



LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

An Able and Statesmanlike Document
in Cleveland's Clear and Characteristic Style.

On the Subject of Unjust Tariff and Iniquitous Trusts it Utters no Uncertain Sound.

An Honest and Manly Defense of Democratic Tariff Reform.

A Patriotic Appeal to the Intelligence of American Citizens.

The Democratic Party the Friend of the Workingmen.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8, 1888.

Hon. Patrick A. Collins, and Others, Committee—Gentlemen: In addressing to you my formal acceptance of the nomination to the presidency of the United States, my thoughts persistently dwell on the impressive relation of such action to the American people, whose confidence is invited, and to the political party to which I belong, just entering on 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 full measure of publicity in ready submission to their will. It follows that the candidate for president can never forget, when the turmoil and strife which attend election shall be heard no more, that there must be, in the quiet calm which follows, complete and solemn self-consecrating, 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 which it imposes, while it has quickened my love for American institutions and taught me the priceless value of the trust of my country.

It is of the highest importance that those who administer the government should closely protect and maintain the rights of the American people at home and abroad and should strive to achieve for our country her proper place among 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 watching and care. Among these are: The regulation of

A SOUND FINANCIAL SYSTEM

to our needs, thus securing an efficient agency of national wealth and general prosperity; the construction and equipment of means of defense to ensure 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 the century's expansion, and the preservation for the settler and pioneer of our marvellous growth; the sensible and sincere recognition of the value of American labor, leaning to the scrupulous care and just appreciation of the interest of our workingmen; the limitation and checking of such monopolistic tendencies and schemes as interfere with the advantages and benefits which the people may rightfully 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 appreciation of their services and sacrifices is quickened the application of their pension funds to improper cases may be prevented; the prevention of servile immigration which injures industries, commerce and laboring men 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;

thorough execution of laws passed for this purpose. The people are soberly considering the necessary measures of relief.

The government is a creation of the people, established to carry out their designs and accomplish good. It was founded on justice and made for free and virtuous people. It is only useful when within their control and only serves well when regulated and guided by their constant touch. It is a free government because it guarantees to every American citizen the unrestricted use and enjoyment of all reward of his toil and of all his income except what may be his fair contribution to necessary public expenses. Therefore, it is not only the strict and steadfast adherence to the principles of civil service reform and right but the duty of free people in the enforcement of this guarantee, that they insist that such expense be limited to

ACTUAL PUBLIC NEEDS.

It seems clear that when a government thus instrumentally created and maintained by the people to do their bidding, turns upon them and through an utter perversion of its powers extorts from their labor and capital a tribute largely in excess of public needs, the creature has rebelled against the creator and the masters are robbed by their servants. The cost of government must continue to be met by a tariff duty collected at our custom houses upon imported goods and by an internal revenue tax 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 article or articles upon which they are levied, and thus become a tax on 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 on such articles permit a corresponding increase in the price to be made upon domestic productions of the same kind, which increase is paid by the people as consumers of such productions, and entering every American home constitutes a form of tax as certain and inevitable as though the amount was annually paid into the hands of tax gatherers. These results are inseparable from the plan we have adopted for collection of revenue by tariff duty. They are not mentioned to discredit the system but by way of preface to the statement that every million dollars collected at our custom houses for duties on imported articles and paid into the public treasury represent many millions more, which, though never reaching the national treasury, are paid by our citizens as increased cost of productions resulting from our tariff laws.

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 government seems to be perfectly plain. The continuance, upon pretext of meeting public expenditure of such a scale of tariff taxation as draws from the substance of the people a sum largely in excess of needs, is surely something which in a government based on justice and which finds its strength and usefulness in the faith and trust of the people ought not to be tolerated. While the heavy burdens incident to the necessities of government are compellingly 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 \$130,000,000. No better evidence could be furnished than that the people are exorbitantly taxed. The extent of the superfluous burden indicated by this surplus will be better appreciated when it is suggested such surplus alone represents a taxation aggregating more than \$108,000 in a country containing 50,000 inhabitants. Taxation has always been a feature of organized government hardest to reconcile with the people's idea of freedom and happiness when presented in a direct way. Nothing will arouse popular discontent more quickly and profoundly than unjust and unnecessary taxation.

Our farmers, merchants, laborers and all our citizens closely scan the slightest increase in taxes assessed on their land and other property and demand a good reason for such increase, and yet they seem to be expected in some quarters to regard the unnecessary volume of insidious and indirect 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 evidence 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 circulation 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 the people and only concerns those engaged in large financial transactions. In the restless enterprise and activity which free and ready money among the people produce is found that opportunity for labor and employment and that impetus to business and production which bring in their train prosperity to the people in every station in life. New ventures, new investments in business and manufacturing, the construction of new and important works and the enlargement of enterprises already established depend upon obtaining money upon easy terms with fair security; all these things are stimulated by an abundant volume of money in circulation; even the grain of the farmer remains without a market unless money is forthcoming for transportation to the seaboard. The first result of the scarcity of money among the people is the exaction of terms for its use; increasing distrust and timidity are followed by a refusal to loan or advance on any terms; investors refuse risks and decline all securities, and in the general fright money still in the hands of the people is persistently hoarded. It is quite apparent when this perfectly natural, if not inevitable, stage is reached, the depression in all business and enterprise will as a necessary consequence lessen the opportunity for work and reduce the salaries and wages of labor.

Instead of them being exempt from the influence and effect of an immense surplus idle in the national treasury, our wage-earners, and others who rely on their labor for support, mostly of all are directly concerned in the situation. Others, seeing the approach of danger, may provide against it, but it will find those depending on 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 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 to gross and scandalous

PUBLIC EXTRAVAGANCIAS

Which a congested treasury induces, nor the fact that we are maintaining without expense in a time of profound peace substantially the rate of duties imposed in time of war when the necessities of 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 to the channels of trade. Some of the devices are at variance with all rules of good finance; some are delusive, some absurd and some betray by their reckless extravagance the demoralizing influence of a great surplus of public money on the judgment of individuals.

While such efforts should be made as are consistent with public duty and sanctioned by sound judgment to avoid danger by a useful disposition of the surplus remaining in the treasury, it is evident if its distribution were accomplished another accumulation would soon take its place, if the constant flow of redundant income is not checked at its source by a reform in the 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 a political doctrine. We present to them the proposition that they are unjustly treated by the extent of the present federal taxation; that as a result a condition of extreme danger exists; that it is for them to demand the remedy and that defense and safety promised in the guarantees of a free government.

We believe the same means which are adopted to relieve the treasury of its present surplus and prevent its recurrence should be applied to the people the cost of supplying their daily wants. Both of these objects we seek in part to gain by reducing present tariff rates on the necessities of life. We fully appreciate the importance to the country of domestic industrial enterprise. In the rectification of existing wrongs their maintenance and prosperity should be carefully and in a friendly spirit considered. Even such reliance on the present revenue arrangements as have been invited or encouraged should be fairly regarded.

Abrupt and radical changes, which might endanger such enterprises and injuriously affect the interests of labor dependent on their success and continuance are not contemplated or intended. But we know the cost of our domestic products is increased and their price imposed on the raw material used in their manufacture. We know that this increased cost prevents the sale of our productions in foreign markets in competition with those of countries which have the

ADVANTAGE OF FREE RAW MATERIAL.

We know that, confined to a home market, our manufacturing operations are curtailed, their demand for labor irregular, and the rates of wages paid uncertain.

We propose, therefore, to stimulate our domestic industrial enterprises by freeing from duty 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 allowance of abundant profits. True to the undeviating course of

the Democratic party we will not neglect the interests of our laborers and our workingmen. In all our efforts to remedy existing evils we will furnish no excuse for the loss of employment or the reduction of the wages of honest toil. On the contrary, we propose, in any adjustment of our revenue laws, to concede such encouragement and advantage to the employes 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 steady employment of labor, while, by cheapening the cost of the necessities of life, we increase the purchasing power of the workingman's wages and add to the comforts of his home.

Before passing from this phase of the question I am constrained to express the opinion that while the

INTERESTS OF LABOR

Should always be 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 immigration, or the 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 an unintelligent labor which ought not to satisfy those who make a claim to American citizenship.

The platform 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, while only enriching the few that combine for the robbery 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 these trusts are the natural outspring of a market artificially restricted. An inordinately high tariff, besides furnishing temptations 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 of a condition which threatens evil to all the people of the land. We are dealing with

NO IMAGINARY DANGER.

Its existence has been repeatedly confessed by all political parties, and pledges of remedy have been made on all sides. Yet, in the legislative body where under the constitution all remedial measures applicable to this subject must originate, when the Democratic majority were attempting with extreme moderation to redeem these pledges common to both parties, they were met by the determined opposition and obstruction of the minority refusing to co-operate in the House of Representatives or to propose another remedy; but they 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 support the interests of America.

They propose in their platform to thus support the interests of our country by removing the internal revenue tax from tobacco and upon 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 deprive the people of markets for their goods which can only be gained by a semblance at least of an interchange of business, while they abandon our consumers to the unrestrained oppression of trusts and combinations which are in the same platform perfunctorily condemned.

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 necessities, 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 remain 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 taxation now resting on them. They are offered free tobacco and free whisky. They ask for bread and they are given a stone.

The implication 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 abuse. Of course, in a country as great as this, with such wonderful variety of interests often leading in entirely different directions, it is 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 the reduction of revenue involving the prohibition of importation and the removal of the internal tax on whisky. It can be better and more safely done within the lines of granting actual relief to the people in their means of living, and at the same time giving an improvement 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 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 burden 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 a 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 a public duty for the vindication of our attempt to inaugurate a righteous and beneficial reform.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Whom Protection Protects.

Chicago News (Rep.).

Hardly a day passes that some new phase of the labor question is not presented. Yesterday the American workmen engaged in the Plymouth rolling-mill at Coshocton, O., set about driving out of the place a recent importation of foreign cheap laborers, who had been brought in by the owners of the mills. These foreign laborers are Italians who have been recently imported to take the places of American workmen at reduced wages. Last week the foreign workmen were warned that it would be better for them to leave town, and several did leave. A body of Poles, however, did not go, and a riot took place last night. It is easy to moralize on this question and discuss the personal rights of individuals in this "great, free republic." But it is not curious that at a time when American workmen were beingajoiced and threatened to walk up and vote for the protection of these same iron-masters, on the ground that "protecting the manufacturer is protecting the laborer," while they themselves are putting the knife to the throat of the American laborer by importing Hungarians, Poles and Italians to supplant them in the very industries the workman is asked to use his vote to protect. Is it not time that the fiction that a protective tariff increases the wages of the workingmen was fully exposed and exploded? It is the highest protected industries that are the most grinding, rapacious and niggardly to their employes, and it is those industries in which trades unions are the most effective and necessary. Cannot the workingmen in this country be made to understand that a tariff helps the manufacturer only, and that any benefit the laborer derives from it must be wrung from the employer, by the most determined efforts and persistent action? A few object lessons like this Coshocton affair ought to show workingmen the insincerity of such talk as is told them of the blessings of a continuance of a system under which they have suffered so long.

While wealthy monopolists flop to the Republican party with a great noise, the intelligent commoners are quietly joining the tariff reform procession as it grandly moves to victory.—Pittsburg Post.