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THURSDAY, AUGUST 23, 1877.

PENDELTON.

He Opens the Ohio Democratic Campaign.

His Speech at Columbus Last Night.

He Reviews the Record of the Republican Party.

The Silver Question Elaborately Discussed in all its Details.

Columbus, August 23—Mr. Pendleton and Gen. Ewing opened the Democratic state canvas here to-night. The speech of Mr. Pendleton was as follows:

Fellow Citizens.—I speak to you to-night because our country suffers; because honest, industrious men seek employment in vain, and their families want food. Harper's Weekly says: "It is computed that there are three millions of people in the country idle who would gladly work. Those who three or four years ago received two and three dollars a day now eagerly accept fifty cents. All labor has been forced to submit to reduced wages."

We ought, in a candid spirit, to search the cause. If government, either in its legislation or administration, is at fault, we ought to apply the remedy. This work concerns us all equally. Therefore, I speak to you Republicans and Democrats alike. If I do not convince your judgment, I will not wound your just susceptibilities. I criticise policies and motives.

Ohio is a fortunate state. Its soil is fertile, its climate is healthful, its mines are rich, its population is hardy, enterprising, intelligent. The lake, the river, the Marietta, the Baltimore & Ohio, the Pittsburg & Fort Wayne, the Pittsburg & St. Louis, the Atlantic & Great Western, the Lake Shore railroads, the intersecting canals and railroads from north to south, bring all its parts into easy communication. Nature, always bountiful, has given it an exceptionally abundant harvest. Neither plague nor pestilence has visited it. And yet the highways and byways are filled with tramps; the cities and villages are filled with deeds of violence against person and property; the station houses and work houses are filled with the poor and hungry and miserable, as well as with criminals; labor is discontented, and the discontented utters ominous threats, and is occasionally tempted to wicked deeds. In a word, men are idle, women are suffering, children are hungry, all are unhappy; our industries are all deranged, business is stagnant, enterprise and energy sit with folded hands, and all men look with anxiety for that which shall come to pass. I speak of affairs in Ohio because I know them. I speak what you know. I testify that which you have seen.

Now, why is this? There must be a cause. What is it? One fact confronts us in this inquiry. The laws of taxation, the laws of the tariff, the commercial system, the financial system—these touch the very life and being of the whole social and industrial fabric. The Republican party has established and administered these laws and these systems. It has had power for half a generation. Even since the war it has had absolute sway for twelve years. Once only in all that time has there been an adverse house of representatives. It has used this power without stint. The internal revenue system, even what is left of it, bears almost entirely and very heavily upon western industries and the product of western land.

The tariff is an ill-adjusted tax. It produces little revenue; it is extremely onerous on those who import and pay duties; extorts large subsidies for private interests from those who do not, and saps the prosperity of every industry, even those it affects to protect. Scarcely a ship navigates the ocean under the flag of the United States, and the few which do are built on the Clyde, and belong to foreign owners.

The financial system may be briefly stated. An immense public indebtedness, payable in paper, has, by the effect of two laws, been made payable in gold only, and thereby been increased 30 per cent. Silver has been demonetized, and gold the only legal tender for the bonds, has been enhanced accordingly.

Resumption of specie payments has been ordained for January, 1879, and within eighteen months they have no plan, except the illegal contraction of greenbacks or the impossible hoarding of gold.

The first measure largely increased the indebtedness. The second diminished the currency in which that indebtedness can be paid. The third effectually and necessarily destroys the industries and energies by which the means of pay can be earned. The Egyptian policy of requiring bricks, and not furnishing straw, was mercy in comparison.

I state facts only. I pass for the present a closer examination of the effect of these various laws. An Ohio audience understands them well. The great campaign of 1875 was fought on these laws. Their effect was foreseen, examined, predicted with unerring accuracy. The resumption act was analyzed and its furthest consequences were pointed out. The demonetization of silver was not then appreciated; it has only increased the momentum of the general movement.

Prophecy has become accomplished in history, and, this night, the ten thousand failures of the last twelve months, the weary footsteps of the innumerable multitude seeking work, the strikes of unpaid laborers, the bloody and disgraceful riots in our cities, the roads filled with tramps, and station houses filled with homeless paupers, indict the Republican policy as the cause of this condition of affairs.

On the 1st of August it chose to answer to the indictment. Fresh from the achievements of last spring; fresh from the rape of the presidency; crowned with the laurel befitting a party which had just counted in and inaugurated a president who had received a minority of the popular and electoral vote, the Republican party called upon its most trusted counselors and advocates to plead to this indictment. The meeting was worthy the occasion. It was a representative Re-

publican convention. A leading member declared that it was historic in the eminence of its respectability. Another declared that it uttered the best thoughts of the Republican intellect; and a third asserted it was worthy of the instant on which hung the best hopes of a Christian civilization.

This convention plead to the charge, and its plea was in confession and avoidance. It dare not say "not guilty"; it could not say "guilty." It did say, in many phases and crooked words, "we contest the charge, and will tell you how it all happened." Read the declaration. You will find no condemnation of the resumption policy, no demand for the remonetization of the silver dollar, nothing in approval of the president's adoption of the Democratic plan for the pacification of the states, nothing in approval of his measures of civil service reform. Read the declaration:

"The Republicans of Ohio congratulate the people that their management of local affairs has been true to the moral and industrial interests of the people, and that in national affairs they have exhibited the same fidelity to right principles and practices."

Congratulate you, my fellow citizens! felicitate you! rejoice with you, and ask you to rejoice with them at this wonderful achievement of Republican policy!—true to the moral and industrial interests!" Do you not feel that your moral nature has been elevated and your pockets filled to plenitude by this fidelity? And this boast—no, this taunt—in Ohio, at the very moment when troops were needed to move the accumulated trains, and the workmen in the mines of the Hocking and Mahoning, and in the workshops of your city were demanding more wages, that they might have more bread!

"We reaffirm the national platform of 1876!"

Indeed! Not a Republican of you here to-night, not ten men in that convention could tell what that platform contained. "We have confidence in Rutherford B. Hayes as a statesman, patriot and Republican."

Not a word in favor of his administration, of his specific acts, of his withdrawal of troops from the state houses of South Carolina and Louisiana, of his declaration that officeholders should not "run the machine" of partisan organization. On the contrary, the nominee for governor, in accepting before the convention the result of the ballot, "damned it with faint praise" by saying he would give "our present administration a fair trial and a thorough test."

"We reaffirm our unalterable purpose to maintain and enforce the amendments to the federal constitution."

Good! The Democratic convention, a week before, had affirmed the same unalterable purpose. On this point we may have peace, provided they can persuade Packard and Chamberlain and Blaine and Beatty.

"We are in favor of both silver and gold as money; that both shall be a legal tender in the payment of all debts, except as otherwise provided by law, with coinage and valuation so regulated that our people shall not be put at disadvantage in our trade with foreign nations, and that both metals shall be kept in circulation as the money of the nation, as contemplated by the constitution; and we therefore demand the remonetization of silver."

"Wonderful! No restoration of the silver dollar! No unlimited legal tender! No righting the wrong of 1873. A new coinage! a new valuation! and even that remonetization only on conditions which cannot be determined at all!"

"Legal tender except where otherwise provided by law." Silver is legal tender now except as otherwise provided by law, and this declaration through all its juggling of words demands nothing else. "For ways that are dark and tricks that are vain" even the heathen Chinese would be put to the blush.

"We view with alarm the present disturbed condition of the country."

"Disturbed condition!" Disturbed by what? Their policy, they say, "has always been true to the industrial interests of the people." "Disturbed condition!" The country has been rent by discord; the railroads have been prevented from running; the mines and shops have been closed; three millions of men are out of employment; life and property have been destroyed, and this declaration delicately hints that it excites alarm.

"We earnestly sympathize with the honest and industrious laborers who are willing to work, and remain unemployed." Sympathize with them? Why not relieve them? Why depress all industries? Why persist in this resumption policy, which has, in fact, as was foreseen and predicted, destroyed all business and deprived labor of all employment. Their policy has increased all public as well as private indebtedness; it has reduced the wages; it threatens to reduce it still more; it has made all the future uncertain; it proclaims as its avowed purpose that all debts now incurred shall, within eighteen months, be increased five per cent, and, if they persist in hoarding gold, perhaps fifty per cent; that all the circulating money shall be increased in value in the same proportion; that all the products of labor shall be depreciated to the same extent; and in the face of the inevitable paralysis of enterprise and the idleness of laborers, they refuse to change this policy, and yet express sympathy for the unemployed workers!

And as an earnest of this sympathy; as a remedy for these evils; as a preventive of all strikes and a cure for the causes which produce them, the Republican convention demands a "bureau of industry"—congressional intervention to secure fair returns on capital, fair wages to laborers, to prevent mismanagement, wrong discriminations, and dishonesty in officials, and to establish statutory arbitration between employers and employees. A "national bureau of industry," to be of the least use, must be much better managed than any bureau we have ever had.

We have had a bureau of agriculture, and the chief good it has done has been to distribute dried seeds, sometimes weavil wheat, and to publish a report, which attentive members of congress may send as a compliment to susceptible constituents.

It is in the power of congress to effect all this relief to labor, but not according to this Republican plan. I will point out the Democratic plan hereafter. Congressional intervention to secure "fair returns on capital, fair wages to laborers, good management of railroads!" Whence does congress derive this power? Where is the grant in the constitution? It is nowhere to be found; this action is utterly beyond the scope of the powers or the functions of the federal government. "All powers not granted are reserved." No man can point out this grant. If congress may interfere to this extent on the part of

case of a railroad, it may intervene also in the case of every machine shop, and foundry, and manufacturing establishment in the land. If it may secure fair wages to laborers—that is, more wages than employers are willing to give—so it may secure, nay, must secure fair service to the employers; that is, more service, or longer service, or different service, than workmen are willing to render. Is it part of the duty of any government—it is within the limited and delegated powers of our government—to secure "fair returns for capital invested?" And if it were within the legal powers, how shall it be accomplished? By what process can governments decide what private speculations shall be made, and provide that all speculations which are legal shall be profitable?

The courts are open "to adjust controversies, reconcile interests and establish justice and equity between employers and employees." If their process is slow, it should be made speedy; if their machinery is cumbersome, it should be made simple. What other tribunals are needed? What other functions could be performed, unless, indeed, it is intended to deprive both employer and employee of all free agency, and to require them to submit in all things—the giving of employment, the rendering of service, the rate of wages, the quantum of labor—to the arbitrary dictation of this "statutory arbitration." This declaration either means nothing or it means greatly too much. It is either a cunningly devised phrase, meaning nothing and intended to deceive the workingmen, or it is a revolution in our government fraught with the woes of the workingmen themselves. Capital and labor! the fair and honest adjustment of profits between them! This has been the problem of the ages—it will be the problem until men shall become perfect, or government shall be able to make them do the deeds meet for perfection. Good government may secure their exemption from the legal control of each other—may enforce their contracts—but it cannot say to capital, You shall employ so many men and shall pay them these wages—or to laborers, you shall work for this employer, and shall work for these wages. "Shall I not do what I will with mine own?"—and the labor of the one is as much his own as the money of the other—and must not be interfered with more lightly. It is more his own, for it is his sweat, his blood, his life. Men may work or not, as they please. Capitalist may employ them or not, as they please. The wages which shall be given and received are a matter of contract on which both shall agree, and the government has done all that it can possibly do, when it secures to all respectively this freedom, and when it fairly and fully and speedily enforces this contract.

The Republican candidate for governor has made his own commentary on the platform. He would provide by law that railroad companies should pay a fixed rate of wages to the employees, a fixed rate of dividend to the capital, and should divide the residue of the profits between the stockholders and the laborers. What rate of wages? What rate of dividend? Who shall decide? By what rule shall it be ascertained? But suppose the railroad is unfortunate, and there are no profits; shall the wages then be reduced below the rate in order to make a dividend? Capital being invested in an unprofitable or unfortunate road, can not be taken out; it must remain. Labor, having no such tie, may turn elsewhere. Shall it be forced to remain? Shall it be compelled to work at the diminished wages? If not, what possibility is there for a fair return for the capital invested? What would the "statutory arbitration" do in such case? If the scheme is so benevolent, why confine it to railroads? Why not apply it to manufacturers, to husbandry, to the household? Nay, why not to the law office of the candidate himself, and make semi-annually a division of the surplus profits with the woman who sweeps the court house?

No, gentlemen, these are all devices to the detriment of labor. Government may establish police regulations and sanitary regulations; it may provide for safety in the construction of factories and mines; it may regulate the employment of children of tender years, or persons of feeble and unsound mind; it may appoint inspectors and other officers to secure these ends; it may, perhaps, exercise still other powers, in the case of common carriers, and of railroads, which extend from one end of the continent to the other, in which it is part owner, by subscription or donation; but when it goes further and assumes to take laborers under its especial and parental care, to make them the wards of the nation, it belittles and injures them.

Labor should be free, untrammeled, left to itself. Its contracts should be speedily enforced. Its injuries should be speedily redressed. The burdens imposed upon it should be made as light as possible. The advantages of education should be given to all. The law should be made to reduce the wages below the rate in order to make a dividend? Capital being invested in an unprofitable or unfortunate road, can not be taken out; it must remain. Labor, having no such tie, may turn elsewhere. Shall it be forced to remain? Shall it be compelled to work at the diminished wages? If not, what possibility is there for a fair return for the capital invested? What would the "statutory arbitration" do in such case? If the scheme is so benevolent, why confine it to railroads? Why not apply it to manufacturers, to husbandry, to the household? Nay, why not to the law office of the candidate himself, and make semi-annually a division of the surplus profits with the woman who sweeps the court house?

The law authorizing the issue of greenbacks provided that whenever they were presented by any individual in sums of fifty dollars, they might be converted into five-twenty bonds. Two years afterward this provision was repealed. Greenbacks depreciated immensely in the hands of the people, and the sale of bonds was monopolized by the capitalists.

The five-twenty bonds were by law of their issue payable in greenbacks. There can be no question of that fact. Thaddeus Stevens asserted it when the law passed. The Republican conventions of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Michigan declared it. Senator Morton approved it. Secretary Sherman, in his place in the senate, six years after the passage of the law, asserted it. The Cincinnati Gazette within two months had admitted that it never doubted that interpretation of the law. Yet a Republican congress passed the law of 1869, whereby it was declared they should be paid in coin. This provision was repealed. Greenbacks depreciated immensely in the hands of the people, and the sale of bonds was monopolized by the capitalists.

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