

have us believe was caused by contraction. Here is the record. There was expansion and no contraction; and if there was no contraction, then the contraction cannot have caused the fall in business. That is so simple a demonstration that I think Gov. Allen should understand it. And yet I shall not be surprised to see to-morrow an inflationist declare before me why in the face of these facts and figures will affirm that it was the contraction of the currency which did all the mischief.

THE REAL CAUSE OF THE CRISIS OF 1873.
What was the cause of the crisis of 1873, the consequences of which are still upon us? I wonder why political economists of the inflation school will never remember that similar disturbances occurred in the business life of other countries. But two years ago a collapse of speculation occurred in Austria, and a succession of failures in England, and similar things in all European countries, France being a notable exception. It so happens that in countries thus afflicted, especially Germany, not only no contraction of currency had taken place, but rather an increase of its volume, partly by influx of coin through the war indemnities, partly by an increase of bank currency, while in France business appears prosperous, although not only heavy drafts were made on the national resources for the payment of the German war indemnity, but a steady contraction of paper currency has been going on all the time, for the last three years, for the purpose of returning to specie payments, which had been suspended during the German war. And when you study the condition of things preceding collapses in European countries, and in ours, you will find that the agencies of kindred nature were at work there and here. No contraction of currency whatever, rather an expansion of it; but industrial enterprise overleaping itself, an extensive production of things for which there was no immediate demand; the sinking of capital in great undertakings which could yield no immediate return; wily schemes of stock gambling, wild speculation in all possible directions, and the creating of imaginary values, wasteful extravagance in private expenditures, and high living, a morbid desire to get rich without labor, an excessive straining of the credit system, until finally the bubble burst. The people then found that they were by no means as rich as they had believed themselves. So it was there, and so it was here.

France, on the other hand, has gone through a disastrous and a ruinous war, she has had to pay a vast sum of money, 5,000,000,000 francs, and her industry, and largely increased her debt. She was apparently prostrated. What was to be done? Issue more paper currency to restore prosperity, our inflationists would have said; but no, a financial policy determined otherwise. Not believing that the country could recuperate by deceiving itself, they issued no more irredeemable paper money. They reduced the volume of that which was in circulation. They worked steadily and steadily towards resumption, so that a franc not only pretends to be, but is a franc, and he who has one knows what he has. The people set to work again, and the various industries, their industries producing things for which there was a demand in the market. No capital was sunk in useless enterprises, no wild speculation, no self-deception by creating fictitious values; and thus you find France to-day, in spite of her disasters, economically in a more satisfactory condition than the countries around her. (There is a striking lesson before us. No wise man will study it without profit.)

WHY EXPANSION WILL NOT PROMISE RELIEF.
Now, it being conclusively shown that the depression of business was not brought on by the contraction of the currency, but by causes which always produce such results, the question recurs whether an inflation of currency will furnish the relief we need. You say that though the banks in business centers are full of money lying idle for want of employment, we want more currency. I tell you, business can have as much as it likes without any further act of the Government. According to law, every one of you, or any association you may form, having the necessary capital, can start a bank of issue. A general license to that fact through the Free Banking act was given by Congress last Winter. We heard so much of the West and South wanting more local circulation, and starting for greater banking facilities. Now you can make yourselves comfortable. All legal impediments are removed. You can issue any amount of currency; but behold, the currency will not inflate one cent's worth. And you, worthy patriots, who clamor for more currency, do not let a finger to create more. What, if there is a reason given by *The Cincinnati Enquirer*? There is no currency enough in circulation to buy the bonds to deposit with the National Government, and obtain National currency in exchange. This is genius. It rakes with the most brilliant financial utterances of Gov. Allen himself. But I appeal to you—business men, laborers, farmers—who honestly desire to do right, and look up to your party leaders for instruction. If you want an instance of impudent, flustering assurance, with which these men delight in your being too ignorant and stupid to tell them of obvious facts, on obvious falsehood, look at this. Here is the great representative organ of inflation Democracy, the tabernacle of its brains, the feeding pipe of its wisdom. And now while millions and millions of money are lying unemployed in the business centers of the country, East and West, looking for investment sufficiently safe, while everybody knows that in every large city in the land there are dozens of capitalists with abundant means which they might devote to the creation of bank-paper issues if it were profitable; while everybody knows that there is scarcely a town of respectable size without means fully able to form a combination for that purpose—yet our party fighting the truth as its personal enemy, coolly asks you to believe that there is not currency enough in the country to permit the purchase of bonds as a basis for National bank issues.

When I read such things I do not know what to admire most—the audacity of the inventors, or the pitiable weakness of the inventor. But the absurdity of that statement appears in its full glory when we look at all the circumstances of the case. Not only did the business of the country not show that it needed more; when it received no more, in spite of its opportunities, but it proved that it had more than it needed, by surrendering a large portion of the bank currency in circulation. On the first of July of this year, new currency had been issued to new and old banks amounting to \$7,780,000, but according to a letter addressed to me by the Controller of the Currency, \$23,579,134 of legal tender notes have been deposited with the Treasurer, for the purpose of retiring National bank notes, under the act of June 20, 1871; while, under the redemption system, created by the same act, over \$4,000,000 of National bank notes have been retired, by far the largest part of this reduction taking place in the West and South, which, we are told, were starving for more circulation. (By the 15th of September that figure had risen to nearly \$23,000,000.)

How is this? The business of the country is, they tell us, suffering most terribly for the want of currency, and the same business of the country not only not accommodating itself by issuing more when it has an opportunity but voluntarily surrendering many millions of what it has. Let *The Enquirer* explain. Perhaps that exponent of inflation wisdom will say now that we have not currency enough to

keep on from giving up that which we have got. But there are facts. There is contraction, not contraction by the Government, no contraction by the Republican party, no contraction forced upon the business of the country, but a contraction of currency voluntarily set on foot by the business of the country, when that business was at perfect liberty to choose expansion as well. Is it not a spectacle, indeed, to see not only public men reckless enough thus cruelly to mock the credulity of the poor and needy, but multitudes patiently listening to such ravings, and instead of repelling the insult thus wantonly offered to their good sense.

HOW INFLATION OPERATES—THE RICH GROW RICHER UNDER IT.
An irredeemable paper money, cheap money, the people's money, inflation, the relief of the poor! I entreat you, laboring men, poor men, give me your candid attention one moment. Suppose we issue more currency, as the Ohio platform euphistically calls it, "to make and keep the volume of currency equal to the wants of trade." In other words, we embark in the cause of inflation. I will not argue here the constitutional point whether Congress has the power to increase the volume of greenbacks beyond \$400,000,000, and whether the Supreme Court, as I expect it would, might declare such an act void and of no force. Suppose it can be done without any legal impediment. How will it operate?

Here is a capitalist, a merchant of extensive means, or a wealthy speculator. In the morning he takes up his paper and reads that Congress has passed an act to issue another hundred or two hundred millions, with a prospect of more. He knows, as a matter of course, that thereupon the premium on gold will rise, the purchasing power of a greenback dollar will decrease. The next piece of news he gets in from Wall street is, gold is going up and likely to rise steadily. What does he do? He begins at once to trim his sails to the wind. He seeks a way to take advantage of fluctuations going on or still in prospect. Or, being a man of means, commanding hundreds of thousands, he easily finds that way. If he is a cautious man, he has of course lent out money or given credit only on short time, and he at once calls in his money with rigor, strictly to save himself from the effects of depreciation. The debtor may groan, but he will have to pay or go into bankruptcy, for a rich man saves himself before the storm, and puts his money into investments not apt to be unfavorably affected by fluctuations of currency.

If he be a merchant, he will at once put up prices to provide against depreciation of currency, sell only at large profits, and for cash; for he is not anxious to sell, and being a wealthy man, not obliged to sell, knowing, as he does, that his goods will rise in current money value on his hands, while his credits depreciate. So, by taking advantage of fluctuations going on, which, as a man of means, he is able to do, he not only saves himself, but makes a handsome profit by shrewd calculation; or, if he be a speculator and somewhat venturesome man, he will speculate on the rise in the price of stocks or goods in true gambling style, and perhaps contrive to run into large liabilities, expecting to pay them off in money of less value than that in which he contracted them. Happily, the latter species of operators will sometimes be caught; but not infrequently they succeed, and so on through the whole chapter.

Thus the rich man, having the means to play the market, standing upon that eminence in the business world where he can feel the drift of every breeze and watch the appearance of every cloud on the horizon, enjoys the fullest opportunity and all facilities which wealth furnishes, amid the fluctuations of the currency and of prices, to lend out or to draw in money, to give up one investment to make another, to buy or to sell, to speculate on a rise or a fall—in one word, to take advantage of every chance, not only for his safety but for his profit, as his good judgment may suggest; and in the end he will, if he is a shrewd calculator, have grown richer than ever before by these very fluctuations. And if you had the heart to suggest that you could not fail to observe that time when an irredeemable currency, with its ever fluctuating, changing of value, prevailed in the country, was just the time when the rich men grew rapidly richer, and enormous accumulations of wealth fell into single hands.

THE FATE OF THE POOR MAN UNDER INFLATION.
But now look on the other side of the picture. Here is a laboring man who works for wages. He is honestly toiling to support himself and his family, and may be he has succeeded in saving a few hundred dollars, and deposited them in a savings bank. Now Congress resolves to issue more money in abundance, and inflation comes in good earnest. The laboring man who has listened to Gov. Allen or Gen. Cary thinks the millennium is coming. The people's money will be plenty, the gold premium rises, and prices of commodities also. The worthy laborer does not, like the rich man, read the financial articles and market reports in the metropolitan journals. The rise of gold premium troubles his mind very little, for the people's money is to be cheap and plenty; but some day he goes down to the store to buy things for his household and for his family, and to his surprise he finds that the prices of groceries and of shoes, of clothing, and so on, have become much higher than before. How is this? he asks. Well, says the dealer, gold has gone up and I have to pay much more for the goods I buy, therefore I am obliged to charge more. To buy a small house, he applies to a money lender for a couple of hundred dollars at low interest, on two or three years' time, to be secured by a mortgage on the house and lot. "Low interest and three years' time," exclaims the money lender, "my dear man, you do not understand the period; since more and more greenbacks are issued, the national currency declines rapidly, and if you do not pay your money now, on three years' time, how do you know that that money may be worth at the end of three years, perhaps ten cents in gold or nothing, and you cannot pay me interest enough to cover that risk."

But there are more curious experiences in store for him. The policy of "making and keeping the volume of currency equal to the wants of trade" requires the issue of larger and larger quantities of the people's money, for the wants of trade instead of being satisfied demand more. With every new issue the prices of the necessities of life rise higher and higher, the value of paper money goes down, the speculators and gamblers of the country do a roaring business. Prosperity develops to such a point that a bushel of coal costs \$20 and a bushel of wheat in greenbacks, the worthy laborer's deposit in the savings bank, once sufficient to build a little house, will no longer buy a decent pair of boots, and as the rise of prices of the necessities always runs far ahead of the rise in his wages, he has been rather consuming what he had than laying up new savings. Finally the inevitable crash approaches. The prudent rich man has anticipated its coming, and taken his precautions. He can pay for his necessities, but it is not possible for him. He is swept along by the tide. A feeling of distrust creeps over the business community. One day our worthy laborer goes to his place of work as usual. "I am sorry," says his employer, who sniffs the breeze; "there is an over-stocked market and a downward tendency, and I am obliged to take in sail; I have but little work

for you at low figures, or no work at all at last."

The shipwreck is complete. The rich man is in the life-boat and the poor man in the breakers with nothing to float him. About that time I hope Gov. Allen and Gen. Cary will come along and repeat their speeches about "The people's money." What will then the poor laborers respond? "Talk to me about your people's money! It is gamblers' money, the bloodsucker's money, the sharper's money, the devil's money." And may they then perhaps be wise for Gov. Allen and Gen. Cary and the other apostles of "the people's money" to stay away from the streets where their robbed and outraged victims congregate. I apprehend the vengeance of the poor, which Mr. Kelley of Pennsylvania in this campaign so loudly threatened against advocates of resumption, might turn the other way.

THE WORKING PEOPLE A CREDITORS CLASS.
We are told that an expansion of currency and its consequent depreciation will benefit the debtor, and that it will benefit the debtor as against the creditor by enabling the former to pay off his debts. Can it be that in which they were contracted. The morality of that argument I will not discuss. I prefer to leave it to the conscience of the people. But let us look at the pretended facts upon which it is based. Is it true that the poor man are the debtors of the country? To contract debt requires credit, and credit is based upon the means with which to pay. Men of very small means are seldom in debt, because they have no opportunity for being so. If we had better statistics of private indebtedness in the United States before us, they would unquestionably show that more than 75 per cent. of it is owing by men commanding comparatively large means, and that the laborers for wages are the least indebted class of society, even in proportion to their earnings and savings, and next to them the farmers and small business men. But laboring people are to a very heavy amount creditors of the country. I venture to say that there is neither a manufacturer, nor a merchant, nor a professional man of means in this assembly who is not a debtor, and among his creditors are, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, his workmen or his servants, to whom he owes wages for part of a week or a month. It has been calculated by good authority that the wages thus constantly owing for an average of a half a month's service or work amount in the whole country to \$120,000,000. And who is it that owns the deposits in the savings banks, amounting to about \$750,000,000? Not the rich, but the laboring people and persons of small means who put their surplus earnings there for safe keeping. It is estimated that the same class has in national and private banks and in trust companies nearly \$200,000,000, and that nearly \$130,000,000 is owing them in other kinds of debts. In the sum of about \$1,200,000,000, owing to the laboring people and persons of small means, constituting their savings to that amount. That class are creditors, and you pretend that for their benefit you will expand the currency. Gold being at 15 per cent. premium, those savings have a value of \$1,020,000,000 in gold. Expand the currency until gold is 20 per cent. premium, and you have robbed those people of \$180,000,000. Expand it until the gold premium is 50 per cent., and you have stripped them of \$420,000,000 of hard earned money.

INFLATION A DAMAGE TO NATIONAL CREDIT.
What a fatal error it were to issue our people had to gain their first experience of an irredeemable Government currency since the Revolutionary War. The greenback appeared not as a trick of scheming financiers, but as a creature of public necessity. The people had full confidence in the integrity and good faith of the Government as to the fulfillment of its promises. When the events of the war went distressingly against us, doubts arose as to the ability of the Government to redeem its pledges, but not as to the honesty of its intentions. These doubts affected the value of the paper money, but when the chances of war turned in our favor, and the terms of the Union were established, there was scarcely a man in the land who did not believe that what the Government had promised I would, as a sacred obligation, be faithfully performed, and the confidence which the legal tender commanded at home was commended by our bonds abroad.

But, if you inflate the currency under the present circumstances, what will be the condition of things? Then the additional greenbacks will not appear, as creatures of an imperative public necessity, to save the life of the Republic in the extremity of its peril. They will appear as a product of a scheme, the purposes of which are dark. The world will begin to suspect that when a Government, in the face of disastrous experiences of many a kind, resort to so extraordinary and dangerous a measure without necessity, its integrity can no longer be depended upon. Doubts will arise, and very serious doubts, not as to ability, but as to the honest intentions of the Government to redeem its promises, and these doubts will fall upon our business life like a deadening weight. The last remnant of confidence will be paralyzed.

The world will see the spectre of a Republic looming behind so reckless a financial policy. The faith of mankind in the integrity of our Government giving way, our credit will be taken to its very foundations, and some of our best depositors of a bank existing by a rumor that the cashier is making away with the cash, and instinctively, with a feverish run upon the counter, so you must not be surprised if in a general alarm about threatening dishonesty, you see the securities not only of the Government, but of our private corporations also, being by hundreds of millions in the market, producing a crash more fearful and destructive, and a paralysis more deadly to all our economic interests, than any people on earth can remember for generations past.

THE TEACHINGS OF OUR OWN HISTORY.
But I ask you with all candor and sobriety, business men, farmers, laborers, honest and patriotic citizens of all classes, is it not time to stop such wanton schemes of mischief? There being an abundance of money in the banks and in the unemployed, it is evidently not money we need. What do we need then? Confidence, confidence, which will induce timid capital to venture into enterprise. And why is it a requirement to restore confidence? It is stability above all things. Stability of current values, which renders possible business calculations of reasonable certainty. When the capitalist is assured that the dollar of to-morrow will have the same value as the dollar of to-day, and this stability of value is full security in a rational and fixed money system, then and no sooner will he liberally trust his money to those who want actively to employ it, and promise a fair return. Let us understand the teachings of our own history.

There are many among us who remember the great crisis of 1837 and 1857, in the United States. In both cases the country was flooded with an ill secured, unsafe bank currency, and a feverish speculation prevailed. Then a crash came. Speculation collapsed. The bubble of fictitious values burst. The rotten banks broke, and their currency was swept away. Business was paralyzed. People were in distress, as they are now. What remedy was applied? The natural, the only effectual remedy, and it applied itself. No fresh infusion of credit had done its work, business enterprise began once more to feel firm ground

under its feet. Business men had less of that which called itself money. But they were sure that every dollar they did have, not only called itself a dollar, but was a dollar, and would remain a dollar.

Examine the crisis which broke out two years ago, in September, 1873. That crisis did not contract our currency. On the contrary, what there was remained, and shortly after the volume of greenbacks was increased \$25,000,000 by successive issues from the so-called reserve. Money did not disappear as it did in 1837 and 1857. There was more of it than before, and yet the general stagnation and suffering continue, and the future appears to us dark and gloomy, without any sign of improvement. Yes, we have more money than before, but who of you can tell me what that money will be worth twenty days after the opening of the next session of Congress? Who of you can tell me what wild antics that money may play with the fortunes of all of us if those who clamor for inflation, now, shall obtain control of the national Government a year hence?

SPECIFIC PAYMENTS THE ONLY POLICY.
My fellow-citizens, all sane men agree that, of the great problem which presses us, there is but one ultimate solution. It is the return to a specie basis. Whatever other schemes may be devised, they do not even pretend to have a permanent, final settlement of the question in view. The resumption of specie payments is the one rational one, for no other system will remove the current values from the reach of the arbitrary power of the Government. No other can give to current values that stability, without which no safe business calculation can be made. No other can restore that confidence, which is the first prerequisite of a new period of prosperity. But the resumption of specie payments is also the only possible solution. It must at last come. Even the inflationists, while wildly seeking to throw difficulties in its way, still admit that finally it must come. It is as inevitable as fate. Is it not the part of prudent men, then, to move resolutely and with unflinching firmness in the direction of an end so desirable and also so inevitable?

I shall certainly not attempt to deceive you by denying that when a country is once cursed with an irredeemable paper money, the resumption of specie payments is not an easy process. It is like the cutting out of a cancer, which is an unpleasant and difficult operation; but if health is to be restored, the cancer must be cut. It is one of those evils which cannot be cured without pain, and cannot be permitted to linger without peril. Delay will only prolong the suffering and increase the danger. An attempt is made to deceive with a well-sounding catch-words. They call gold the bondholders' money, and our irredeemable paper money the people's money. Can that be the people's money whose value in the people's hands is as apt to vanish into nothing, and is sure to vanish into nothing if much more of it is issued? I, too, am in favor of a people's money, but it is of another kind. No, it is not right that the people should have a money of less value than the bondholder's. It should be equalized. But how? You cannot take from the bondholder his gold, unless you repudiate our national obligations, which as honest and patriotic Americans who have the honor of the country at heart, you will not do. Neither can you bring the bondholders' gold down to the level of your paper money as long as that paper money remains what it now is, or is made even worse. But what you do is to lift your paper money up to the level of the bondholders' gold, so that you can get gold in exchange for it. That can only be done by a return to specie payments; then it will indeed be the people's money, and the bondholders will have no better. It will be true people's money, for then your dollar will be, and remain, a real dollar—no longer a lying piece of paper, whose value depends upon the tricks of demagogues, and about which you have to inquire every morning what it is worth.

A WORD TO HONEST DEMOCRATS.
A word now to those Democrats who, in their hearts, still adhere to their old good creed and would spurn the false doctrines of their present leaders, did they not consider themselves, by party interests, bound to submit. I do not speak to you as a partisan for I am not one. I am in earnest when I say that all I desire for this country and myself is constitutional, honest, just and wise government; and little does it matter to me at the hands of what party the country receives it, provided it be in truth constitutional, honest, just, and wise. Neither do I conceal from my opinion that the old parties as now constituted are ill-fitted to solve that problem, and that an active union of the best elements of the best two old parties are to continue to divide the field, then for the sake of the public interest, I want each of them as good, not as bad, as possible; but, since you seem to believe the interests of the Republic are to be served by your party alone, I repeat to you as partisans who desire to promote the efficiency of their organization for good ends.

Have you considered what consequences the success of the inflation Democracy of Ohio will bring on? Imagine that its candidates be elected, and its policy be endorsed by the people of this State. Imagine the movement spreading and imposing its doctrines upon the Democratic National Convention, what then? All of you hard-money Democrats will be remarkably crushed out. Your influence will be utterly crushed out, for the men who will then rule your party want none of you. Why do I say this? Not to appeal to a selfish impulse, but because it is true, and I sincerely regret it, for I should be happy to see each party guided by its best men.

But more than this. Suppose the inflation Democracy, having taken possession of the National organization of your party, do succeed in their rush for the National power, and having one of their own in the Presidential chair, and a majority in Congress, proceed to carry out their programme, what then? They will inaugurate inflation, as an inevitable consequence of their bankruptcy and ruin, and more destructive than ever. And then, remember the attitude of your party on the slavery issue and questions connected with the civil war has cost you 10 years' exile from power. Let your party become responsible for the disasters which inflation will bring along with it, and it will be looked upon as the common enemy, and any organization that in four years may rise up against it, will be able to wipe it out of existence, however rotten in morals that organization may be.

INDEPENDENT ACTION URGED UPON OHIO DEMOCRATS.
What is then the true dictate of your party allegiance in its nobler sense? To preserve to your party the power of doing good service by defeating those who seek to make it only an engine of mischief and suicide. And how are you to defeat them? I remember the time when I received a high compliment at your hands, for having shown independent spirit enough to oppose my own party, by voting against it when I considered it in a wrong course. This is a great emergency in which a great service is to be done for the best interests of the country, and you hard-money Democrats of Ohio can find no better opportunity to enable me to return your compliments for the patriotic spirit of independent action. Indeed, it is a great emergency. I solemnly appeal to every good citizen of this State to be mindful of his responsibility. Upon your action on the 12th of October hangs a great decision. If the

people of Ohio strike down the inflation movement in their midst that will be its final overthrow. It may linger on, but the power of its onset will be broken.

If this fall, and the advocates of barbarism and ruin rush victoriously into the field of next year's greater contest, then who knows but future generations may have to look back upon the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence (the time which, before all others, should fill the national heart with the noblest aspirations) as one of the blackest spots in the history of the Republic. To meet the danger here is therefore the first thing needed. Upon the honest men of all parties I call to unite in a common effort. Let no party, which uses the advantages of its position to promote such nefarious schemes, will be interpreted as an approval of wrongs on the other side; for I assure you when this great whirlpool of corruption, ruin, and dishonor is successfully averted, you will find the men who combated the wrongs of either side as true as ever to their principles. Citizens of Ohio, you are charged with a great office. You have to give the world an assurance that the people of the great American Republic are an honest and enlightened people; that their integrity and intelligence may be trusted alike, and that mankind may count upon them in the forward march of civilization. I entreat you not to fail in so glorious a duty.

PERSHING IN POTTSVILLE.

The Estimate Placed Upon His Character in Schuykill County.

The following series of articles are taken from the *Miners Journal*, the ablest paper north of Philadelphia. Published at Pottsville, the present home of Judge Pershing, it knows whereof it speaks. They are worth a careful perusal, and exhibit the upright Judge in his famous character of "The Little Joker" before a home audience.

JUDGE PERSHING'S CONTRACT.
Three years ago, Judge Ryan's term of office being about to expire, there was an energetic movement made by the people of Schuykill county, without regard to party, to exclude politics and partisanship from the bench by electing a man who was above both. The Labor Reformers nominated Hon. Cyrus L. Pershing, of Cambria county, and the Republicans nominated also took him up, for the reasons stated in the following:

"The *Miners Journal*, the Hon. Cyrus L. Pershing declared, in a recently published letter, that the office of Judge is not a political one. 'I have no party,' and having the utmost confidence in his integrity and ability; therefore, 'Resolved, that the said Cyrus L. Pershing be declared the nominee of this Convention.' The nomination was concurred in by a large number of independent Democrats, so that it could be truly said that honest men of all parties looked upon Mr. Pershing's election as the standard of a pure and just judiciary in this county. It was so understood by the candidate, for in his letter of acceptance he said:

"The manner of conferring the nomination is gratifying to me, and I accept it in the spirit in which it was made."
The *Miners Journal*, commenting on this nomination, in its issue of Sept. 23, 1872, thus expressed the feeling of the people still more fully:

"It is a private citizen he (Judge Pershing) is elected by his opinions, and he has a right to express or exercise them; as a public officer, by accepting the nomination of all parties (for he has been nominated by a number of members of the Democratic party, although he is not the regular nominee, which is so much the better) he has cut loose from all parties and partisanship."
We contend that in voting for Mr. Pershing, in the position he now holds before the people, you are not voting for a Democrat or a Republican or a Labor Reformist, but a Judge to administer justice to all alike, independent of any political or partisan bias.

Mr. Pershing, therefore, in accepting the nomination for President Judge of the Twenty-first district, knew what was expected of him, and agreed to perform it. He knew that, for reasons as well known to himself as to the people of this district, desired a pure and upright man for this responsible position, and believing him to be that man, were willing to sacrifice party prejudices in order to secure his services.

He was elected on this platform—and what is the result? Scarcely yet war in his seat, scarcely yet become familiar with the nature of the business coming before him, this man was held virtually, if not in words, undertaken to give his constituents at least ten years of honest jurisprudence, free from all partisanship, tinctured from the head and shoulders of the party, and as the chief exponent of its policy, the high occupancy of the position he now holds gave him the opportunity to place himself prominently before the people and to grasp the prize of nomination for something better. He could use the judicial bench as a step to the Governor's chair.

"This, we contend, he has no moral right to do. Having promised his services here for a term of years, he has no right to withdraw at pleasure, because another party holds out the prospect of higher honor and greater wealth in another position. If he is so fickle, that he yields to the first temptation, how can his constituents depend on his sticking to the principles on which they elect him? The requirements of honor and honesty demand that he should withdraw from the contest in which he has entered, and shall that fair one can be before engaging in another? He can scarcely be his seat during the campaign, and he will be held free from partisan bias, and if he signs his hand once leaves the bench exposed to all the dangers from which the people in truth have just secured it, and opens the way for fraud and corruption. It must not be assumed, therefore, if a surprised and indignant people are objectual to this course, and show the disapproval of it very strikingly at the ballot-box.

THE REPUBLICAN RECORD AS TO PERSHING.
The Republican leaders of this county, in desiring to prove that the Republicans of Schuykill county who voted in 1872 for Cyrus L. Pershing for Judge are inconsistent in opposing him now when he comes forward as a candidate for the office of Governor. They therefore state that we thought him a loyal man and worthy of our support during the campaign of 1872, and they quote from the *Journal* of that year as authority. It may be well that the people of Pennsylvania should understand the position of the Republicans of Schuykill county in regard to their support of Cyrus L. Pershing and their present opposition to him in the form of a candidate for the Governor's chair. Personal differences and no longer strong leading politicians of this county and an intense antagonism which personal and additional difficulties and contests had created, were the men who should place upon the ballot that man who had never taken part in any political battle in the county, and who would be understood as representing no political party or platform. We do not have a judiciary independent of politics. We proposed to have our judges free from all political obligations to any party or party leader. In 1871 we had an Independent Judiciary Convention and nominated a Republican, Hon. Henry Sawyer, as our candidate. Judge Sawyer had come from a distant part of the State after appointment as Judge of a distant district, and we had to elect him without regard to party. We were unsuccessful in our efforts and the regular Democratic nominee was elected. In the following year the inde-

pendent judiciary men concluded to select as their candidate a Democrat, as they had previously selected a Republican. The Labor Reform Convention nominated Hon. Cyrus L. Pershing. His friends among the Democrats presented his name to the Democratic Convention, and he was rejected by a narrow margin of two-thirds vote. The Independent Judiciary men had sufficient influence in the Republican Convention to secure his nomination by that body. It was understood that many Democrats would openly support him. He had never resided in this county, and our people were very slightly acquainted with his history, except that he was a member of a Democratic Convention for the Supreme Court in 1859, and we supposed that his political aspirations having then been buried eight thousand seven hundred majority deep, would not raise its trouble us during his ten years' term as Judge in Schuykill county. We had made inquiry as to his qualifications for the bench of our county, and having been assured of his honesty and legal learning we did not scrutinize very carefully his political record.

We were electing him for an office from which he had never been elected, and they were originally published in this position, as politics were involved, not only of our paper but of the *Republicans* of this county who supported Hon. Cyrus L. Pershing at the time. Our course in supporting him as the candidate of men of all parties and in opposing him as a partisan nominee for the judicial office of Governor is perfectly consistent.

JUDGE PERSHING'S CONSISTENCY.
In your *Journal* we demonstrated the consistency of the Republicans of Schuykill county in their course relative to Hon. Cyrus L. Pershing. It may now be well to call the attention of the people to the fact that Judge Pershing's course has always been uniform in reference to the one controlling principle of his political career. Judge Pershing's line of conduct ever since he appeared in public life has been faithfully consistent—consistent not with the interests of the party, but with the principles which have elevated him to positions of prominence; invariably consistent with a selfishness, which has guided him forward ever in a line leading to advancement of self and self only. The Fort Douelon resolution to which the Democratic papers attach so much importance was offered by Judge Pershing in the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1862. That resolution was warlike and patriotic when victory had been reached upon our Union colors and the armies of the South had sustained a repulse which argued that treason must perish. The reasoner thanks the gallant officers and men of the army and navy for the capture of Fort Douelon and for other achievements. It was unanimously adopted. It was popular to be a War Democrat then, and Cyrus L. Pershing voted on the popular side. But when the dark days of 1863 had come and the Union trembled in the balance, when traitors North and South began to utter words of defiance, when the news of Confederate victories, won in the field, and patriots heard with outbreath the telegraph's announcement. To say it is popular to have been a War Democrat, and of course Cyrus L. Pershing claims that he was one.

The Independent Judiciary men of this county, irrespective of party and of politics, found him pitifully shamed, sunk down under a moral and political avalanche, and they appal any future Democratic convention. They lifted him up and placed him in the position that has since given him the strength and prominence he displayed at this time. They had a right to expect, under the circumstances under which he was nominated, he would at least remain upon the bench during his term, and thus prevent renewed contests over the place to which he had been elevated. Early upon up, and he was thus back to back with the Republicans of Schuykill county who had supported him, and without whose support in 1872 the Erie Convention would not have thought of him in 1870, and he gives them notice that he will leave, and they must fight their Judiciary fight over again, if he can be elected Governor. Fine to the same extent, which you must infer to his own interests, he also blantly informs his Democratic friends that he will not resign, and that ears are turned with the sad disappointment and heart of anger by which they now seek to drive him from his seat, and to place him on the bench into the wild storm gathering over their devoted heads. They may well and hold *ad libitum* in vain—for he is too old and shrewd a politician to share the losses which he fears the general partnership will sustain. Mr. Hughes's mythical Democratic majority does not tempt him to risk his seat in position of the bench.

MAJOR MOORE, editor of the West Chester Republican, gives the flat contradiction to the representation of the Democratic papers that he never voted against a War Democrat, and can think until he was a candidate for the party.

"This charge is false. Governor Harrarant voted for Douglas in 1860, and in 1861 transferred the army, while he remained fighting the battles of the country until 1865. In 1864, when permission had been given a still res in the field from Pennsylvania to visit the writer of this article, attended the party in company with Governor Harrarant, and of the latter. The polls were opened within twenty yards of the front line of battle, and in full view of the rebel army. He voted the Republican ticket, as did every one else who voted at these polls. It was rather an unwholesome place for Democrats."

Why doesn't the Judge resign? If Judge Pershing is so sure of his chances of election, as his many friends pretend to be, why does he hold on to his judgeship? In 1841 the Democrats had a common sense when they should have held on to it.

For if, as you loudly say, "His looks stars do shine, Why don't you resign, my friends, Why don't the Judge resign?"

The Clearfield verdict is accounted for. Sney is an Irishman and a Democrat; Parks is an American and a Republican. That settled the whole matter with a Clearfield jury. Of course with such a jury, Sney was innocent and Parks guilty. Sney boasted before the trial that he would not be convicted. He said the trial was too near the election. His words to have gauged his Clearfield friends correctly.