SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals upon Current Topics-Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph.

THE "FREE-TRADE" JUGGLE IN ILLI-NOIS.

From the Chicago Bureau

The gist of the doctrine of free trade is that imports which compete with American productions should pay no duties. The free traders will vote every time for high duties on teas, coffee, foreign wines, spices, raw silk, etc., because these articles not being produced in this country, the duties on them do not protect any branch of American industry. But no duties, say they, should be levied on any article that competes with American productions. If, therefore, the Illinois Republican Convention or Legislature intended to endorse free trade, it would have been very easy to do so by a resolution as follows:-

"Resolved, That all imports of articles on products which are or can be produced by American industry should come in free of duty; that while the importers of foreign fabrics should have free access to our markets without paying taxes on their wares, the taxes needed for the support of the Government should be collected from American products alone; and that any and all tariffs which are suspected of collecting any portion of the revenue pected of collecting any portion of the revenue from foreigners, such as the tariffs on wool and woollens, coal, lumber, salt, iron, and steel, and their manufactures, should be repealed."

This is a clear, unequivocal free-trade plank. Every statesman and economistevery Democrat and Republican—every protectionist and free trader-would understand it. It is exactly what the Chicago Tribune saks for as the substance of what it calls "revenue reform." Why was not the Illinois Convention and Legislature asked to pass it? Would they have done so if solicited? Very far from it. A juggle of words had to be prepared, which in no way refers to protec-tion or free trade—which, like the old Kansas-Nebraska platforms, might mean anything or the opposite. It was the following:-

"That, as taxation is a pecuniary burden imposed by public authority on the property of the people for the maintenance of the Government, the payment of its debts, and the promotion of the general welfare, Congress ought not to tax the substance or the earnings of the citizen for any other purpose than those above indicated; and it is wrongful and oppressive to enact revenue laws, for the special advantage of one branch of business at the expense of another; and that the best system of protection to another; and that the best system of protection to industry is that which imposes the lightest burdens and the fewest restrictions on the property and

Where, in all that resolution, do we find that imports which compete with American industries ought to come in untaxed? or that duties which are paid by foreign producers ought to be repealed? Does it assume that a Protectionist desires that any taxes shall be levied "for the special advantage of one branch of business at the expense of another?" In one sense all taxes are levied "for the special advantage of one branch of business"-i. e., the taxes are levied to be expended in paying various kinds of persons for rendering various services to the country. About one-half of our State taxes are levied upon

all other branches of business to pay school teachers; nearly all the rest are taken to pay prison officers, the administrators of justice, chitects, and carper are building the new State-house and the various asylums and public works, capitalists who have furnished means for building the State canals to facilitate the transportation of products to their market, etc., etc. In all these instances taxes are collected from all other branches of business to pay over to some one branch of business, in whose results the State has a special interest. Our city governments all levy taxes on the merchants to pay the street cleaners and police, and our National Government levies taxes on the whole people of the Union to pay the fort builders at Charleston or at San Francisco, the soldiers who defend the miners in Idaho, or the post office clerks and mail boys who send the Chicago Tribune to its subscribers for a charge about one-tenth of what it costs the Government to render that service. Does the Chicago Tribune object to having the general resources of the United States taxed to carry its newspaper to its subscribers for next to nothing and far less than cost? Yet that is enacting laws for the special advantage of one branch of business at the expense of others. The whole country is taxed to build forts at Key West, but no forts are built around Chicago, Springfield, or Madison? These taxes "wrenched from the hard earnings"-as the free-traders would say-of the entire people, make profits for the fortbuilders, cannon-founders, etc., and protect the commerce of one corner of the Union: but of what consequence are they to the raisers of cattle in Colorado? They need no forts at Key West. They ought to cry out against this levying of taxes for the special advantage of one branch of business at the expense of another. The Erie Canal, Pacific Railroad, and all our public improvements, were constructed out of just such taxes.

There were those whose pin-hole sagacity
saw in the whole war for the Union nothing but a levying of taxes for the special advantage of contractors and military officers at the expense of civilians and business men gene-Incidentally, therefore, all lecting and expenditure of Government revenues are at the expense of those branches of business from which the

of those upon which it is expended. Is this in any special sense true of a pro-tective tariff? We deny that it is. It takes money from no one class to put in the pockets of another, except in that incidental way in which all revenue legislation, whether for free trade or protection, or by direct taxation, does the same thing.

revenue is collected, and for the advantage

Suppose, for instance, the first demand of the free traders were granted, by the removal of all duties from wools and woollens.

The first effect would be that the Government would lose the \$24,000,000 of revenue now paid by the importers of wools and woollens, and-who would make it? The importers would make a very large part of the revenue remitted as extra profits; for the price of wools and woollens is in any event largely dependent on our own cost of production. For a considerable time, therefore, the importers would be able to keep up their price to nearly their present figure, and so realize as profits the sum they now pay to the Government as duties. A sudden, instantaneons repeal of the duties on wools and woollens would lose the Government about twenty millions, and profit the importers a like sum. But the Government is not an individuality: it is merely the fiscal agent of American tax-payers. It in fact can lose nothing. If its revenue fails \$21,000,000 from one source, it must make it up from others. In short, it must collect the \$24,000,000 now paid on the importation of wools and woollens from our tax-payers in some other form.

ceive as profits, our tax-payers must pay in additional taxes. These \$24,000,000 of added taxes, wherever laid, must raise the cost of the articles on which they are laid, and so must be paid by American consumers of those articles, whatever they may be.

If we were to admit, therefore, that the re-

moval of the duties from wools and woollens would lower the price by the amount of the duties, it would not follow that Americans as a whole would gain by it; because the same \$24,000,000 now laid on and collected from wools and woollens would have to be laid on some other article of American consumption, and presumptively would increase its cost to that amount. If it were laid on farming lands, it would add to the cost and diminish the profits of farming, lessen the value of land and the number who could live by its tillage, and so raise the selling price of agricultural products, without benefitting the ag-

But we deny, squarely and knowingly, that the removal of the duties from wools and woollens would lessen their cost to the consumer. The cost of most kinds of wools and woollens which are produced in this country is now lower than it was in 1860, before the duties were made protective, and is lower in all cases than it would be if the home production were in any considerable degree diminished. These two facts have been so repeatedly shown in previous issues of the Bureau that we need not again quote the prices. The enhancement of domestic production always lowers prices to the con-

In another article we publish a concise abstract of the actual results of the tariff on salt, showing that it has so increased our production (thereby of course diminishing our cost of production) as to reduce the price even in New York, and still more at all interior points, considerably lower than salt sold under free trade, and yet leave a margin of profit for salt-producers to-day which they could not have had, at the present selling prices, in 1860. The cost of salt to the consumer being lower under protection than under free trade, it follows that the duty does not rest as a tax upon him, or that if it does it is more than offset by the increased cheapness obtained by an enhanced domestic production. The importers of salt have themselves paid most, if not all, of the duty on salt out of the price for which they sell it; and as this price is not so high as they sold it for under free trade, and is regulated mainly by our own cost of production, it plainly includes the whole duty, which is thus shown to be a tax on foreign producers of salt, and not on its American consumers. Were the demand of the free traders granted in the matter of salt, the Government would lose two and a half millions of its revenue, the importers would pocket about that sum as extra profits, and after some fluctuations, sufficient to impair the prosperity and stop the progress of our domestic salt manufacture, the prices would return to about their present figures, and perhaps rise above them. If salt could be brought in as a free gift for three years, with the effect to utterly break up and stop its manufacture here, the rise in price during the following three years would more than offset the profits of the three during which we got our salt for nothing. In other words, the interest of American consumers would not be benefitted by receiving even gratuitously for a brief term any article of general use for which we must in the long run be dependent on American industry. The cost of breaking down and building up the industry would be charged to the consumer after the gratuitous supply had stopped, and would be far more than the advantage he would gain by getting the supply

temporarily for nothing.

For these reasons a protectionist might vote for the Illinois resolutions, so far as their mere language goes, because he would regard the removal of a tax from importers to put it on farmers, mechanics, railroads, or manufacturers, as a system of revenue legislation "for the special advantage of one branch of business" (the foreign and importing) "at the expense of another" (the American and producing). He would be abundantly confirmed in this impression by finding the importers ready at any time to pay heavily, as a business measure, to get any such legislation put through.

Since the result which the resolution condemns would certainly follow from the repeal of the protective duties, the resolution itself must, to an intelligent mind, be regarded as condemning free trade as a system of legislation which would take money out of the pockets of the mass of the tax-payers of the country to give it to importers and foreign

Finally, the resolution declares that "the best system of protection to industry is that which imposes the lightest burdens and the fewest restrictions on the property and busi-

ness of the people.' The two postulates here connected together stand in no invariable relation to each other. Protection to industry is not identical with either heavy taxes or light taxes. A Tartar or Arab desert may have no taxes whatever, as the American Indians have none. Yet who would say that the best system of protection to industry is that afforded by Tartars, Arabs, and American savages? The best system of protection to industry is simply that which protects it at every exposed point from being broken down by foreign competition, just as the best sys-tem of forts and light-houses is that which protects the exposed points, knowing that if these are secure the unexposed points will take care of themselves. The exposed points in our industry are those in which foreign products compete with ours. Three or four of our States might be invaded and occupied by a foreign military force without deranging industry or stopping production to an extent equal to that which would ensue from the destruction of our business interests which would be caused by the inauguration of free trade in iron and steel and their manufactures alone. In the former case the whole nation would spring to arms as an act of patriotic duty, to repel the aggressor. In the latter we find juggling resolutions adopted by an Illinois convention and indorsed by an Illinois Legislature, one construction of which invites the calamity and the other deprecates it, like the prophecy of the ancient Sybil, which might mean that the Romans would conquer Carthage or that Carthage would subdue the Romans

"SNAKES."

From the Harrisbury State Journal. During these warm, sunny days of March look out for snakes. Tradition tells us that Capitol Hill is a favorite place of hibernation for certain species of this family of reptiles. They take shelter in the foundations and in the crevices and holes of the superstructure, where they lie concealed and dormant during the cold days of mid-winter; but, warmed by the genial rays of the sun in spring-time, they crawl out and bite people. Some of these serpents are small, short, and thin, worm-like in motion and nature, and seem quite harmless at first, but, like "borers" and "mag-So, really, the sum which the importers re- gots," they work silently in ways so secret

that their presence is discovered only after the devassation is complete. Others are mon-sters huge; they glide with crests erect, high o'er men's heads, and eyes like diamonds, that charm but to destroy. Under the coils of these, men go down both singly and in ranks—so gently crushed, so delicately be-slimed with scented pus that to be afterwards swellowed is a sensation of enjoyment rank

swallowed is a sensation of enjoyment rare.

Three of these monsters actually drew their slimy lengths into the hall of the House on Monday night, at an hour so late that most men had already prepared to retire; a few sentinels were on watch and sounded the alarm. The serpents were captured, and are now fixed The serpents were captured, and are now fixed on the House 'file' for inspection. One is a "water snake," one a 'rattle-snake," and the other a sort of nondescript, a puzzler to naturalists, a sort of cross between the vilest of serpents, the "copperhead," and the "moccasin." All are indigenous to Philadelphia. The first is from Fairmount dam, the second from the low dens and vaults of station-houses, and the third from the public highways, where, owing to the proverbial depth of filth, only the most loathsome reptiles can live. It would be a good plan to skin and stuff these as specimens for study and contemplation, and for warnings to rash snake-fauciers who may in future days frequent the halls of the

CHANGE OF DAY FOR THE STATE ELECTIONS.

From the N. Y. World. We hope the bill which has been introduced in the State Senate for changing the State elections to the month of October may pass. We will state our reasons with frankness, and hope they will be weighed with candor.

Let us first, however, meet and dispose of the only objection likely to be urged against the passage of the bill. It can be described in one word—expense. That this objection is trivial is proved by the fact that twenty-five States in this Union hold their annual State elections on a different day from that designated for the Presidential election. If the additional expense were of any importance, those twenty-five States would long ago have altered their laws and held their State elections on the first Tuesday of November.

Those States had fixed the day of their annual elections before Congress passed the act requiring Presidential electors in all the States to be chosen on the first Tuesday in November, and the fact that they have not altered the time of their State elections shows that in their estimation the additional expense of two election days is of little consequence. True, those States choose their members of Congress at their State elections; but in Presidential years it would be just as easy to choose them at the same time with the Presidential electors. If, therefore, New York should change the day, the only additional expense she would incur beyond the election expenses of the twenty-five States which do not hold their State elections in November, would be the simple cost of a eparate Congressional election once in four years. This is a bagatelle when weighed

against the advantages of a change.

First. By adopting a different day, we should frustrate the intended effect of the Federal election law on our State elections. As that insulting law was avowedly passed to control the polities of New York, we can easily frustrate its object by separating the State from the Federal elections; and merely frustrate it but make it recoil against its authors, as will be apparent to all who have patience to read this article through.

Second. The change would have an important and salutary influence on the Presidential elections; and on this ground alone we should be willing to advocate it. Every observant politician has long felt the disproportionate influence of two or three States, of which Pennsylvania is the most important, in the election of our Presidents, owing to the fact that their State elections occur in October. In 1868, the Presidential election was virtually decided by the October elections in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio. The moral influence upon the country of elections in those States just on the eve of the Presidential election is prodigious. The fact that they hold their State elections in October quadruples their just weight in national politics. The influence of the October elec-tions upon the Presidential contest is so well understood, that political parties make the most profuse expenditures of money to carry the October elections in Presidential years; and this corrupting concentration of effort upon two or three States is one of the worst degradations of our national politics, If the great State of New York should also hold an election in October, the extension of the area would prevent such a corrupt con-centration of electioneering influence, and the October elections would afford a fairer indication of the drift of political sentiment. If New York had held its State election in October in 1868, the Republicans would have divided their corruption fund between New York and Pennsylvania, and have lost both States. The probable consequence would have been the election of the Democratic candidate for President. Even if the Re-publicans, despairing of New York, had spent all their money in Pennsylvania, a great Democratic victory here would have offset a Republican success in a less impor-tant State, and the Democracy would still have had a chance of winning in the Presidential race. It would have a most wholesome effect on the politics of the country to strip Pennsylvania of the undue influence she exerts in every Presidential election through her State election in October. New York can easily neutralize it by the passage of the bill which has been introduced in our Legislature.

Third. The change of our State election to October will give freedom to the Democratic party in its selection of Presidential candidates. The Democratic party is a free-trade party, and if it were not for the mischievous influence of the Pennsylvania October election, the party would be under no temptation to weaken itself in the country by trimming on the tariff question. The Pennsylvania protectionists have a strong grip upon na-tional politics and legislation by the great anxiety of both parties to carry that State in October as a means of influencing the Presidential election. If the great commercial and free-trade State of New York also held an election in October, national conventions would not be tempted to court the Pennsyl vania protectionists either in the selection of candidates or the construction of a platform. An October election in New York wouldspike the big guns of the protectionists and emancipate our politics from long servitude to Penn-

sylvania interests. Fourth. A change of day for our State elec-tions would reverse the batteries of the Federal election law, and pour all their shot into the camp of the enemy. Every practical politician appreciates the influence of elections upon other elections which imme-diately follow. The September election in Maine and the October election in Pennsylvania always decide the political result in those States in Presidential years. A strenu-

ous effort is made in the forerunning elecous effort is made in the forerunning elec-tions, and the beaten party gets discouraged and succumbs. If the day of our State elec-tion is changed, and the Democratic party triumphantly elects its State candidates in October, it thereby invires the members of Congress and Presidential electors in November. In the month which intervenes a demoralized party cannot reorganize and inspirit its beaten forces, and the immediately

succeeding election goes by default.

We commend these weighty considerations to the attention of the Democratic members at Albany.

THE CASE OF MR. FIELD. From the N. Y. Tribune.

Mr. David Dudley Field complained, in one of his letters to Mr. Samuel Bowles, that those who charged him with professional misconduct adduced no tangible facts in support of the accusation. We have already done something to remedy this supposed omission, and we have now permitted a well-known and respected member of the New York bar, a gentleman who has had no connection with any of the Erie suits, and who in a different kind of warfare has earned the highest title to the public regard, to repeat in our columns with all necessary minuteness the indictment to which the counsel of the Erie managers is expected to plead. The record is a long one, for General Barlow has supported it with a careful array of facts taken from the aworn evidence in the Fisk suits; and lest some of our readers may have been deterred by its

length from giving it the proper attention, we shall briefly recapitulate the leading points.

1. The proceedings by which Mr. Fisk attempted, in 1869, to get possession of the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad have been denounced by Judge E. Darwin Smith, from the bench of the Supreme Court, as "fraudulent." The counsel in these proceedings was Mr. D. D. Field. One of the worst of the proceedings was an illegal ex parte order from Judge Barnard, seizing 3000 shares of stock, on pretense that they had been illegally issued, and placing them in the hands of an ex-clerk of Mr. Field as receiver—this receiver, at the request of Mr. Field's partner, immediately voting with them against the interests of the owners, although the only pretense for appointing a receiver was that the stock was not stock at all.

2. Mr. Field was a party to that hideous borlesque of justice by which Judge Barnard was brought down from Poughkeepsie to open Chambers ex tempore at 10:30 o'clock at night in the house of Josephine Mansfield Lawlor, in order to remove Ramsey from the Presidency of the Albany and Susquehanna Rail-

road and appoint James Fisk, Jr., receiver.

3. Mr. Field was privy to the extraordinary abuse of law by which the control of the Albany and Susquehanna suits was taken from the courts to which it belonged and kept in the hands of Judge Barnard.

4. Mr. Field was responsible for the scandalous misuse of an injunction upon the Ramsey inspectors in such a manner as to defeat an election of directors at Albany. He was also responsible for the arrest of Ramsey and his counsel for a similar unlawful

5. Mr. Field was implicated in the outrage of filling the directors' room at the time of the election with a mob of "roughs" in the pay of James Fisk, Jr., so as to render a fair vote impossible; and for his services on that occasion he received a fee of \$10,000.

6. In the case of Ramsey against Erie, Mr. Field, by subterfuges and with the aid of Judge Barnard, succeeded in first tying the plaintiff's hands with an injunction so that he could not take testimony, and then forcing him to a trial before a court which he had good reason to distrust. Instead of meeting the suit he procured a flagitious order, virtually forbidding Mr. Ramsey to sue at all in any part of the State or in any form, and deprived him of a privilege which is every citizen's right.

7. To facilitate the execution of this scheme, and especially to keep the whole case in the hands of Judge Barnard, Mr. Field began an utterly groundless and unjust suit against Ramsey, and kept it on for a year or more, when, as it had served its purpose, it was brought to trial, only to be instantly abandoned for want of evidence.

8. Finally, and this is perhaps the most serious charge of all, Mr. Field, has made himself an accomplice in the corruption of the bench, by asking for infamous and illegal injunctions at the hands of a judge whom he knew to be devoted to the interests of his clients, and by improperly and fraudulently removing suits from courts in which they belonged to the tribunal of George G. Barnard, whom he himself had denounced as dishonest.

-These points must have escaped Mr. Field's memory when he wrote to Mr. Bowles: "I was never consulted beforehand about any transaction whatever of these gentlemen (Fisk and Gould) to which, so far as ! recollect, any exception has been taken.'

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WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 21, 1811.
On the petition of DANIEL S. NIPPES, of Upper Merion Township, Pennsylvania, administrator of Albert S. Nippes, deceased, praying for the extension of a patent granted to the said Albert S. Nippes, on the 21st day of April, 1857, for an improvement in Grinding Saws. Grinding Saws:

It is ordered that the testimony in the case be closed on the 21st day of March next, that the time for filing arguments and the Examiner's report be limited to the Sist day of March next, and that said petition be heard on the 5th day of April next.

Any person may oppose this extension.

SAMUEL A. DUNCAN, Acting Commissioner of Patents. 2 10 20t ERCHANTS' FUND.

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