

SOME TARIFF FACTS.

PROTECTION IS A DELUSION AND A SNARE FOR WORKINGMEN.

The Tariff is Nominally for the Benefit of Employers of Manufacturers, but in Reality Only the Employers Are Helped by It—The Facts of the Case.

The labor troubles at Homestead have started a lively discussion between protectionists and tariff reformers as to whether the tariff had anything to do with those disturbances. The protectionists point to the fact that labor troubles and strikes occur in free trade England as frequently as in protectionist America, and that therefore it cannot be said that the tariff is their cause and free trade the remedy. This is unquestionably correct. But in one very important respect the answer is not sufficient. One of the main arguments constantly and vociferously urged in favor of high protective duties is that they are not only to aid the manufacturer in making industrial production profitable, but that the tariff is especially intended to ameliorate the condition of the American workmen beyond anything hitherto known.

It is to secure to him constant employment and high and steady wages; it is to enable him to own his house and lot, to have the comforts of a home and a considerable amount of the enjoyments of civilized society; it is to insure him, unless he be very imprudent, against want and care in his old age; it is, in short, to secure to him conditions of life with which he would have every reason to be content. Such promises have been and are poured into the ears of workingmen, especially at election times, when the labor vote is wanted for the protectionist party.

A large portion of the labor vote has actually been won in that way for the high tariff policy, and it is by no means surprising that the workingmen should have taken the representations made to them seriously. According to what they have been told, they have reason to believe that the tariff laws were made specially for their benefit; that in the matter of employment and wages the American workmen are to be much less dependent upon the state of the labor market and upon the vicissitudes of business than workingmen in free trade countries are; that they may claim a share in the profits made by the establishment in which they are employed with a better right and to a larger extent than can be claimed by workingmen not protected by a tariff; that they will be taken excellent care of somehow, whether by their employers or by the power that made the tariff law. It is easy to see what notions of right and what expectations of benefit may thus be encouraged in the minds of the credulous, and how those minds are thus prepared for the exciting appeals of the agitator.

But the tariff laws say nothing about wages or continuity of employment. The fulfillment of the promises made by the protectionists in behalf of the tariff is not provided for in the statute. That fulfillment is left to the most immediate beneficiaries of the protective system—the manufacturers. There may be manufacturers who run their establishments as benevolent institutions, and who think first of their workingmen and last of themselves; but it is not in human nature that there should be many of this kind. Most manufacturers will manage their business on ordinary business principles. They will have a keen eye to their own profits. If managers of stock companies, they will consider it a matter of justice as well as of pride to secure large dividends to the shareholders. They will ordinarily pay to the workingman not as much as they might, but as much as they must, or, to express it less harshly, although their profits might allow it they are not likely in the payment of wages to go much beyond the market rate, and whenever profits are endangered by unfavorable circumstances they will resort to whatever may serve to prevent a deficiency—a reduction of wages among other things.

The workingman, who is not an unreasonable being, will submit to a reduction of his wages when he sees the necessity of it. But he will be the more unwilling to admit such a necessity under any circumstances the more reason he has been given to look upon himself as at least one of the intended beneficiaries of the laws which have done so much to make his employer rich. He will be rather inclined to argue that under these laws he had hardly had the full share of the benefit that was promised to him, and that somebody else had unlawfully made off with a large portion of what was the workingman's due. And if upon this view of the case the laboring man works out for himself a theory of rights far beyond this, we must not be altogether astonished to find that the tariff, with all those promises with which it has been commended to the favor of the workingman, has become one of the most effective propagators of socialistic ideas.

The workingmen will gradually open their eyes to the fact that those fair speeches have most cruelly deceived them. They have only to look at the rates of wages in the different countries of the world to satisfy themselves that high wages are not caused by a high protective tariff, and that low wages are not caused by the absence of a high tariff. We are constantly told, when comparing American wages with English wages, that wages in the United States are much higher than wages in England because we are blessed with a protective system, while England is not. But it is a notorious fact that wages in free trade England range much higher than wages in Germany and in other European countries blessed with a protective tariff. Now if in one high tariff country wages are higher than in one free trade country, and if at the same time wages in that free trade country are higher than in several high tariff countries, then it cannot possibly be that

the high tariff makes a high rate of wages and the absence of the tariff a low one.

If the workingman pursues his inquiries further he will find that during that famous period when the United States had a low tariff, from 1846 to 1861, wages here were as much higher as those in any European country as they are now, and that during that low tariff period they were steadily rising. He will find that wages in this country have always been higher than European wages, not on account of any tariff, but on account of the circumstances surrounding us—the large quantity of cheap, fertile and easily accessible land; the almost inexhaustible abundance and variety of natural resources inviting enterprise; the numberless opportunities for fruitful activity; the exceptional energy and productiveness of labor in this country and so on.

He will find that the wages of persons engaged in such labor as is not protected by any tariff at all, such as employees of transportation companies, house servants, bricklayers, carpenters, bakers, longshoremen, plasterers and many others, are among the highest, compared with corresponding wages in Europe. Finally he will find that employment and wages are as dependent on the labor market and the state of business in high tariff America as in free trade England, and no less; that labor organizations here as much influence upon such things here as in England, and no more, and that the promises with which the protective policy is commended to the favor of the laboring men cannot possibly be fulfilled by any tariff law, and are therefore a delusion and a snare.—Harper's Weekly.

Hill Has Been Working.

Senator Hill has responded nobly to the appeals to justify his famous utterance, "I am a Democrat." His Fourth of July letter urging loyalty to the ticket and the cause has been followed by direct, personal efforts upon plans thoroughly matured during his needed rest at Normandy and on his yachting excursion. I speak by authority when I say that Senator Hill will be tendered a portfolio in the cabinet of President Cleveland, and will be to him what Secretary Seward, under similar circumstances concerning the nomination, was to President Lincoln. Those Republicans who have based their hopes of success upon dissensions among the Democratic leaders—if they have any hope of success—must now invent some other kind of consolidation. Democratic statesmen are not built that way. Neither is ex-Secretary Blaine, who will take the stump in Maine to beat Tom Reed on his own ground, but who will not support the ungrateful pygmy who kicked him out of his cabinet.—Texas Sittings.

Some "Poor Men's Figures."

The working people must have clothes. Not permitting them to think of silk and linen, let us require them to confine their needs to woolen and cotton goods. The tariff on woolen fabrics is from 40 to 70 per cent. On cotton goods the tax is from 40 to 60 per cent. Shoes are taxed at 25 per cent. for the commonest styles and more for better qualities. Every workman must have tools to work with, but these are taxed by the tariff 45 per cent. The cheap crockery which does duty on his dinner table is taxed 45 per cent., and the common glass tumbler out of which he drinks pays a tax of 60 per cent., as does also the chimney to his coal oil lamp.—New Orleans Picayune.

Harrity a Tower of Strength.

More than all, Mr. Harrity is a clean man, and although he has genius for ways and means which is adequate to great emergencies, he is far above the level of a machine politician and an unscrupulous trickster. His election as chairman practically assures the country that the canvass, at least as far as Mr. Cleveland's party is concerned, will be conducted on a plane which will be fully approved by the friends of decent politics. The choice made by the committee seems to be fortunate in every particular and renders more certain than ever the election of Grover Cleveland.—Kansas City Star.

Against the Favored Classes.

The Democratic party is entering upon a battle royal in behalf of the common people against favored classes. To Cleveland and Stevenson has been committed a sacred trust, and in the name of the people they have accepted their party's commission. The address of Mr. Cleveland should be an inspiration to every Democrat. With that lofty patriotism that always characterizes his public utterances he points out the duty of Democracy. His denunciation of the Republican tariff policy is strong and concise, and deserves to be carefully read by every voter.—Rochester (N. Y.) Herald.

The Tariff Has Always Won.

At no time since the war has the tariff question come to the front that the people were not found in favor of a tariff for revenue only. In the Tilden campaign of 1876 the tariff was made a leading issue and Tilden was elected. In the Democratic platform of 1880 the tariff was given little attention and the result was defeat. In 1884 this question was again brought into prominence and Cleveland won the presidency.—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

A Sadly Disorganized Party.

With Fasset keeping his coat buttoned up to his chin, Platt minus his voice, Quay becoming pious, Depew in to Europe, Clarkson going into retirement, Foraker going crazy and Dudley going to the devil, the Republican party stands strongly in need of a reorganization of its unamalgamated association.—Memphis Appeal-Avalanche.

Othello's Occupation Gone.

The frying of fat is as easy now as in 1888, but it is much more difficult to use it. Under improved ballot laws the occupation of the Quays and Dudleys is about gone.—New York World.

DAME REPUBLICAN'S INDUSTRIOUS INFANT INDUSTRY.



The older and bigger it gets the more it eats.—Chicago Herald.

There Are No Federal Elections.

There is no such thing as a federal election. Some of our Republican friends will look upon this statement as audacious. After they have had time to recover from the swoon into which it has undoubtedly thrown them we may give elucidation to the proposition in detail. For the present it is sufficient to say that the people of a state choose presidential electors and representatives in congress in their capacity as citizens of the state. They are not creatures of federal authority. They create and limit the federal power.—Cincinnati Enquirer.

The Disgusted Gang.

One of the most remarkable features of the approaching campaign will be the efforts which Harrison will make to catch the independent vote. It is reported that Quay, Dudley, Platt and the whole tribe of working politicians have already taken additional offense from the part which the president has already undertaken to play with a view to diverting this vote from Cleveland in the November election. Mr. Clarkson has openly criticised the president and condemned him for the misapprehension under which he is laboring.—Richmond Times.

Bleeding the People.

Where is there no industry in Iowa that is protected if we except our lined oil mill, and this pays a dividend upon a capital just three times as large as every plant in the United States cost? Yet Iowa pays out \$30,000,000 per annum, or nearly twenty dollars per annum for every man, woman and child in the state, to "protect" a lot of monopolies and trusts whose owners are becoming multimillionaires by bleeding the people under a process that was discovered and is fostered by the Republican party.—Burlington (Ia.) Gazette.

A Pertinent Query.

The proposition to remedy the inefficiency of the government by imposing on it great and untried duties, lying outside of what Americans have been taught to believe its proper province, recalls the pregnant inquiry of a distinguished statesman, "Shall we reform a spendthrift by putting money in his pocket?" The true remedy lies in the other direction.—Louisville Courier-Journal.

A Fundamental Democratic Principle.

We cannot all be successful in our individual political aspirations, but we can all be successful as Democrats in the success of the Democratic ticket. That is the only point we have to consider now. It is a fundamental Democratic principle to abide by the will of the majority, and that is what every Democrat, who is worthy of the name, will do.—Wheeling Register.

What the Force Bill Would Do.

A force bill would bring back substantially the same state of affairs as existed during the reconstruction days, and southern industrial development would be checked and thrown back. So a conservative and energetic representative of the younger generation of successful men argues with point and force.—Scranton (Pa.) Times.

Beatty Favors the Force Bill.

In his messages to congress we have in black and white President Harrison's declarations in favor of a force bill. He urged this measure upon congress. If every Republican journal in the country should repudiate the force bill the Republican candidate must still be judged by his own official record.—Rochester (N. Y.) Herald.

An Absurd Project.

The absurdity of the Republican project to tax ourselves rich is to be shown by the Democracy in the coming campaign. In every contested state and in every congressional district the impossibility of lifting ourselves by our financial boot straps will be pointed out.—Buffalo Times.

Harrison, the Door Slammer.

Harrison is determined to run the campaign himself. He slammed the door of the White House in the faces of Quay and Dudley. He'll slam it behind himself this time.—Elmira (N. Y.) Gazette.

Campaign Song.

Hark to the ringing bugle call
Hail the glad refrain
In Democratic hearts of all
From Florida to Maine!

CHORUS.

Then ho for Cleveland and reform!
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
He towers above the rising storm
To crush the tariff law.

He once before triumphantly
His party colors bore;
He served the nation faithfully,
Her highest honors wore.

Despotic rule we need not fear
In any sovereign state;
His utterances are strong and clear
On every issue great.

Now shall no honored soldier's fame
Through pension fraud be turned
Into the mendicant's base shame
By lowest mental spurned.

For Cleveland and for Stevenson
We'll raise this battle cry
Till from the dome at Washington
Their banners proudly fly!

—New York World.

A woman's faith saved her.

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"I was obliged to lie in bed, as to walk or stand was impossible, because of dizziness and severe bearing-down pains.

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"And it did—one bottle brought me out of bed, and three got me up so that I could do the housework."

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