General Benjamin Harrison — Relentless Foe of Labor: A Democratic Campaign Speech in Terre Haute, IN — Oct. 27, 1888

by Eugene V. Debs


The speech of Eugene V. Debs Saturday night [Oct. 27, 1888] to the railroad employees and workingmen at the Republican wigwam was the event of the campaign and the announcement that Mr. Debs would speak drew a very large crowd and intelligent audience at the wigwam. The well known fact that Mr. Debs is personally familiar with many of the exciting events of the period, and his high position as Grand Secretary and Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen of the United States, and the editor of the Firemen’s Magazine, the official organ of the Brotherhood in the country, make his speech doubly more important and significant. There is positively no answer to it. A stenographic report of the speech is given below.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman of the Democratic County Committee, Mr. James Fitzpatrick, who introduced as chairman of the meeting Mr. J.N. Van Cleave, the well known engineer, President of the Cleveland and Thurman Democratic Railroad Club. The wigwam was crowded with railroad men and others and Mr. Debs was enthusiastically receive. Mr. Debs spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:—

The Presidential campaign of 1888 is rapidly drawing to a close. There have been discussions upon the most important topics of far
reaching consequences. Great truths have confronted great errors, but we have every right to believe that after all the right will prevail because truth crushed to earth shall rise again. Now, my friends, you have heard the subjects that interest you discussed from both sides. You have heard the Republican orator, you have heard the Democratic orator, and if ever there was an election day in the history of the great American Republic when working men can vote intelligently that election day will be on the 6th day of next month.

I am before you tonight to discuss but one issue in this campaign, and that I regard as a very important issue. It has been charged that from the time that General Ben Harrison was nominated until this day that he was the everlasting friend of monopoly and the foe of the workingmen and I propose to prove tonight, if fact and argument can prove anything, that the candidate of the Republican Party for the Presidency never in all his life had one sympathetic heart throb for the working people of the country. *(Applause.)* I proposed tonight to speak by the record, the record that he has made, the record that he must stand by. His record is there black as a raven’s wing and there is no more escape from it for him than there is from monopoly taxes while the Republican Party remains in power. *(Applause.)*

**The Strike of 1877.**

The charges that I propose to make tonight are not made as a Democrat, but as a citizen, as a working man. From 1873 until 1878 was a period of universal gloom in this country. Wages, under the high protective tariff, mind you, had gone down and down and down until workingmen were getting, in many departments of industry, but a dollar a day for their work. You remember the year 1873, you working men. You remember all of the troubles in the East. You all remember that there was a continual reduction of wages. The men submitted to the utmost point of endurance. There was no disposition to protest, to make trouble, to create strife or discord. Upon the other hand the men accepted the situation rather than to create trouble. When in July 1877 the great strikes reached the city of Indianapolis, the men were in a condition to need a friend. They had been wronged; they had been outraged; they had been oppressed by the corporations of the country until forbearance ceased to be a virtue. And then what? They struck. Struck for what? They struck for just simply enough wages to keep soul and body together. They struck for
enough of their earnings to decently clothe themselves and their families. They struck against what? They struck against monopoly, they struck against oppression, they struck against hunger, they struck against hovels, they struck against rags. That is what they struck against. They needed sympathy. They were in trouble.

In order that you may fully understand the cause of their grievances I want to give you a little statement of the reduction in their wages that actually took place. In 1873 engineers were getting an average of $70 a month, firemen $45, brakemen $45, and switchmen $45. In 1877, when the strike originated, engineers were getting $58, or a reduction of $12 a month; firemen $32 a month, or a reduction of $13 a month; brakemen were getting $35 a month, or a reduction of $10 a month; switchmen were getting $35, or a reduction of $10 a month. There is no reasonable man within the sound of my voice who will dispute the fact that the time had come to protest against any further reduction of wages. A man’s first duty is to his family, and when a man toils honestly and faithfully, especially in an occupation that involves ceaseless peril, and he cannot make a living for his family, he owes it to his family and to himself to protest because somebody is drawing at least a portion of his wages. (Applause.)

**Who Were the Strikers?**

Now then, who was it that struck? Railroad men — engineers, switchmen, firemen, brakemen. Some people in the city of Indianapolis took it for granted that because a strike had been inaugurated the city would be thrown into the hands of a mob and anarchy would reign supreme. Now I admit, my fellow citizens, that the term “strike” has been brought into disrepute, into odium, but I want to tell you that while, as an original proposition, I do not favor strikes, I believe there are times when every expedient to obtain justice has failed that the strike is absolutely justifiable. I have said before, and I say tonight, that there is not a star, there is not a stripe in the American flag that does not tell of a strike for liberty and for independence. (Applause.) From Lexington to Concord, all along that track of gloom and glory was one continuous succession of strikes against British oppression in the interest of the flag that enriches the heaven in which it floats.

Now I have said that these men were forced to the extreme limit of endurance and they struck simply to obtain a reasonable day’s pay for an honest day’s work. Through the petition of some of the citizens
of Indianapolis the Governor issued a proclamation, to which the striking employees responded, and if you will be patient a moment I just want to read you what they said:

Your proclamation issued this day has been read by the employees of the railroads entering in the city and we wish to make known that our purpose is to preserve the peace and use such caution as is necessary to follow the dictates and commands of your proclamation.

Was It a Mob?

Does that sound as if it emanated from a mob? They continue as follows:

We desire peace and prosperity and ask in the name of our city and our citizens that the proposition for the adjustment of our wages presented to the committee of citizens be immediately acted upon by the officers of the railroad and the same can be accomplished to the satisfaction of employers and employees. We do not ask for riches. We desire to be law-abiding citizens. We appeal to you to further the plan of settlement through the committee to whom we have left our grievances for consideration.

Now here was the proposition: The striking employees were willing to submit their grievances to a committee of citizens, impartial judges, and abide by their decision. Isn’t that a fair proposition? Is there anything unreasonable, anything unjust about it? Now then, here were the two propositions — the first was to settle all these difficulties by arbitration, mutual concession, conciliation, and compromise. The other was the shotgun policy and at the head of the shotgun policy we find our friend, the Republican candidate for President, General Benjamin Harrison. (Applause.) John Cavin, a Republican for whom I have the highest possible regard personally and officially, was Mayor of the city of Indianapolis at that time. He had so much confidence in the striking employees of these roads that he immediately clothed 300 of them with police authority to protect the property of the railroad and preserve the peace, while Gen. Ben Harrison organized Company O — the largest company organized in that city during that trying period — to shoot them down. (Applause.)
Mayor Cavin vs. Ben Harrison.

I want to say to this audience tonight that I have always been opposed to strikes. I have always been opposed to troubles of any kind between capital and labor. I prefer peace and harmony and goodwill. Mayor Cavin understood these men. He knew that they were not law-breakers, that they were not criminals, that they did not intend to destroy the property of the company they were working for. He knew that all they asked and all they expected was just simply to get a decent remuneration for their services. He did not find it necessary to suppress them with the approved Springfield rifles. He did not find it necessary to shoot them down. Not a bit of it. In a personal conversation with me regarding the trouble Mayor Cavin said: “I had faith in these men. I knew the men that I was dealing with. I knew that they were honest workingmen. I knew that their demands were reasonable and just. I had no fear of them, not the slightest, but if prudent counsels had not prevailed there would have been bloodshed in the city of Indianapolis and plenty of it.”

That is what Mayor Cavin said to me. now whom did he refer to in speaking of the opposite counsels? He referred to the men who, when the strike broke out, felt as a duty upon them to suppress the men with the aid of the militia. Now, my friends, I have said, and I say again, that from the beginning of that trouble that Gen. Ben Harrison was against the men. If he ever spoke a kindly word to them — just one — there is no record of it anywhere that I know of. (Applause.) Had he gone out among them, as Mayor Cavin did, and said, “Men, this is a trying, troublesome period, be patient just a little while. We will investigate your grievances and we will do you justice,” there never would have been the cry raised against hi in this campaign of a dollar a day, but he never did it. He was against them from inclination, he was against them by nature because he is built that way. (Applause.)

No Better Than the Tin Bucket Brigade.

So far as Gen. Harrison is personally concerned I have not a word to say against him, not one. He is said to be an excellent citizen. I have no doubt of it. he is said to have a pure and happy home. I have no doubt of it, but no better than thousands and thousands and
thousands who keep step to the music of the dinner bucket brigades of this country. *(Applause.)* He is just as good, no doubt, but no better than thousands and thousands of workingmen who toil hard and honestly and faithfully all day long for a dollar a day. But against Gen. Harrison as a United States Senator, as a paid attorney of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad, against him I have everything. I give you my word and honor tonight that I would not support Benjamin Harrison for President of the United States if he were the nominee of the Democratic Party. *(Applause.)* I give you my word and honor that I would not support him if I were a Republican, and my only regret is that multiplied thousands of workingmen, honest in their convictions, no doubt, will shout for him, vote for him, and help to elevate him to an office that he does not deserve at your hands because he has been your relentless foe as long as he has had any influence. *(Applause.)*

**Harrison’s Persecution of the Strikers.**

But I want to go back to the strike. I want to show that during the trying period that he persecuted and prosecuted workingmen to the exact extent of his influence and his power — and if there was one escaped I will guarantee that it was not by virtue of his charity or his mercy. The strikers, as I have said, appointed their committee to arbitrate and settle these difficulties. The committee met. There was a meeting at the old council chamber. The purpose of it was to hear the grievances of those men. Now common courtesy would dictate that these men should have been patiently heard. They were in trouble. They were in distress; they wanted a fair and impartial hearing. That is all. At that meeting a number of addressees were delivered. Among others, Governor Porter spoke and I want to say in justice to Governor Porter that he was a friend of the workingmen at that time and is to this day, so far as I know. Governor Porter addressed those men. He spoke to them in the kindly spirit of humanity, and he said, among other things: “We are here to listen patiently to your grievances and we are going to do you justice.” The men all felt kindly toward him. After he got through General Harrison took the floor and what did he give those men in the line of encouragement? From the time he took the floor until he was driven from it, he insulted them. He told them in the first place that they were law-breakers, that they had no rights that the people of Indianapolis were bound to respect.
Now there is no report of that speech. There never will be, and I will guarantee to you that General Harrison will never give you the full text of it. (Laughter and applause.) But here is what the *Indianapolis News* said about it. It was very brief and to the point. The *Indianapolis News* was Gen. Harrison’s supporter then and it is his supporter now. Here is what it said:

When the reports were all in, General Harrison took the floor and began to present the aspect of the strike from the other side.

Now that is suggestive. Here is what he said:

“Have you a right while you are breaking the law to appear before a committee of law-abiding citizens with an appeal to redress the wrongs you claim to be suffering from?”

Just think of that as a sentiment of consolation to a few half-starved workingmen.

At this point (the report continued) the railroad portion of the audience rose en masse and made a break for the door.

That is the *News* account, coming not from a Democratic standpoint, but it is the report of his own organ. In that meeting he is charged, among other things, with having said that a dollar a day is enough for a workingman. He is charged also with having said that if he were in authority he would put the men back to work if he had to do it at the point of the bayonet. That is what is is charged with having said. Now I have here the testimony of 14 men who were in the meeting — railroad men, every one of them — and while they ay differ, as they naturally would, as to the exact language, they say in substance that he did say that a dollar a day was enough for the workingmen, that he could live on that and they ought to be able to do the same. They said that he did say that if he were in authority he would suppress them at the point of the bayonet. Now I know that the testimony of some of these men has been impeached — at least the Republican press of the state has undertaken to say that because these men are workingmen, because they are not backed by any corporation, that their word is not entitled to consideration.

*Circumstantial Evidence.*
Now I am not here tonight to do, knowingly, General Harrison the slightest injustice, but after seeing this testimony, after meeting and talking to the men personally who were in that meeting, I have concluded — I believe, in fact, I know — that that was the substance of his utterances, and if he did not say it in so many words he aced it from the very beginning of that trouble.

The circumstantial testimony is all against him. He knew just as well as I know that many of the men who were striking were getting even less than a dollar a day. He never denied that he said that the men were law-breakers and that they had no rights that the people of Indianapolis were bound to respect. He has never denied that and he never can deny it. He knew as I know, that many of the men who were represented in that meeting were getting 90 cents a day. Now just think about it! And yet he said they had no right to break the law of the land, they ought to be forced back to work because it was against the law to obstruct transportation and to interfere with it on any of the lines of the railway in the land.


Now here is another point that I want to impress on my hearers tonight. Governor Porter was at that notable meeting. He heard the speech of General Harrison. He is in a position to know what he said. Now Governor Porter was here not long ago and delivered a speech under the auspices of the Railroad Club of this city. I fully expected that Governor Porter would say something in the line of defense of his candidate for the Presidency. Now Governor Porter is a man of character, a man of standing, a man who is respected by the workingmen. By one statement he could have dismissed this charge that has been made against General Harrison. Now then, I ask you whether in his address, there or elsewhere, he has ever undertaken to say one word in defense of General Harrison. Now, why not? He was there and he is in a position to make this defense. Why is he silent upon the question? Simply because he is a truthful man and he could not say one word in defense of General Harrison without telling an untruth and he is too honorable a man to do that. (Applause.)

The Springfield Rifle Brigade.
I have said that General Harrison voluntarily organized a company of 111 men — the largest that was organized at that time — to suppress the working men. The plea of his friends is at this time that he merely intended to scare them. Now just think about it, will you? He merely intended to scare them! If that is true why did he organize, equip, and drill his soldiers? Why did he equip them with the latest approved Springfield rifle and teach them how to shoot? I will tell you. It was just simply because he was willing at the word of command to send the naked souls of workingmen to the bar of God for simply striking for their rights. *(Applause.*)

That was his position, and he maintained that position from beginning to end, but he did not stop there. He was not satisfied with threatening to kill these men, he was not satisfied with lying around in the dog fennel during all this time waiting for a chance to pull the trigger. After he was foiled in that the trouble was finally settled, and that without the loss of a single life or the destruction of a cent’s worth of property, after that was all over, what did he do then? We find him acting the role of the persecutor. He was not satisfied with having done all that he could to defeat those men in their effort to secure simple justice, but when the matter had all been settled he singled out his victims and pursued them until he had them landed behind prison bars. Just listen to this. The following is the title of a cause as appears by the record in the Federal Court at Indianapolis:


**Harrison Prosecutes Them.**

These men were arrested and put upon trial. They were as innocent of crime as you and I. There was not a single charge against a single one of them, yet they were put upon trial. Uncle Sam had his great big paw upon every one of them. And yet Ben Harrison was not satisfied. He felt there was still a duty for him to perform. And what did he do? He volunteered his services to prosecute those four helpless, men, and he succeeded, and I hope his ambition was gratified in putting all four of them behind prison bars. He succeeded in labeling every one of them as law-breakers and criminals. Lovejoy, that I have spoken of, one of these defendants, is now a conductor on the Evans-
ville & Terre Haute Railroad running in to this city. He is a Republi-
can in politics. Ask him what he thinks of General Harrison. (Laugh-
ter and applause.) Another of these defendants is a man by the name
of John Reeves, now located at Clay City, Indiana. He had no more
to do with the strike at that time than I had and the testimony of re-
cord will prove the fact.

A Strikers’ Testimony.

Now I would like to read you the statement made by John
Reeves, the man that General Harrison sent to prison. This statement
is dated August 10, 1888.

“I have been disgusted with the efforts put forth to show that
Ben Harrison occupied a friendly attitude toward the railroad
strikers. I was in a position to know whereof I speak, and I feel it
my duty to speak right out in meeting and refute the statement,
notably that of D.E. Crawford, circulated in campaign documents,
that Ben Harrison was a friend of the strikers. I am now in the
employ of the E&I Railroad at Clay City, Ind., having charge as
watchman of engine No. 73, which runs between Clay City and
Brazil. I have been in the employ of railroads for 34 years as
brakeman, fireman, engineer, conductor, section foreman, etc.,
and am a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen,
the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen, and the Masonic and
Odd Fellows fraternities.

“Previous to the general strike of 1877 I had been in the em-
ploy of the Ohio & Mississippi at Vincennes, but some months
before the general strike, I, with other employees of the road,
struck for back pay, and I had not returned to work when the
general strike for an increase of wages was inaugurated in 1877.
When the strike did come on I was working in the country near
Vincennes as a threshing machine hand, and had been guilty of
no offense whatever, unless it is an offense for a laborer to want
his pay, but I had incurred the ill will of the Ohio & Mississippi.
They wanted my scalp. I was an old offender because I had hith-
erto refused to work unless I was paid for it.

“On Friday, in the latter part of July 1877, it being rainy
weather, it was decided to do no more threshing until the follow-
ing Monday.”

I suppose Harrison would take care of the rest of the threshing.
(Laughter.)
“I went to town on Friday afternoon, expecting to return to my work on Monday. On the following Sunday I was standing on the platform at the Union depot, when General Spooner stepped up to me and stated that he wanted me, at the same time pushing me back into the hands of the soldiers. They closed in around me and I was placed on board a train and at once taken to Terre Haute, the entire detachment of fully 200 United States soldiers guarding me on the way. (Laughter) I was placed in jail and on Tuesday the United States Marshal brought to jail three other Ohio and Mississippi strikers named Barnaby, Wentworth, and Lovejoy, who had been arrested at Flora, 54 miles west of Vincennes. I was the only man arrested at Vincennes during the strike. On Wednesday we were all taken into court for trial on the charge of interfering with trains. Judge Drummond, of Chicago, presided, Judge Gresham, as I understand, refusing to act in our cases.

“In the courtroom were many spectators. Harrison was sitting down at the time, but at once arose to his feet and saluted the court with a slight bow, and a broad, bland smile. The O&M men whom Mr. Crawford says he saw in a restaurant near the post office handcuffed were the three Flora men and myself, making four instead of five, and instead of us all being acquitted thought the influence of General Harrison, as is alleged in campaign documents on the authority of Mr. Crawford, the three Flora men entered pleas of guilty within an hour after it was announced that General Harrison had volunteered to prosecute us, while I myself, knowing my innocence, entered a plea of not guilty.

“Harrison’s course during the trial which followed shows that he was entirely void of any feeling or respect for the strikers. Surrounded as he was by high officials of a wealthy corporation, at the bar of one of the highest and most powerful courts in the land, entirely at home, because versed in the laws and rules and usages of the court, and standing as he did at the very head of the bar, he displayed a spirit of the greatest contempt for us poor beings who sat before him, fresh from our prison cells, three already convicted on their own plea of guilty and another unfortunately at his mercy.

“We needed a friend at this particular time; we needed a strong friend and a powerful friend. We needed a friend with influence at the bar of the court and in high places; in fact, we needed precisely the same kind of friend Mr. Crawford and certain campaign documents claim Ben Harrison was to the striker. But we did not find that friend in Ben Harrison; on the contrary, this same Ben Harrison was bitter, vindictive, unjust, and unfair in
the fight he volunteered to make against me as well as the others and notwithstanding the fact that the was not one word of testimony that showed I was guilty of any wrong, yet he secured my conviction and had me placed under bond of $1,000 to keep the peace. This talk about Harrison being friendly to the strikers makes me tired.

*John Reeves.*

**A Deaf Ear to Distress.**

If Senator Voorhees had occupied the position that General Ben Harrison occupied at that time do you suppose for one moment that he would have turned a deaf ear to the appeals of those men in their distress? He would have been with them body and soul as he has always been on every occasion when there was a laboring man concerned. (Applause.) Instead of that General Harrison took it upon himself to persecute and prosecute this man against whom there was not a single charge, nor was he satisfied until he had landed him in a prison cell. Now, for these reasons, I am against the election of General Ben Harrison for the Presidency of the country. *(Applause and cries from the audience of “We, too; we, too!”)*

Not only that. He has used his official position, his high power in the counsels of this nation to oppress the workingmen of this country. It is a matter of record that cannot be disputed or denied that he cast 14 votes in the Senate of the United States to place the workingmen of this country upon a level with the five cent Chinaman, with the man who comes from abroad and carries a five cent god in his pocket. *(Applause.)* He says at this time that he did it because of the doubt that he had of the legality of casting a vote against unrestricted Chinese labor. Now then, if he had a doubt about that subject, why in heaven’s name didn’t he give the workingmen of this country the benefit of that doubt? *(Applause.)*

**Harrison’s Pay as Railroad Attorney.**

Now, the, there is just another phase to this question. When he told the men at Indianapolis that they were getting enough pay and that they ought to be satisfied and go back to their work it so happened that he was in the employ of the railroad company himself. He was not on strike because I don’t think he had any cause. I don’t think
he had any occasion to strike. I don’t think I would strike myself if I were on a payroll at the rate of $1,000 a day. He made an affidavit to the fact in the United States Court at Indianapolis that he had been engaged in the cause the greater part of almost six days, that he was familiar with the fees and charges usually made by attorneys. He made an affidavit to the fact that his services which consumed the greater part of six days were reasonably worth $1,000. Now that explains the situation. The men on the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad, many of them, were getting a dollar a day. He told them they ought to be satisfied with that and go back to work, that it was all the company could afford to pay. If they had many attorneys like Harrison I don’t wonder that it is all the Ohio & Mississippi road could afford to pay their employees. *(Laughter and applause.)*

While they were being underpaid, while they were working night and day and day and night for just simply enough money to clothe and feed and shelter themselves and their families, there were those at the head of the corporation, among whom Harrison is a prominent representative, that were scooping in all the proceeds. Not only that, but in what they call the final record he got for his services as the attorney of that road the princely sum of $21,000. I don’t wonder that the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad Company was not able to pay its employees and that they went out on a strike. That explains the whole situation. Now just think of a man getting $1,000 a day according to his own bill, backed by his own affidavit; just think of that man telling those workingmen that they were being well paid and they ought to go back to their work because they were getting all the company could afford to pay them. Now tell me, if you will, if a man with that kind of a record is a real friend of the workingman? *(From the crowd: “No, no, never, of course not!”)*

**Refuse Him Your Vote.**

Tell me if you can afford by your votes to elevate that kind of a man to the Presidency? *(From the crowd: “No, no, no, no!”)* He has been guilty of those things that are an outrage to every propriety and an outrage to justice, but we cannot punish him. WE can do this though: When a man of his kind poses for office and asks for votes you can withhold them. You can refuse to vote for him, as I believe the workingmen of this country will do on the 6th day of next month. *(Applause.)*
A Word About the Tariff.

I will pass to just another question. We have been told again and again by the Democratic Party that the tariff is a tax. Now the Republican Party says that the tariff is wages to the extent that you increase the $\textit{illeg.}$, you increase the wages of the workingmen. The Republican leaders, at least those who are prominent among them, have from time to time advocated the reduction of the war taxes. They were considered by the Republican Party as being wise and eminent leaders and advanced thinkers, but when some Democratic statesman advocate the same thing he is called a free trader. The Democratic Party is no more in favor of free trade than the Republican Party is. It simply demands that taxation shall be limited to the actual needs and wants of the government economically, prudently, and carefully administered. They demand that the tariff — the taxes — shall be so levied and distributed as to fall upon the luxuries in place of the necessaries of life.

Now you workingmen have been told again and again that if you undertake to tamper with the tariff it is not good for workingmen. I recollect very distinctly that from 1873 to 1877 during the high tariff reign was a period of universal gloom. Factories, mills, and shops shut up and shut down and the sheriff’s hammer beat funeral marches everywhere. During that period the tramp era was inaugurated. There never was a tramp in the United States previous to 1873. A high tariff was not good for workingmen then. It is not good for him now. It is good for one purpose, and for one purpose only, and that is to multiply millionaires and mendicants. (\textit{Applause.}) To create in the same breath both monopolists and paupers. If you want to centralize the wealth of the country in the hands of a few, if you want to see poverty-creating trusts everywhere, keep up the high tariff, vote the Republican ticket, and you will get there in due time. (\textit{Applause.})

Closing Words.

I have already taken up much of your time, and you have with you here tonight a distinguished gentleman whom I know you are eager to hear talk. I want to say just simply this before I close — that this campaign, more than any other campaign that has ever preceded it, has been of interest to the workingmen. The question of labor has
expanded to continental proportions. The immortal words of Grover Cleveland, “Tell the truth,” have been inscribed upon the banners of the Democratic Party and I believe that when this campaign will have closed the workingmen throughout the country will have dignified and glorified themselves and their cause by having shown to the people of the country that the man who volunteers to organize a company of soldiers to shoot down the workingmen when they are striking for their rights never can become President of this country. (Long and continued applause.)

I now have the pleasure of presenting to you Senator Voorhees.

At the conclusion of Mr. Debs’ speech Senator Voorhees made some brief remarks, after which the meeting adjourned.