

REVENUE REFORM.

Nine Out of Ten of Our Protected Industries Do Not Need Protection.

There's Millions in Protected Sugar for the Three Great Refining Firms of This Country.

Protection the Natural Parent of Monopoly Proved by a Powerful Array of Facts and Figures.

Labor Driven to the Wall and Nearly Half a Man's Wages Goes to Enrich Monopolies.

"If free trade should prevail our shops would be shut down and our workmen be thrown out of employment."

This is a scare, pure and simple. Thorold Rogers has conclusively pointed out that there are three classes of industries which can get along without protection: First, those that have no competition; second, those that can produce their goods with reduced supplies from other countries; third, those that are shielded from foreign competition by the cost of transportation. Nine out of ten of our protected industries fall in the one or the other of these classes. The tenth one, being maintained purely by taxation, is a nuisance and ought to be abolished, because it is a subtraction from the general wealth of the people, and from the earnings of the unprotected workman.

"But, Mr. Free Trader, what will the poor workmen in that tenth industry, which you call a nuisance, do when your free trade abolishes it?" Here I confess I was a little protectionist, but have since become a free trader. He can always point to some local misfortune which might be caused by free trade, and the free trader has to resort to argument to show that what might be locally a misfortune is yet a gain for all. When John and James lose their job everybody sees that, but an argument not everybody can see.

What would become of John and James who are thus thrown out of employment when the industry that exists purely by and for taxation is abolished? I answer, that for one chance of employment which they will lose, there will be gained two others. Let me illustrate.

By the grace of the tariff we have become a sugar-producing country. The tariff has helped to make sugar-growing a profitable business for some planters in Louisiana. They produced last year, trying their utmost, not quite 500,000,000 pounds of raw sugar. That is hardly one-sixth of our entire home consumption, for we import every year about 2,500,000,000 pounds more, on which we pay some fifty-one or fifty-two million dollars of tax, which makes every pound of sugar we buy cost from 1 to 3½ cents more than it ought to. It is a heavy protective tax, too. Our government does not need it, for it is getting now \$125,000,000 more a year than it knows what to do with. That tax takes from \$5 to \$10 at least out of each housekeeper for sugar and piles them up in the United States Treasury. Would they not do more good in the pocket of the man who earned them, than to hoard them away as a temptation to thievish public schemes?

Why do they not abolish the sugar tax? Because it is "protection" to the three great sugar-refining firms of the country against the "pauper labor of Europe." There's millions in it, and they have made vast fortunes, every man of them at the expense of the people.

But in our illustration: these firms sell sugar to the American consumer for 6½ cents (wholesale) and to the English consumer for 3½ cents. Why the difference in favor of the foreigner? I will tell you. When they import raw sugar for refining, it is crushed, granulated, and lost sugars, our Government allows them a drawback from the duty, amounting to 50 cents on the hundred.

Here the writer errs. The drawback is paid when refined sugar is exported. It is by law equal to the ratio on the raw sugar of which the refined is made, less 10 per cent. That, however, does not impair the general truthfulness or force of the illustration.—EDITOR.

Do they give the American consumer that is, you know, a benefit of the drawback? Oh, no. They sell us sugar at full tariff rates, and then send their surplus sugar across the ocean to the Englishman and let him have it for 2½ cents per pound less. The English sugar-refiners have, therefore, been undersold and have gone out of business. The English Johns and Jameses in sugar-refining were thrown out of employment and raised an outcry. Parliament appointed a commission to inquire into their grievances. What did they find? They found that instead of 4,000 Johns and Jameses employed in sugar-refining there were only 1,000 of them working in the jam and confectionery trades, which had sprung up from the cheap sugars which their foreign friends, and we among the number, have been kindly tax-shifting themselves to furnish them.

And so, Mr. Protectionist, it will be with us when free trade brings us the cheap products of foreign countries. It will not take so much labor to satisfy our wants as under your system, and thus we can devote our surplus time to new forms of industry and the satisfaction of new wants.

For one industry suppressed by free trade, two will spring up in its place. It is free trade which tends to diversify the industries of a country and to create an abundance of wealth which constitutes real national wealth.

It is the fundamental of protection to concentrate the industry of a country into the particular forms favored by law, and to drive them into combination with each other. Protection is the natural parent of monopoly. An industry guaranteed handsome profits by Governmental taxation soon draws a host of rivals into competition with it. They want their share of the "good thing," too. The result is that the market is soon overstocked with their goods, and there is what is called a "glut." Prices fall, wages are cut, production goes on. The oversupply is not decreased, for there is no outlet. Some rivals drop out of the business, and then the large ones, to save themselves and quit playing "cuthroat" on each other, combine into an "association," "union" or "trust," pool their capital, agree with each other to regulate production, pay a uniform rate of wages, and divide profits.

All over the land we therefore see these protected industries leagued together into these monopoly combinations, dictating their own prices, paying labor what they choose, regulating production, and at the same time lessening by forced stoppages and short-time work the wages of their workmen. Even but a partial list of these protected monopolies is appalling.

First, we have the National Association of Timber Dealers, with headquarters at Chicago. They meet every year to determine the questions of the amount of lumber they will get out and the wages they will pay the coming year. Then they have a banquet and adjourn. Then comes the Seven-Railroad coal monopoly, which owns two-thirds of the anthracite coal lands. The representatives of the companies composing the great anthracite trust meet at three times a year, agree with each other not to transport the coal of independent producers to markets, among the time for shutting down or working on short time in order to regulate production, decide what wages they will pay until they next meet, fix prices, and then adjourn. Then we have the coke associations of Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia. Then the friction match combination that was—you see the tax on matches was taken off, so the monopoly went to pieces, and the people now get cheap matches and matches. We have the Wall-Paper association, the Western Wrapping Paper association, the American Paper association, and behind them the Old Rag and Old Paper association; then we have the Western Woodware association, the Indie-Rubber association, the Cracker-Bakers' association, the Stove-Dealers' association, the Sugar association, the Salt monopoly, the Western Steel association, the Nail Manufacturers' association, the Barbed-Wire combination, the Western Pig-Iron association, the Empire Iron company, the Central Tack Manufacturers' association of Boston, the American Window-Glass Manufacturers' association, and the American Association of Flint and Lime-Glass Manufacturers, the Patent-Medicine association, the Flax and Hemp Spinners and Growers' association, the Mutual Association of Carriage Hardware Manufacturers, the School Book Publishers' association, and last, but not least, the National Burial Case Association—all of them protected "infants" supposed, under our present blessed tariff, to be encouraging industry and multiplying manufactures, but all of

them, under cover of that very tariff, combining with each other to limit and restrict manufacturing by means of short time, and so to keep up the prices agreed upon in secret meeting, and sometimes even paying, out of the profits guaranteed by protection, one or another, in the combination, for shutting down entirely.

The Vulcan steel mill in St. Louis was paid \$400,000 per annum by the thirty-million-dollar steel monopoly to stand idle. Four wall-paper manufacturers in the Wall-Paper Association have been receiving \$20,000 a year for the last five or six years for standing idle, and to-day some of the West Virginia coal works are paid by the said combination for lying idle.

Now, whom do these protected industries benefit beyond their immediate owners? Is it the great body of the people? Plainly, no. The great body of the people are all those, first, who are engaged in agriculture, comprising one-half of all the labor of the country, and, next, they are our carpenters, our masons, our blacksmiths, our bricklayers, our plasterers, and every man outside these protected industries who is working—whether in manual or mental toil—to support himself or his family. They are the unprotected, nineteen to one, and, what is more, even they spend the wages of their labor for any article produced by these combinations; they give on the average under our tariff—averaging last year 45 per cent.—just 45 cents out of every dollar of their earnings to support, it is supposed, these protected brethren, but really to enrich these protected monopolies.

The slave of the South was a slave because all his earnings were subject to protection and seizure by another. He was 100 per cent. a slave, because all his earnings were taken from him. Why, then, should the present protective tariff do damage to the farmer and every other man who pays an average of 45 per cent. tax on his lumber, window-glass, salt, rice, sugar, woolen clothing, earthenware and china, tools, machinery, kitchen utensils, etc., only lack 55 per cent. of being just as much a slave as the colored man was in the South before the war?

Do these protected associations benefit their workmen? Do they pay them better wages than other laborers get? No, they pay them less—just as little as they can get off with, and in some instances not enough to keep soul and body together. Michael's labor in the Pennsylvania anthracite coal mines got last year an average of 79 cents a day, and the bituminous coal miner got an average of 64 cents a day. The tariff of 75 cents a ton on coal is supposed to be for the benefit of the miner, as "protection against the pauper labor of Europe." Does he get it? Why, the "pauper" miner of Scotland gets four shillings—that is \$1 a day for his work. The tariff a benefit to the workman? Ah, no. It is only a benefit to protected capital by enabling it to enter into combinations to control both production and wages, to squeeze the public with one hand, and with the other to grind labor into object slavery.

Do the employees in any of these protected monopolies ever get an increase of wages without a labor union or a strike? Never. In many cases the strike is brought on purposely by the employer by a cut in wages, and when the workmen strike against the cut, they finally have to yield in the end, because of the disadvantage in which the tariff puts them. For, with a large stock on hand, the employer feels easy, because he can easily get rid of it, and knows that it will take a long time before there is such a scarcity in the market as to make prices rise, and cause foreign goods to be brought in.

In some States there are laws making it a penal offense for workmen to even combine against these protected monopolies. Has it ever yet been thought of to make it a penal offense for our monopolists to combine against the workman? Protection is always for the employer, not for the employee. When he can not get the wages, which his employer tells him at election time, the high tariff is going to (but never does) give him, and he strikes, his place is filled with a cheap Hungarian or Italian imported by contract.

Take the disinterestedness of the protectionist and his love for the workman! After the burning of Chicago, when Senator Logan introduced a special bill in Congress to allow her to import every sort of building material free of duty—such as glass, iron, nails, paints, oils, and lumber—who murmured against the boon? Why the protected glass men, the iron men, the paint men, the oil men; and the protected lumber barons of Michigan and Wisconsin chartered a train of Pullman palace cars and went down to Washington, pleaded with the Committee of Ways and Means to give them a free trade and cheap materials and so Chicago got free trade and cheap materials in everything but lumber for rebuilding the city after the fire. The lumbermen couldn't see it. They wanted their pound of flesh. They alive the workman must pay them their prices, while they lock him out of the mill in which his labor can be made to fetch the price of life."

Mr. Lincoln once heard a noise in the next room. He looked in and found Tad and Bob scuffling. "What's the matter, boys?" "It's Bob," replied Bob. "He's trying to get my knife." "Oh, let him have it, Bob," said Mr. Lincoln, "just to keep him quiet." "No," said Bob; "it's my knife, and I need it to keep me quiet." The people whose earnings have been taken away these many years by protection are beginning to feel like Bob. They want all they earn to keep them quiet, and they will have it, sooner or later. We have free speech, free thought, and the world has proposed under both.

Our fathers fought for free soil and we are now fighting for free trade. Give us that and the world of robbery and pieces. Repeat the lesson which was written on schoolroom walls and so Chicago got free trade and cheap materials in everything but lumber for rebuilding the city after the fire. The lumbermen couldn't see it. They wanted their pound of flesh. They alive the workman must pay them their prices, while they lock him out of the mill in which his labor can be made to fetch the price of life."

There were, according to the last census, 1,268 men in the State of Michigan employed in the salt industry, in the most disagreeable work in the world, breathing the steam from the salt-vats all day long, with scarcely any clothing on, and the average wages were \$1.37 a day, and the profits of the salt manufacturers each year upon each man employed were \$1.84, and still the protectionist's heart bleeds for the poor labor at

the salt works.

What is the great army of tramps? That is the grand swindle it is! First, the tariff, the foundation of the whole business, then the killing off of small rivals by a combination of the big concerns, then higher prices by "regulating" production through stoppages or short-time work, and then squeezing of the people—both the unprotected nineteen-twentieths who have to pay for the fun and the protected one-twentieth out of whose hand the rubber protection, with his monopoly brood, flakes back a part of the scanty dale of wages which he paid them for being the unwitting instruments of his conspiracy. How these monopolists may enjoy each other's company when they meet in annual convention, and banqueting to fix prices for another year. Occasionally they fall out in the game of grab, and then the people get the benefit of low prices, but this does not often occur. It was Adam Smith who said, in 1776: "People of the same trade hardly meet together even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices."

Patent Gowen pointed out to a committee of Congress a year or two ago that "every pound of rope we buy for our home, for our vessels, or for our mines is bought at a price fixed by a committee of the rope manufacturers of the United States. Every keg of nails, every paper of tacks, all our screws and wrenches and hinges, the boiler-flues for our locomotives, are never bought except at a price fixed by the representatives of the mills that manufacture them. Iron beams for our houses or our bridges can be had only at the prices agreed upon by a combination of those who produce them. Fire-brick, gas-pipe, iron-cotton, and so on, every keg of powder we buy to blast with are bought under the same combination of prices. Every glass of glass is bought the same way. White lead, galvanized sheet-iron, hose, and belting, and files are bought and sold at rates fixed by the protected combinations."

The stove we warm ourselves by in the long winter evenings is a combination stove; the coal we burn in it is a combination coal; the oil in the lamp is a combination oil; and even the very match we light the lamp with, but for the abolition of the Democratic party, there would be no match at all sold to us at prices fixed in secret meeting. The very school-book we buy for our children is sold to us at a price agreed upon by a committee of the nineteen leading book firms of the country.

This spirit of monopoly has penetrated every industry of daily life. The milk brought every morning to our door, the ice in the refrigerator, the fish on the table, the meat on the platter, are all sold to us at prices fixed by an agreement among the dealers. We eat live by the favor of monopoly, which the rich and the educated, the protected, shroud, bought at a fixed price, sewed by thread taxed 75 per cent. for the benefit of a combination, and then we are borne to our last resting-place in a combination-priced coffin, lowered into the grave with a combination-priced rope, and finally have erected over us to perpetuate our memory a combination-priced stone.

Combine to die! This is the spirit of the times. The little coke-burned of Connellsburg works for stops work, the coal-dealer raises his prices or lowers them as the master of the pool directs. The lord of monopoly has the power of directing his protected and favored to do as he pleases. They can not stop the brook that runs the mill, but they can chain the wheel; they can not hide the mine, but they can close the shaft three days in every week. To keep up fat dividends they declare war against plenty. On all that keeps him alive the workman must pay them their prices, while they lock him out of the mill in which his labor can be made to fetch the price of life."

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the salt works.

The character of the aboriginal, when studied, shows traits that his white oppressor might be proud to possess. His faithfulness is remarkable, and has been known to stay with his sick master on the desert plains of interior Australia till death had taken them both, though his own safety might have been secured with ease. Their power of endurance is such that they have been known to travel over one hundred and twenty-five miles in twenty-four hours, and be ready to move on if required. Their keen power of scent and observation is now appreciated by the police, and we are the best friends for the protection of the negro. The negro is the friend of the negro. The true friend of the negro is the man who, when he found him clothed with American citizenship, with the great responsibilities that position imposed upon him, said to him: "Read, study, think, and then vote as you please." This is what the Democratic party did. The Republican party, on the contrary, says to the negro: "Read, but be careful how you read. Think, but do not think for yourself. Think for the Republican party; when you vote don't pay any attention to the principles held by the party, or how those principles, if put in practice, might affect the great mass of the people. Do not think of these things, of putting in practice, of the negro, and see if he has the right to vote at all. Ask any Republican living or dead, just please tell me how many rights you give the negro. If you only give him the Republican white man's ballot to take to the box and vote it, I say to you now that I never carry any man's ballot but my own, and I deposit it where I please. They say it is a strange thing that a black man should vote the Democratic ticket. Why cannot a black man have common sense as well as anybody? The Republican party has not been the true friend for the negro. 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