

# JASPER COUNTY DEMOCRAT.

F. E. BARBOCK, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1908.

\$1.50 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

Official Democratic Paper of Jasper County.

Published Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Entered as Second-Class Matter June 2, 1908, at the post office at Rensselaer, Ind., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Office on Van Rensselaer Street.

Long Distance Telephones: Office 315. Residence 311.

Advertising rates made known on application.

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## ROOSEVELT AND THE TRUSTS.

Do They Want a "Change?"—How the Tariff Comes In.

President Roosevelt's last letter to Mr. Bryan, under date of Sept. 27, has an important bearing on the tariff, now the foremost issue of the campaign. Mr. Roosevelt enumerates among the achievements of his administration the collecting of over \$150,000 in fines from the American Sugar company, \$15,000 from each of four packing companies and the prosecution of other trusts, including the Standard Oil company, whose case is still pending.

Much light upon the relations between these trusts and the administration is shed by facts marshaled by one of Mr. Roosevelt's supporters, Mr. H. E. Miles, who describes himself as a "protectionist, a manufacturer and a Republican." Mr. Miles, who is chairman of the tariff committee of the National Association of Manufacturers, in a recent pamphlet on "Tariff Making" says that the tariff "dicker" of the federal government "with the sugar trust has cost the people of the United States \$200,000,000 in the past ten years." In view of these undeniably tariff favors as compared with about \$150,000 in fines the American Sugar company is still somewhat in the debt of Roosevelt "deeds" and, prima facie, not likely to desire a change. Though the tariff was passed under McKinley, Roosevelt has not recommended a withdrawal by his administration from the "dicker."

Again, Mr. Miles, commenting on the fact that Standard Oil products, while nominally on the free list, are by a tariff trick heavily protected, says this "petroleum joker has cost the country another \$200,000,000. government investigation showing that American petroleum is sold in foreign markets for 30 to 50 per cent below the price charged to domestic consumers."

Even if the government should collect the Landis fine of about \$20,000,000, which seems unlikely, the Standard Oil company would appear to be no loser through the sum total of the administration's "policies." Its tariff debits largely overbalancing the "fine" credits.

The president does not mention any fining or prosecution of the steel trust, but only a permission by the administration of its swallowing a rival company. He says the smaller company strongly desired to be swallowed and that this prevented "widespread disaster." But Mr. Miles, discovering no inconsiderable disaster in the tariff tributes levied by this trust, says, "The steel people have taken in the last ten years from \$300,000,000 to \$500,000,000 of the people's money." Mr. Roosevelt says, "If they violate the law in connection with any act of the steel corporation I will immediately proceed against them." Has it never occurred to the president or his attorney general that a number of legally independent steel companies probably could not consistently hold up to \$25 per ton the price of steel rails, which all admit can be made for \$14 or less, if there were not between them an agreement in restraint of trade and competition? Have not those conspirators held meetings in New York from time to time, with no attempt at concealment, secure in the knowledge that the government, which sold them the \$30,000,000 to \$50,000,000 of tariff graft per year, would permit them to bank it without molestation?

In the Dingley schedules as a whole, against which the president has uttered no protest, Mr. Miles sees "the robbery of the public, as the supreme court defines it, of \$500,000,000 per year." Upon these schedules scores of trusts fatten without even the thought of fine or a prosecution.

Some years ago the president said that there is no connection between the trust question and the tariff, and the practice of his administration has been consistent with that transparent fallacy, which has led him to attempt to punish some trusts for doing what the tariff encourages them all to do. A promised tariff revision to be made by his party, presumably through Cannon, Payne, Daizell and Fordney in the house and Aldrich, Burrows, Platt, Penrose and Hopkins in the senate, is not calculated to inspire the tariff sheltered trusts with a desire for a change of parties.

JESSE F. ORTON.

He Can't Get the Steak.

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## "LABOR COST" PLEA

Discredited by History and by Present Day Facts.

## MONOPOLY'S "LAST DITCH."

Hon. JOHN DE WITT WARNER of New York Writes on the Tariff Issue in This Campaign—Wages Higher Because of Labor's Intelligence and Country's Resources.

According to the Republican platform, the "true principle of protection" requires "such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries." The addition of "a reasonable profit" is new in the history of tariff discussion and independent from any standpoint. If a protected American industry is put on a perfectly even footing with foreign competitors by equalization of the costs of production through tariff duties it certainly can find no just basis for any further demand.

Let us consider for a moment the claim that protective duties are needed to equalize the costs of production. This term is generally understood to refer chiefly to "labor cost." It is said that without "protection" our labor will be reduced to the level of underpaid foreign labor.

The pretexts for the establishment of our high tariff were the greater costs of production caused by the civil war, internal revenue taxes and the insufficient supply of labor left after the raising of immense armies. These pretexts having been snatched from the employer by the abolition of the internal revenue taxes except those on spirits, by the disbanding of the armies and the introduction of foreign laborers on an enormous scale, the protected interests have rallied about the labor cost of production, not because of the inherent strength of this position, but because it is their last ditch.

Let us consider for a moment the claim that protective duties are needed to equalize the costs of production. This term is generally understood to refer chiefly to "labor cost." It is said that without "protection" our labor will be reduced to the level of underpaid foreign labor.

The argument founded on differences in labor cost has no basis of fact to support it. The allegations on which it is based are simply not true. The question is not as to the daily wage of the American laborer as compared with foreign rates of wages, but as to the labor cost in a given product, and there is admittedly no considerable "protected" industry in which the efficiency of our labor and the enterprise of our inventors have not reduced the labor cost well below that in any competing foreign industry.

Alexander Hamilton, the first apostle of "protection" in America, said nothing of higher wages or "standard of living" as a basis of a permanent protective policy. His plea was merely for temporary inducement to capital for the purpose of accelerating our development along natural lines. He explained that the somewhat higher wages then paid in America, especially in agriculture, would become equalized with European wages by importation of the best and cheapest labor from European factories. He even argued that numerous factors would make it possible to utilize the work of women and young children more completely than was possible in agriculture.

Later, in like manner, Henry Clay asked for a tariff in the interest, not of labor, but of manufacturing employers. He pointed out that ingenuity in the construction of machinery and adroitness in its use, together with large natural stores of raw materials, more than counterbalanced the lower wages of labor in Great Britain. "If they really existed."

After capital had thus had its "temporary inducement" the United States in 1846 abandoned the theory of "protection," reducing duties toward a revenue basis, and in 1857 most of the remaining "protection" was removed.

The high tariff of the civil war, adopted chiefly to allow the manufacturers of the country to get back from the people at large such taxes as the former had been compelled by the internal revenue system to pay for the support of the government, was accompanied by another measure about which little was said—the contract labor law of 1864. Under the guidance of Mr. Sherman in the senate and Mr. Morrill in the house this labor law, demanded by the manufacturers, was put through. It provided for official advertisement throughout Europe for laborers to come to the United States and gave assistance to American employers contracting for laborers abroad for the express purpose of reducing wages here, so that the veterans of our armies returning at the close of the war found their jobs gone and were forced to compete with contract labor.

This brief historical outline shows that the "higher wages" argument as the basis of the demand for tariff duties is merely an afterthought laid hold of as a drowning man snatches at a straw because nothing else is left.

Does "protection" raise wages? As already noted, wages are not high here when amount and quality of product are taken into account. But the real question is, Why are money wages high here?

In 1773 Adam Smith, noting the difference in money wages between British and American workmen, concluded that "plenty of good land and liberty to manage their own affairs in their own way seemed to be the two great causes of the prosperity of all new countries. Every colonist," said he,

"has more land than he can possibly cultivate. He is, therefore, eager to secure laborers from all quarters and to reward them with the most liberal wages."

Alexander Hamilton noted the same fact and explained it in the same way, while Clay, reasoning on the same lines, argued that, though wages might fall on account of the importation of foreign labor, yet "the extent and fertility of our lands constitute an adequate security against an excess in manufactures and also against oppression on the part of capitalists toward the laboring portions of the community"—in other words, that our unprotected industries would always be a protection to labor against the oppression of protected capital.

In late years wages have advanced more rapidly in Great Britain than in the United States, and the same was true in Germany until her tariff legislation of recent years. This result, coincident with extremely high and increasing "protection" in America, suggests one of the open secrets of the general advance in wages. Another is suggested by the fact that the constantly improving physical and mental condition of the world's workingmen has made their hands and heads more efficient in production and themselves more plucky to insist upon an equitable share. In this country, about the only one whose inhabitants have never as a whole been hungry, whose children have never as a whole been wretched and whose women have never as a whole sunk under unwomanly labor, the result—the greatest prosperity since the sun shone upon Eden—is due to our free soil and the blessings of Providence, neither of which waited for or came through the custom house.

JOHN DE WITT WARNER.

## TARIFF SUPPORTS THE TRUST

Cleveland's Secretary of the Interior Speaks on Paramount Issue.

It is useless for representatives of the Republican party to declare hostility to trusts while they maintain the protective tariff. The protective tariff which they made and which they support makes and supports the trust. The trusts, with their tariff protected monopoly, control the raw materials and therefore hold at their mercy the manufacturers as well as consumers. Individual enterprise is artificially checked, and the reasonable chances of the average man are destroyed.

For a long time an effort has been made to deceive the laborer with the claim that a protective tariff was intended to protect his wages against foreign pauper labor. With the combination of protected industries destroying competition among employers, with no restriction against pauper labor coming to take the laborer's job, with inflated stock and bond issues absorbing the profits from increased prices brought about by the tariff, this argument has failed. At last the Republican party pathetically admits that the high tariff is to give profits to those who hold the watered stocks of the tariff protected trusts.

The Democratic party not only represents the financial interest of the people on this question, but it represents the moral side. It is morally wrong to permit one class to tax another class. It is morally wrong for a few to destroy domestic competition by the aid of laws which cut off foreign competition and then to charge excessive prices for commodities so necessary to commerce, to industrial pursuits and even to daily living. The law may make it legal. It cannot make it right.—Governor Hoke Smith of Georgia in Letter to New York World.

Solving the Acrostic.

TARIFF  
ALWAYS  
FAVORS  
TRUSTS

—De Mar in Philadelphia Record.

## Fake Prosperity.

The steel trust denies that it will spend \$6,000,000 in wages before election, chiefly in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and West Virginia, for the purpose of giving work to 100,000 idle men whose employment is not justified by trade conditions. But the "financial man" of the New York Journal of Commerce says that this story "comes from a source that is always interesting and often right." It is pointed out that this should result in keeping the high tariff party in power it might be the best possible "investment" which is not a wild guess in view of the fact that the trust annually takes from the people many times \$6,000,000 purely as a result of the high duties on steel and iron. In past campaigns direct contributions were the rule. Now a monopoly corporation can use its stockholders' money in creating a pre-election prosperity.

## GREED SHAPED TARIFF

Public Interest Ignored In the Dingley Schedules.

## THE PROOF HAS LEAKED OUT

Professor Edward A. Ross, Economist and Author, Now at Wisconsin University, Says Principle, Not Party Contributions, Must Control.

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