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GOV. PENNOYER'S SPEECH.

Delivered at Roseburg, Or., Oct. 1, 1892.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The approaching presidential election should not occur under a fair understanding of the great issues involved, and it is for the purpose of presenting those issues as plainly and succinctly as possible that I now address you. I shall today speak in defense of the self-same measures I have heretofore advocated upon all occasions. I shall defend the doctrine, as heretofore, that the bulk of federal taxation should be levied upon the wealth rather than upon the labor and industries of the country; that there should be a free and equal coinage of both gold and silver money; that both should be a full legal tender, and that the paper money required by business interests should be issued direct by the government rather than by private banking associations, which, like gold and silver, should be a legal tender. It is true, however, that in advocating these measures now I find myself outside of the political organization to which I formerly belonged. But that is neither my fault nor my misfortune. It is the fault, if not the misfortune, of the late Democratic party, which, having abandoned its principles, now ought by right to abandon its name. Some two and a half years ago following Cleveland's anti-silver letter, in response to a request, I said to the Cincinnati Enquirer: "The great masses of the Democratic party in the United States favor the free coinage of silver. Mr. Cleveland opposes it. Mahomet must come to the mountain, as the mountain will not go to Mahomet." But I was mistaken. A phenomenon in the political world has occurred almost as remarkable as the removal of a mountain at the command of a prophet. A great political party with nearly a century's history of consistency in faith and devotion to principle has at last proved recalcitrant to all its conditions, and, following its fealty to the cause of the people, has quit its blind, idolatrous devotion at the shrine of a man whose sole distinguishing characteristic is his stubborn subservience to the demands of the monopolists. A careful investigation, however, discloses the fact that this devotion is really not to him, as he has neither the personal qualities, the intellectual endowments, nor the political sagacity to win homage. Like the moon, his effulgence is a borrowed light. The real reason of his potency is the fact that his candidacy is demanded by the money power. In his nomination, the money power, if any which was gained, was from the strong boxes of Wall street. As the Moses Muselman turns at each prayer his face toward Mecca, so the Democratic party in the hope that Christ might now favor them in the election, turned its back upon all of its revered traditions, its time-honored principles, and its heretofore unbroken record of devotion to the people's cause, and with the face to the east, the money power professed salutation to the great Jew set up by the devotees of monopolism and bank rap-money. That this diagnosis is correct is well demonstrated by the fact that to a similar extent of position on the silver question was made by the Republican party. Two years ago in Oregon, the Republicans as well as the Democrats demanded free coinage. Now both parties are supporting candidates pledged against the free coinage of silver, and either of which would veto any bill in its favor passed by congress in pursuance of the demands of the people. The Republicans did not change out of respect to any candidate, but solely to win the favor of the money interests of the country. In fact this right about face movement of the Republicans was really more painful to them than that of the Democrats. They number among their hosts one man, who like Saul, the son of Kish, "from his shoulders and upward is higher than any of his people," the foremost man of America, and one of the most sagacious politicians and profound statesmen of our country and of our age, the man who has alone given to his party its only hope of success by clothing the divine doctrine of free trade in the Mother Hubbard garb of reciprocity and installment upon the most exalted seat in the very sanctuary of protection, where the radiant goddess now sits enthroned, the object of the most devout adoration and the sole hope of the party's political salvation.

James G. Blaine of Maine was, as he really deserved to be, the real choice of his party as a candidate for the presidency. But there was one fatal mistake. He was devoted to the policy of the constitution, followed for more than eighty years from the foundation of the government, which recognized both gold and silver as a legal tender, and imparted to both full legal tender qualities. The money lords of the land, who, in order to enhance the value of their wealth, had procured the degradation of silver by the denial of its coinage on equal terms with gold, and by the deprivation of its legal tender qualities, planned his defeat and effected his condemnation. And then having secured Harrison's nomination at Minneapolis, they struck tent for Chicago, where they procured the nomination of Cleveland. But the great statesman of Maine, who would not forego his principles for the sake of the presidency, is still greater in his retirement than either of the candidates of the two old parties who procured their nomination by acquiescence in the demand of the monopolists. The result of the election, the nomination of Harrison and Cleveland, of like principles and policy upon leading questions, by opposing political parties, is quite an anomaly in the political world. Both were the tariff as the great source of revenue, both opposed the free coinage of silver, and both are in favor of bank rap-money. They are a pair of faithful old dogs are really under the same management, the bull of the national revenue by tariff taxation, which with unjust and unequal weight upon the labor and industries of the country, it would transfer the bulk of the burden, by an income tax, to the wealthy of the nation, where it justly belongs. Instead of having a single dog to bark for the national currency, it would have the bi-metallic basis of our money, by the equal coinage of silver and gold, and by its restriction with full legal tender qualities. Instead of having the paper money required by demands of trade and commerce issued by national banks, as demanded by

the Republican party, or by state banks, as demanded by the Cleveland party, neither of which would be legal tender money, it demands that all the money of the country, gold, silver, and paper, shall be issued under the government of the country, and that the paper money, as well as gold and silver, shall be full legal tender money. These, then, are the leading issues now before the people.

The tariff. The constitution of the United States conferred upon congress the power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises" for the support of the government, but for quite a period past the great bulk of the revenue has been raised by imposts alone. This method of taxation, although the most unequal, is the most popular for the reason that no person really knows how or when he is paying the tax. As Turgot, the French statesman, justly declared "tariff taxation is the art of plucking the goose so as to get the largest amount of feathers with the least amount of squealing." Taxation by imposts, when framed in the most just manner and with the greatest care, cannot fail of being flagrantly unjust. The only just standard of taxation is the one that compels a man to pay according to his wealth, for the plain reason that the more wealth he has the more it is to his individual interests to be protected by law, and as governments are instituted for the protection of property as well as life, he should pay for its support in proportion to the property to be protected. This is a plain rule founded upon reason which cannot possibly be gainsaid. But this plain and just rule cannot be obeyed in the collection of taxes by imposts. Take, for instance, the most just method of tariff taxation, which is a purely revenue tariff. Such a tariff would have to be levied exclusively upon articles not produced within the country, for the plain reason that any tariff levied upon any article produced within the national domain would to a greater or less extent afford incidental protection. In this country, then, a purely revenue tariff would have to be laid mainly upon tea, coffee, sugar and spices. With the tariff so laid, the prices of these articles would be so immeasurably enhanced as to be a most positive burden upon the poor, if not an actual inhibition to them against their use. With this, the most just system of tariff taxation, every one can discover its manifest injustice. Under it the poor man with a large family of children, if he uses tea, coffee and sugar would be compelled to pay much more for the support of the government in taxes than his millionaire neighbor who has but a single child. Under the tariff, the poor man is not only taxed for the support of the government but for the benefit of the individual producing the article protected. The beneficiaries of protective tariff taxation reap the benefit of the tax, while the full greater extent than its victims realize its injurious effects. For the last three-quarters of a century at every session of congress, the representatives of the industries clamoring for protection have hung around the lobes of congress like buzzards around a carcass. The latest fact in congressional legislation is to pass tariff laws protecting everything that wants protection. This is the McKinley doctrine. The great original inventor of this doctrine—Governor McKinley—in its defense, when he took his seat as presiding officer of the state Republican convention in Ohio, then stated that the tariff was like a man on the sheep's back, he would demand that it should be taken off from the clothing on man's back. This same threat he repeated when he took his seat as chairman of the national Republican convention at Minneapolis. It was uttered in defense of the idea that protection was a very broad policy, and ought to be handed all around. Now, let us for one moment examine this matter. He asserts that if the woolen manufacturer is protected, the farmer who raises wool should also be protected. There is so much justice in that proposition that no one can successfully deny it. If the government is to favor the manufacturer that is not extended to the sheep raiser. That is most just. And is it not equally just that no favor should be extended to both the manufacturer and the producer that is not also extended to the poor laborer, and millions of consumers who are neither producers nor manufacturers? Mr. McKinley was perfectly fair in distributing his protection equally between the sheep raiser and the manufacturer, if he were the only two parties affected by it, but the range of his vision is so elevated that he has not yet discovered the poor consumer, who is also equally interested in a very great extent in the matter. The higher the protection to the wool grower and manufacturer the greater the robbery of the consumer. Now, if his doctrine that protection should be equally accorded, and if the case of the consumer is considered, as he must concede that it ought to be, this most profound statesman will discover that the only possible way in which he can protect the consumer is by extending protection for the protection of others. The weight of the McKinley argument, when applied to all classes as it should be, is sufficient to break down entirely his system of protection, and to establish in the country a most notable instance of a man hoisted by his own petard. A protective tariff to be effective must be untargeted, and its effectiveness is in exact ratio to the extent to which it is untargeted. It is a just protective tariff, by which each protected industry would pay for the protection of other industries exactly what it receives from others for its own protection, then no one would desire it, as no one would be benefited by it. Justice and a protective tariff are bitter foes, and cannot live peaceably together in the same household.

Let us examine the position of the Cleveland party on this question of tariff. It would have been perfectly clear and explicit if Henry Watterson had not acted the role of the bull in a china shop in Chicago. The Republicans at Minneapolis said: "We believe that all articles which are produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free

of duty, and in competition with imports as demanded by the Cleveland party, the products of American labor, there should be duties levied equal to the difference between wages at home and abroad. The Cleveland managers in the platform proposed the protection with his consent and assent said: "When custom house taxation is levied upon any articles of any kind produced in this country, the difference between the cost here and abroad, where such difference exists, fully measures any possible benefits to labor. In making reductions in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries but rather to promote their healthy growth." These arguments are nearly alike as two peas. The Cleveland party not only aligned itself with the Republican party in favor of bank rap-money and monopolism, but jumped aboard the same platform on the tariff as it would have been, a party that was in the majority of the Cleveland party had taken out a patent right on their platform after it had been adopted at Minneapolis. This would have simplified matters by eliminating the Cleveland party from the contest, and making the issue on those great leading questions between two great parties. The interpolation by Watterson of the doctrine that there is no constitutional warranty for any tariff laid for purposes other than revenue was a work of mere supererogation. It was a good deed, well intended, but not at all needed in attestation of the orthodoxy of his own faith, while it was utterly futile in changing the policy of the Cleveland party. It was virtually and very adroitly upturned by Mr. Cleveland in his Madison Square Garden speech, and the New York Times of July 18th, which is the leading newspaper of the world, asserts that it does not represent the party views which it declares are fully enunciated by the Mills bill and says "the Mills bill of 1888, representing the silver thought and the legislative intention of the party was a protective tariff bill. With its average duty of 42 per cent. on all dutiable imports it could properly be called a high tariff bill," and then closes the argument in a sublime outburst of Mugwump faith and devotion by the solemn declaration that "Grover Cleveland is not only the party candidate, but its platform, the declaration of its principles, the leading thought and the legislative intention of the party." Cleveland, not Watterson, represents the tariff policy of the Cleveland party, and that policy is protection, restricted, however, to the manufacturers. It was proclaimed in the platform of the Cleveland party, and it was the policy of the ancient Romans that no city could be taken or destroyed till its tutelary gods had abandoned it, and hence their first care was to evoke the gods of the besieged city to forsake it by promising them a more respectful worship. It is to be feared that if the Clevelandites, in their plans to capture the Republican party platform, have failed in this devotion to their tutelary deities, they will have only a deep sense of humiliation for their failure, and will learn too late that they have alienated the affections of the people in their vain attempt to win the favor of the Republican tutelary deities.

Income Tax. Now for the first time in the whole history of our constitutional government men have been asked to pay a tax for protection for the protection of the sacred doctrine of just and equal taxation. It is a doctrine fully as sacred as that for which our revolutionary ancestors contended, which demands that there should be no taxation without representation. The great inequality of tariff taxation, under its most skillful adjustment, cannot be denied by its most strenuous advocate. In the very nature of things it is not possible to lay it so as to be a just tax, because it is utterly impossible to lay it that under its operation men will pay for the support of the government according to the measure of their wealth, and that is the only way in which the doctrine of just and equal taxation, as early follows that graduated income tax, based upon that sound doctrine, is the only really just tax, and therefore constitutes the very mode by which the great bulk of the national revenue ought to be collected. Under the tariff men pay to the government a tax on the food they eat, the clothes they wear and the implements they use in their labor, and this being the case, it follows that a poor laboring man not worth one dollar in the world, who lives by the labor of his hands and who has a wife and family of eight children, pays ten times as much for the support of the federal government as the millionaire neighbor who is worth a million of dollars. Under an income tax that rich bachelor would pay fully if not more than ten times as much tax as his poor neighbor. Under the latter system justice is meted out to both parties. Under the tariff system the rich man is favored while a most cruel wrong is done the poor man. We hear quite a deal of denunciation against paternal government, and yet the tariff system so boldly out that no one dare controvert it, that there is no government so paternal as that which depends mainly upon tariff taxation for its revenue. And it is the worst kind of paternalism as its paternal benefactions are distributed unequally to the rich and its paternal exactions are inflicted on the poor. Through its subtle and unnoticeable operations thousands of poor Peters are robbed for the benefit of a few favorite Pauls. Many a great struggle involving the loss of thousands of lives and the expenditure of millions of dollars has been engaged in between people and nations, when the enormity of the grievance precipitating the warfare was as nothing in comparison to the enormity of the wrongs inflicted upon our people by the unjust system of tariff taxation. There is one incalculably great benefit that would be derived from the imposition of an income tax. The wealth of the country is now entirely exempt from federal taxation. Under the more just system of taxation in our state government wealth is taxed, but it is largely untaxed by congress, and hence the wholesome restraint which it would undoubtedly exercise upon the alarming and prodigal increase of federal expenditures, if the burden of taxation was imposed upon it, is not now called into operation. But let wealth be taxed as it should be—let the great burden fall, as it should, upon the rich, and then when their pockets are compelled to respond to the exactions of congress, their influence would be exercised in favor of a frugal and economical administration of government. As it is now, with wealth exempt, and with the burden of taxation falling upon the poor, who have not the means of resistance, the rich do not, and the poor cannot, interpose any impediment against

the alarmingly increasing expenditures of congress from their being without warrant of law, and more of them being in defiance of justice. One objection urged against an income tax is because it is inequitable. Is it any more inequitable than a tariff tax? Is it any worse, in order to ascertain whether he has defrauded the government, to examine a man's books, than it is, in order to ascertain whether or not she is smuggling, to examine a woman's bustle? Another objection urged is the difficulty of its enforcement. Some ten years ago I heard a grave senator affirm on the floor of the Oregon state senate, in discussing some provisions of an assessment law then pending, that there was no use in trying to tax the rich, as they could and would evade its payment. This is quite a common assertion, and many facts in its affirmation can be adduced from our present mode of state taxation, while the continued neglect of congress to tax wealth appears to give it the most complete confirmation. Let this be conceded as a fact, and then it must be acknowledged that governments need no longer exist. One of the great objects for which they were instituted was the protection of the weak against the strong, the poor against the rich. If under any government taxes are unduly imposed upon the poor, the great purpose for which it was created has failed and it ought to be abolished. But that doctrine must never be conceded. Our government is strong enough to pass just laws, and to execute them. Over twenty-four centuries ago, the Roman government under Servius Tullius changed the system of taxation from a per capita tax which had been imposed for more than a hundred years, one rated according to the measure of a man's wealth. During the early days of that government when each man had his four acres of ground, wealth was quite equally distributed and a per capita tax was fair. When wealth became unequally distributed such a tax became quite unjust and a high sense of Roman virtue demanded a change. Should not Americans be as just as Romans in a similar outburst of their nature a per capita tax, and wealth has become quite unequally distributed. The time has fully come for a more equitable system of taxation for the great bulk of the national revenue, and let us practice the Roman virtue of changing our system in order to meet the demands of justice.

(CONTINUED TOMORROW.)

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