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cleaned by divers.



Bellefonte, Pa., Oct. 28, 1898.

Wanamaker on Taxation

Startling Figures Showing the Inequalities of Tax-ation Under Quay Machine Rule.—The Farmer and Workingmen Compelled to Pay \$2.94, While the Corporations Pay but One Penny.

Mr. Wanamaker, in a speech delivered at Huntingdon on Oct. 19, had the following to say upon the subject of tax-

I have been waiting for an opportunity like this to say something more to the farmers and laboring men of Pennsylvania about taxation.

In my Williams Grove address on Sept. 1 I declared that the people, and especially the farmers, were unjustly taxed. I stated that through legislation passed by the Quay machine there was unjust discrimination in favor of corporations, and that the masses were forced to bear an unequal burden of state taxation, and I want to reiterate those statements again tonight, and to present to you specific

proof of their correctness The statements that the farmers paid too much tax have been challenged in didate for governor and the Republican state chairman.

Nominee W. A. Stone, in his Pittsburg speech on Sept. 7, in the course of his reply to assertions made by me, said: "There is not a corporation in Pennsylvania that ever for one moment realized that it was the favorite of the Republican party" (meaning the Quay machine). Speaking of our tax system he declared: "This is a great triumph for the Republican party, and one of which all Republicans should feel justly proud;" and, continuing, he said: "It seems to me that it would be much easier to prove that farmers, laborers and mechanics are the favorites of the Republican party, who have been so

highly favored by its legislation." At Hollidaysburg on Sept. 15 Candidate Stone is again quoted as saying that "The people are not taxed, and not one foot of your land (meaning the people) pays one cent of tax; we have taken the tax off the lands and put it on corporations."

ELKIN QUOTED. Republican Chairman Elkin, at Car-

lisle on Aug. 31, said: "We (meaning the Quay machine) have taken taxes off the lands, occupations, trades and all personal property, except money at interest." At Pittsburg on Sept. 7 he again declared that "the purpose and policy of the Republican party (meaning the Quay machine) has been to remove the burden of taxation from the people and place it upon those who obtain some franchise from the state, and we (meaning the Quay machine) have reason to feel proud of our rec-

I am facing an audience composed largely of farmers. Before me are men and handling of land. If there is one among you all who does not know that the statements of Candidate Stone and Chairman Elkin are false let him stand up and say so. There may be some farmers here who on next election day intend to vote to perpetuate the Quay sentation number 2. machine. To them 1 want to ask if Again, Candidate it is a fact, as Candidate Stone assert- the corporations in Pennsylvania pay ed in his Hollidaysburg speech, "that their full and equal share of taxes. Now, under our state law, they pay foot of your land pays one cent of taxes," and whether it is true, as Chairman Elkin states, that the Quay ma-

chine has taken the taxes off land? If one single farmer in this audience will come upon the platform and show that his land is not taxed I will agree to make six speeches a week for the Quay machine from now until election time, and if there is one farmer here who owns or works a farm that cannot show by his tax receipts that all these statements are untrue I will stand by the same offer. And if there is one farmer who does not know that he is unjustly taxed and is paying part of the corporation's share I want him to send me his name and he will be given proof of his happy ignorance.

The subject of taxation is a vast and complex question, but there are phases of it and facts concerning it that can be reduced to simple, practical and convincing propositions. And specifically and with varied figures I want to present some of them to you.

In this argument when I make use of the word "corporations" I mean those of that class that have the right to condemn and take private property for their own use, such as steam railroads which pay no local taxes for county, township, school or road purposes upon their roadbed and other property used in the operation of their franchise. And also other great combinations of corporate wealth, such as pools and trusts and companies capitalized at millions, all of which maintain armies of agents and lobbyists to invade and surround legislative bodies, whether national, state or municipal.

Candidate Stone tells the farmers of the state that the corporations pay the entire cost of running the state government, and also the appropriations to public schools. This statement is grossly untrue, as is shown in the last official record of the state treasurer.

The total receipts of the state treasury for 1897 were \$12,475,070.17. Of this sum the entire amount received from all sources, from all corporations, including the thousands of smaller corporations which we are not considering, together with the tax on bank stock, was only \$6,044,131.67, or about 50 per cent of the cost of running the state and paying the school appropriations. This demonstrates Candidate Stone's misrepresentation No. 1.

Candidate Stone says that corporations are taxed higher in Pennsylvania than they are in other states. This statement is untrue. For the purpose of proving the falsity of Mr. Stone's assertion I will compare the tax law of our state with that of New York.

TAXES IN NEW YORK. In New York state every dollar of corporate property is taxed, yet our own ex-auditor general, Jerome B.

Niles, in a public speech delivered in 1893, made the astonishing statement that there were from \$400,000,000 to \$600,-000,000 of railroad property in Pennsylvania that pays no tax whatever, either locally or to the state. In New York state the dollar of value is the basis upon which taxes are levied, real and personal, and no corporation of any taxes. But, by the statement of ex-Auditor General Niles, in Pennsylvania, through discriminating legislation passed by the machine, and purchased by the corporations, one-half billion dollars' worth of corporate property escapes all taxation. The fairest way to show the difference in taxation of steam railroads between Pennsylvania and New York is to take the trunk lines and lateral railroads that lead out of Pennsylvania into New York, and compare the taxes they are compelled

to pay in each state. The Northern Central railroad, from Williamsport to the New York state line, near Elmira, a distance of 70 miles, does not pay one cent of taxes upon its roadbed and other real estate used in the exercise of its franchise in the Pennsylvania counties of Lycoming, Tioga and Bradford, representing a value of \$2,000,000. But when it reaches the township of Southport, Chemung county, New York, it contributes in taxes to that township \$372.40. Passing through the corner of Southport, through the city of Elmira, into the township of Horseheads, it pays to that township \$637.52. It touches the corner of Catlin and pays \$36.64, and enters the township of Veteran, in the same county, and pays to the township treasury \$1,038.80. Then it passes through the counties of Schuyler, Yates and Ontario on to Niagara Falls, paying at

the same rate in all counties named. Then again take the Lehigh Valley railroad, which does not pay one cent of tax on its roadbed and other real estate for local purposes from the Delaware river at Easton through the counties of Northampton, Lehigh, Carbon, Luzerne, Wyoming and Bradford. When it reaches the township of Van Etten, in the state of New York, it contributes \$1,902.33 to that township

ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION.

Then take the Delaware and Lackawanna railroad, which contributes nothing to the local treasuries in Pennsylvania. When it reaches the township of Ashland, New York, only touching one corner, it contributes \$225.60 toward township taxes. To the township of Elmira it pays \$425.82, to the city of Elmira \$1,199.70, to Horseheads \$926.06, to Big Flats \$1,157.20, and so on to every township it passes through.

Then take the Tioga branch of the Erie railroad, which runs through Tioga county, Pennsylvania, and does not pay one dollar on its 50 miles of roadbed in that county. When it reaches Southport, in the state of New York, on a valuation of \$63,000 it pays to the

township treasury \$441. Then the Fall Brook railroad and leased lines, which pay nothing on their roadbed in the state of Pennsylvania, the moment it reaches the township of Lindley, in New York state, contributes \$1,500 to the local treasury of that township.

It should be remembered that in New York all these railroads, in addition to the local taxes specified, pay also a state tax for the general purposes of state government. Yet all the railroads I have mentioned pay no more or no less in the state of New York than the who gain their livelihood by the tilling farmer, merchant, manufacturer, or the money lender on their dollar. So again Candidate Stone's statement that corporations pay more taxes in Pennsylvania than in other states is proven

This is Candidate Stone's misrepre

Again, Candidate Stone asserts that but four mills on the dollar of their capital stock (not counting the \$500,000,000 that escapes altogether); but does not every farmer here know that he pays from 15 to 25 mills on every dollar of his capital stock? Is this equal and fair taxation? This proves the falsity of another of Mr. Stone's statements. This is misrepresentation number 3.

FARMERS IN OTHER STATES.

Again, Candidate Stone asserts that the farmers of Pennsylvania are no more heavily taxed than those of other states. Yet the average tax in Pennsylvania on your land, for the past ten years, has been from 15 to 30 mills on the dollar, while in New York state it has averaged from three to ten mills on the dollar, and in some townships and cities in that state almost the entire local taxes are paid by the corporations. This proves the falsity of Mr. Stone's statements, and is misrepre-

sentation number 4. I might continue the list of his misrepresentations on this subject almost indefinitely, but time will not permit. You farmers who live in interior counties do not fully understand the way you are discriminated against, but the farmers who live along the New York state line, in the counties of Erie, Warren, McKean, Potter, Tioga, Bradford and Susquehanna realize how the machine made laws of Pennsylvania take the burden off of the corporations and place it upon the backs of the tillers of

All along the northern border the farms in New York state are more valuable than those of the same size and kind in Pennsylvania. A \$5,000 farm in the state of New York is not taxed to exceed \$25, while the adjoining farm in Pennsylvania of the same value pays from \$65 to \$85. And it is something New York farmers cannot understand why railroads in Pennsylvania are not made to assist in paying local taxes, and why Pennsylvania farmers support a political system that compels them to pay 20 mills on their dollar, while railroads pay only four mills on their prop-

Through the machine passed and corporation protecting legislation of our the extent of millions annually, which be imposed. is paid by the farmer, land owner and

laborer. The evasions and exemptions allowed to corporations from the law requiring in round numbers, \$6,500,000,000. Acthem to pay four mills tax on the cording to the best expert authority the dollar are enormous, and I believe that actual valuation of real and personal just tax law would put millions of money in the state treasury.

SOME OFFICIAL FIGURES. For example, the last report of the

secretary of internal affairs, for 1897, showed the cost of all corporations of this class (railroads) in Pennsylvania to be \$1,553,072,313. The total cost of equipments owned by the railroads was \$189,404,266. Stocks and bonds owned by railroads, \$282,655,815; cash and current assets, \$90,302,269; other assets, \$200,508,217, making a total of \$2,315,942, 880. Taking this to represent the cash value of the capital stock of these

four mills, the rate the law requires, you have what the great railroad corporations alone should pay into the state, amounting to \$9,263,761. Yet the taxes paid by corporations of all kinds -big and little-together with the tax on gross receipts of corporations, and the tax on bank stocks amount to only \$6,044,131.67, showing a discrepancy upon this too liberal basis of \$3,119,631, which in some manner the corporations are relieved from paying.

Now, farmers, you ought to ask Candidate Stone, who declares that there is no discrimination in favor of corporations, to account for this shortage of more than \$3,000,000.

But the loss of that vast sum of money is not a commencement of the injustice heaped upon the farmers by the present machine made tax system, since the same amount of property-\$2,315,941,880, the value of railroad stock and investment-in the hands of the farmer is taxed five times as much, or \$46,318,855.

The railroads in this official valuation pay only \$5,448,120.47, making a balance against you under this system that Mr. Stone calls equitable of \$40,-

But experts say that the value of railroad property in Pennsylvania is double its assessed valuation, or nearly and equality of taxation and equality \$5,000,000,000. If this be true, then the in all other respects before the law. railroads are paying about one mill on their dollar, while you farmers are paying 20 mills on yours.

In Tioga county last spring I was informed that \$13,000,000 of farming property in that county pays \$325,000 annually, while the same amount of railroad and mining properties pay less than \$12,000, as shown by the county treasurer, a discrimination against the farmer of \$313,000.

CORPORATION TAXES.

Scores of like cases can be shown throughout the state, but time will forbid more detail on this particular point. I want to give you a few examples of how great corporations are protected.

The Philadelphia and Erie railroad, which cost upward of \$40,000,000,through the kindness of machine legislation, is not obliged to pay one dollar of tax to the state on capital stock until the road shall earn a 6 per cent dividend. Of course, that time has not and will never come, as its stock can be water- doing, dear? Have you struck a light? ed, salaries increased and expenditures kept high enough to prevent any such

contingency. Will Candidate Stone show where the machine made tax system of Pennsylvania, which he declares favors the farmer, has ever exempted \$40,000,000 of farm lands until the farmers have made 6 per cent clear, after enjoying like privileges with the Philadelphia and Erie railroad, of voting high salaries to their sons and friends and raising the valuation of their farms as they see fit?

You farmers who are paying 20 mills on every dollar of farm lands you have should ask Candidate Stone to explain the following figures taken from the auditor general's report of 1896. That report shows that the Philadelphia and Delaware Connecting railway, costing \$536,566.82, paid into the state treasury only \$35.22 in 1896.

The Kinzua Valley railroad, costing \$113,450.21, paid \$28.12; the Allentown railroad, costing \$1,085,747.94, paid \$75.02; the Baltimore and Harrisburg railroad. costing \$480,000, paid \$43.73; the Baltimore and Philadelphia, costing \$9,840,-000, paid \$675.41; the Bustleton railroad. costing \$100,000, paid \$10; the Clarion railroad, costing \$140,000, paid \$1.60, and the Pickering Valley railroad, costing \$481,399.08, paid the sum of 92 cents.

TAXES ON RAILROADS. In other words, \$12,777,164.05 of railroad property paid a total tax of \$870.03 in 1896. At the same time \$12,777,164.05 of your property at 20 mills (the average) paid \$255,543.28. Stated in a simpler way: \$12,777,164.05 of property belonging to corporations and a like amount of property belonging to the farmers, together amounting to \$25,-554.328.10, paid taxes in 1896 amounting to \$256,413.31, and of this sum the farmers paid \$255,543,28 and the corporations \$870.03; or, to still further show the inequality, every time the farmer paid \$2.94 of taxes the corporations, under the tax system that Candidate Stone says is fair to the farmer, paid

but one penny. ·I could prolong the list showing the inequalities of taxation almost indefinitely, but time will not permit tonight. After all, it seems much like a waste of argument to try and convince the voter of what every intelligent citizen already knows-that there is no fairness or equality in our ma-

chine made system of taxation. But there is another side of this great question of taxation that must appeal to every person within the hearing of my voice. It is the remedy. It is far easier to justly criticise the deficiencies of economic prlicies than to recommend intelligent and adequate methods for their equitable adjustment. It is impossible for me tonight to do more than give in general terms the fundamental principles upon which, I belive the taxation of our people should be

A REMEDY SUGGESTED. The dollar of value should be the

basis upon which taxes are levied. The man owning \$1,000 worth of property, either in railroads, farming lands or corporate interests, should pay ten times as much tax as the man who owns but \$100 worth.

No taxable property should be given advantages or concessions in the hands of one owner that the like property or value does not receive in the hands of every other owner. A full assessment of all property should be made, and an state the corporations are favored to impartial indiscriminating tax should

The assessed valuation of property in Pennsylvania, real and personal, according to the last census, that of 1890, was, a thorough and faithful enforcement of property in Pennsylvania at the presthe provisions and even the present une ent time is \$10,000,000,000. If the value of assessable property is \$10,000,000,000, the present tax rate of four mills (that corporations are supposed to pay, but do not, though it is only about onefifth the rate the farmers pay) would rield \$40,000,000 to the state annually, or about three and one-half times the amount collected under the present law. This would pay the running expense of the state government and give the

allowed, and leave, \$28,000,000 to be paid back to counties to aid in reducing, or wiping out entirely, local taxation. kind can escape paying its share of roads, and multiplying this sum by heavy burden of taxation borne by cer-Nothing is plainer than that the

\$5,500,000 to public schools that is now

iain interests results alone from the total or partial exemptions granted vast corporate interests, as the result of machine legislation.

The resources of Pennsylvania are so vast and her wealth so great that, if each dollar of property paid its just share, taxation would be so light that it would scarcely be felt by any. But the machine paid speakers will reply to this statement by telling the farmers that Wanamaker advocates a tax system that will place (we will say for argument) a four mill tax on their lands. To this I want to say, yes, I favor the placing of a four mill tax on your lands and your homes, if by so doing I can strike off the 20 mill tax that the machine made laws now compel you to

I believe I can do no greater service to the people of my state than help to change the perpetual machine laid mortgage of 20 mills for a reasonable and moderate tax rate of four mills or

The above article by Mr. Wanamaker is a full expansion of the general points made by George A. Jenks, the Democratic candidate for governor, in several of his now famous

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