vote was 7,111,607, while Bryan's was 6,509,052, and the electoral votes were 271 and 176 respectively. McKinley's popular vote was greater than that of any President since Grant.

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"The election of 1896 was the triumph of the business man in politics.----(McKinley's) decisive victory at the polls was made possible by the unstinted use of funds which the corporations poured into the Republican campaign chest under Hanna's relentless assessment. The Republican victory meant the vindication of Hanna's fundamental doctrine of the identity of the political and economic interests of the country and the dependence of the stability of the government upon the prosperity of big business. No one need look for any legislation to hector the railroads,hamper the bankers,or curb the trusts in President McKinley's administration." (Muzzey,II:291-292)

Roosevelt,in his Autobiography,wrote: "The fear of Mr. Bryan threw almost all the leading men of all classes into the arms of whoever opposed him.---Good and high-minded men of conservative temperament in their panic played into the hands of the ultra-reactionnaries of business and politics. The alliance between the two kinds of privilege,political and financial,was closely cemented; and wherever there was any attempt to break it up,the cry was at once raised that this merely represented another phase of the assault on national honesty and individual and mercantile integrity. As so often happens,the excesses and threats of an unwise and extreme radicalism had resulted in immensely strengthening the position of the beneficiaries of reaction."

More money,better support by the influential newspapers and magazines,the better argument on the silver question,better party organization,the hard times experienced under the previous Democratic administration,fear of Anarchism and Socialism,the backing of Wall Street,all these helped the conservative Republican party to win the election. It was a hard struggle,and the number of doubtful States greatly exceeded the number of sure States. The greatest struggle was in the Middle Western States, and they apparently were convinced of the superior merits of the Republican view. Their vote decided the election.

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Addendum.

H.H.Kohlsaat, ~~head of the Chicago Times-Herald writes as follows on the Democratic Convention and the Campaign of 1896, in his~~ "From McKinley to Harding," Pp.49-50:

"The great speech of the convention was made by a handsome, virile young fellow, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska; his 'cross of gold' speech set the convention wild.

"Major Moses P.Handy, chief of the editorial page of the Times-Herald, on his return from the hall, came into my room in great excitement, and said he had just heard the greatest speech of his life, and predicted Bryan's nomination next day. Bryan was almost unknown until he made his speech. Few of the newspapers had photographs of him. The Times-Herald was fortunate enough to have a very good one. ~~I sent for Mr.Von Hofsten,~~ our best pen-sketch artist, ~~and asked him~~ to make a five-column drawing of Bryan, ~~and do his best.~~ It was printed on the front page under the caption 'Probable Nominee To-Day's Convention,' running across seven columns. About 5 o'clock next morning some of Bryan's friends ordered 5,000 copies which they took to the convention hall. They pinned them on their ~~breasts and fastened them to brooms, and marched~~ round and round the hall, ~~headed by a band~~, yelling: 'Bryan, Bryan, William Jennings Bryan!'

Again, Page 53, "Long after midnight (of election day) in a certain Chicago club one of the world's greatest merchants started the old boyhood game 'Follow the Leader.' He was joined by bank presidents, merchants, Chicago's foremost men; they went over sofas, chairs, tables, up-stairs and down-stairs, and wound up dancing in each other's arms."

It is interesting to note that the train on which Bryan made his prodigious stumping-tour, was most inappropriately named Idler.

As to the amount of money raised and spent in the campaign and the means of getting the people out to vote, Arthur Wallace Dunn has the following to say in his "From Harrison to Harding," Pages 194-196: (Vol. I)

"Unlimited money was poured into the campaign which Mark Hanna managed in 1896. There was no difficulty in raising all the money that could be spent, and more. Free silver, the attack upon the courts, and the general anti-corporation character of the Democratic platform, together with the radical utterances of Bryan and his supporters, scared business men of the country to such an extent that they never when Hanna or his collectors came knocking at their doors. How much money was raised and spent? Who can tell? Whether it was ten or fifteen million does not matter. All that was needed was raised and there was a comfortable surplus left after every dollar that was possible to spend ~~was~~ had been spent.

"Charges of bribery were made by the Democrats, particularly in regard to Ohio and Indiana and in a number of other states classed as doubtful. That was because of the very large vote

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Addendum (Cont.)

cast. In Ohio there was one vote for every four people, which is an extraordinary showing, one in five being considered more than the average. Very large sums of money were spent to get the voters to the polls. The system adopted was not bribery, but it gave the party with the money an advantage over the party with limited funds.

"It was rather simple. Every person with a vehicle of any kind was employed to transport voters from their homes to the election booths and also to take them home. Voters who were at work and possibly subject to loss of time while going to the election were paid for their time, often upon a very liberal basis. Farmers who had to leave their fields were recompensed for their loss of time and for loss of time for their hired hands; they were also paid to bring voters to and from the polls. Every voter, no matter in what condition he may have been, was sought out and taken to the polls to cast his vote. Every county chairman, every district chairman, precinct catain, together with all their lieutenants, and all other willing workers, were supplied with money to get out the voters. The same care was taken in regard to registration of voters. No votes were lost by reason of the failure of men to register.

"All this vast army of wokers was paid liberally. It was not bribery, nor corruption: it came under the head of 'legitimate campaign expenses,' just as did many other campaign expenditures that year.

"All sorts of clubs and political organizations were financed. Let any man go to Hanna with a proposition to arouse the interest of voters and inject enthusiasm into any class of people and the expenses of the plan were forthcoming. Nor was there any difficulty in regard to spell-binders. Any man with a voice and a gift of oratory could find employment. Every town, village and hamlet had its political meetings, with bands, marching clubs, and all other accessories to make them attractive and successful. Some very high-priced orators were employed during the entire campaign."

Page 198: "No doubt the tremendous crowds which listened to and cheered Bryan convinced him and those who travelled with him that he would be elected. This belief was spread over a wide region and was often expressed in Republican headquarters. The reports caused Hanna and his lieutenants to put forth redoubled efforts."

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