

FOOLING WITH PROSPERITY

RAILROADS TELL THE STORY

Undermining of the Tariff Will Produce Untold Stagnation of Business and Cause Disaster to the Workingman of the Country.

All through this year mills in this country in nearly if not quite every line of manufacture have been so tormented with business that they have been much behind with their orders.

Of what use to worry about foreign trade when you cannot make all the goods that are wanted at home? No sane man regards with indifference export business for the country at large; but if a Massachusetts man can sell in New York more fabrics than he can make what impulse can he have to seek for customers in London or Paris or Calcutta?

And why should he be expected to make sacrifices to get that trade? How can you expect him to agree that the tariff behind which he finds an insurable market for goods, a market having actually riotous prosperity shall be cut and amended and patched and bobbled so that there shall be a better chance to push American goods across the seas?

The condition of the railroads tells the story of our overflowing prosperity. The nation's business has about outgrown the capacity of the railroads of the country which has half the railroad mileage of the world.

The time is near at hand when, in some parts of the country, to double the railroad trackage will be still not sufficient effort to meet the requirements of a swift expanding commerce.

And if some one shall say that this unpendous prosperity produced under the shelter of the tariff is by no means the result of the operation of the tariff, we may well ask, How can we prove that proposition? To prove it is of course quite impossible. But we may declare, with no peril of contradiction, first, that a high tariff has at least not operated as an obstruction or a check upon prosperity, and, second, that no nation under heaven ever succeeded in building up manufacturing industries without help from tariff protection.

There is not a single example in history; actually not one. Is it prudent to try experiments with this amazing prosperity? And, particularly, may I ask of the out-and-out free trader, What reason have you for claiming that a higher measure of prosperity may be procured by the adoption of methods directly opposed to those under which we have attained the very highest prosperity ever achieved by human effort?

It is a fair reasonable supposition at, if we simply let conditions alone they will work towards, or at least, they will not obstruct, the continuous movement towards better and better things for the nation.

The assertion may be made with confidence, an assertion which has for its warrant such mournful experience in the past, that a decided change in the protective system, or even strengthening of such a change, will have an effect to check the development of business rather than to promote it.

How to Check Prosperity.

Do you wish to know how to put an end to the embarrassments now experienced by mill owners who are beset with their orders, by employers to find the supply of laborers short, by railroads which cannot obtain cars enough with which to move the freight they are carrying?

I can suggest an immediate and effective remedy for all such troubles. Let the word go out from an authoritative source that Congress intends to make important changes in the tariff. And, particularly, let it be made known that there is to be a reduction of important duties downward, and all the difficulties from which manufacturers and common carriers are now suffering will promptly disappear.

Send the tidings over the land to a timid and indignant people that the tariff barrier behind which they conduct their peaceful pursuits is to be dermied, and instead of the mills being unable to meet their orders, the goods will be stacked in the store rooms and the wheels will be idle. Instead of the railroads finding cars scarce the sidings will be filled with city cars. Instead of the working people being eagerly bid for by the manufacturers, and wages swiftly rising, there will be multitudes of idlers in the streets and in the soup houses, and there will be suffering and distress where now there is comfort and abundance.

It will be strange if this nation, within a few years of the Cleveland times, produced by a foolhardy attempt to recast the tariff in the interests of foreigners, should be willing to make again a venture so ruinous and dreadful.

The protective system absolutely stifles itself by the conditions now existing in the United States in every part of business. Let me put a fact more strongly. We have here, under that system, the one magnificent economic success thus far achieved by the human race.

We shall manifest wisdom if our unmitting purpose shall be to hold fast to the policy under which things might have been done.

CHARLES HEBER CLARK.

BEST PAID LABOR OF THE WORLD

The American Worker Enjoys an Enormous Advantage Over His Fellow in Free Trade England.

That labor in America is better off than in any other part of the world, admits of no question. The London Times last year discussed the matter editorially on the basis of figures collected by the British Board of Trade:

"The workman in America enjoys an enormous advantage over his fellow in England—an advantage far greater than the latter enjoys over the German or Frenchman. He earns more than two and a quarter times as much money, and works shorter hours for it, so that his hourly rate of earnings is as 240 to 100, or pretty nearly twice and a half as much. Against that enormous difference in wages there is something to be set in the way of expenditures. Rent is twice as high and food is about one-third higher than in England, but the cost of living altogether is only as 152 to 100, or about half as much again. The margin is clearly large, making possible a command of the necessaries and conveniences and minor luxuries of life that is both nominally and really greater than that enjoyed by the corresponding class in this country."

The Times adds that "the advantage enjoyed by this country in regard to the cost of food is even less than it looks. A workman living on the American scale pays only 25 per cent more for his food in the United States than he would in England. * * * It is clear that prices have not risen so much in recent years in the United States as we have been led to suppose, and that wages have risen much more rapidly."

It may be objected that the Times is now fighting for a return to protection in England, and gets comfort out of the figures for that reason. Yes, but the figures were collected and furnished it by the free traders. The British Board of Trade is a branch of the government, originally created in the reign of William and Mary to watch the American colonies, and to keep them from manufacturing anything England wanted to sell them. The president of the board is a member of the cabinet, and of course at present both a Liberal and a free trader.

The Times goes on to refute the free trade assumption that our workmen are prosperous not because of protection, but "in spite of it." It says that "if good results regularly follow that system, it does not much matter whether the connection is called 'in spite of' or not."

Good results for labor have invariably followed the protective policy in America. A Pennsylvania workman, whose recollections go back to President Polk's time tells of the days which followed the repeal of the protective tariff of 1842, in a letter to the Philadelphia Press:

"Work was hard to get. Laboring men received 50 cents a day for twelve hours' work. My father was a stonemason. He got 62 cents. I was eleven years old. I worked in the cotton factory thirteen hours a day, and received \$3 a month. I remember well how economically we had to live. I got one pair of shoes a year. During the summer season I had to go barefooted until frost came. This was the general condition of the workingman."

"When the Whig party elected Harrison in 1840, and a tariff law was passed, a number of iron furnaces were built. I remember one near our city (Easton), which had fairly started when the Democrats elected James K. Polk (in 1844). They cut down the tariff. The furnace was shut down. * * * When James Buchanan was elected, we had (in 1857) the worst panic I ever witnessed. The best mechanics were out of work, and had to go to the soup house. Later on, when Mr. Cleveland was elected the second time (in 1892), we got another dose of free trade. That, many of your readers remember. A friend of mine said to me: 'How is it that this is the first time in twenty years that I was out of work?' I told him he voted for it, and had to take his medicine."

Every workman who helps this year to elect Governor Wilson to the presidency, and to give his party control of congress, will have "to take his medicine." The Democratic candidate hates protection with a perfect hatred. He cannot refer to it in his speeches without losing his self-control. And his record in Trenton shows him ready to use his executive position to control legislation. Forewarned is, or should be, forearmed.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON, In Irish World.

The Percentage Trick.

There has been much talk in the Democratic organs of late concerning the frightfully large percentages of duties imposed by the protective tariff. Resort to what has been called "the percentage trick" is a favorite practice with those who would mislead the plain people. Percentages do not always, by any means, indicate prices. You tell a man that some common article of necessity bears a duty of 120 per cent, and he is stalled and angry.

He will not reflect that as percentages go up prices may be going down. When the price of tin plate was, say \$5 per 100 pounds, a 2 1/2 cents duty was a 50 per cent duty. When the price of tin plate declined to \$3.50 per 100 pounds, the very same duty became a 76 per cent duty.

If stockings valued at \$1 a pair had a specific duty of \$1 add the tax would

be 100 per cent. When (the duty remaining fixed) the price of stockings fell to 50 cents a pair the duty would be 200 per cent. If the stockings should fall to 10 cents a pair the fixed duty would be 1000 per cent.

The important question, of course, is not what is the percentage of duty upon stockings, but what do you have to pay for a pair? You can buy today in the great shops two pairs of good half hose for 25 cents, and there is no peril in the assertion that never since the world was made could you get, tariff or no tariff, so good hosiery for so little money.

The reasons are, first, that the home supply because the industry had tariff protection, is abundant and excellent, and, second, that the Americans, solely because that industry (and therefore the incentive) was here, have invented the most wonderful and productive knitting machinery.

CHARLES HEBER CLARK.

be 100 per cent. When (the duty remaining fixed) the price of stockings fell to 50 cents a pair the duty would be 200 per cent. If the stockings should fall to 10 cents a pair the fixed duty would be 1000 per cent.

The important question, of course, is not what is the percentage of duty upon stockings, but what do you have to pay for a pair? You can buy today in the great shops two pairs of good half hose for 25 cents, and there is no peril in the assertion that never since the world was made could you get, tariff or no tariff, so good hosiery for so little money.

The reasons are, first, that the home supply because the industry had tariff protection, is abundant and excellent, and, second, that the Americans, solely because that industry (and therefore the incentive) was here, have invented the most wonderful and productive knitting machinery.

CHARLES HEBER CLARK.

The Government and the Farmer.

Thoughtless people sometimes say why should the government give aid and comfort, through the instrumentality of a tariff law, to a single class of citizens—the manufacturers?

The aid is to be given, of course, where it is needed. Builders, lawyers, retailers and so forth are sufficiently protected by nature. The manufacturer gets help where it is required. The farmer, also, let us note, gets it far more abundantly where he requires it.

Do you ever reflect upon what our government has done and now does, for the American farmer?

Millions of farms were given, years ago in the west, to the farmers absolutely without charge. The government never gave a mill to a manufacturer. Other millions of farms have been sold by the government, and now are selling, at the lowest of low prices.

The nation maintains an agricultural department (the manufacturers have no department), which costs from ten millions to twelve million a year. This department not only distributes vast quantities of seeds, but it instructs the farmers, analyzes their soils, improves their animals, destroys at great cost the cotton boll worm and injurious insects and helps them to stamp out diseases in plants and animals.

Hundreds of millions are spent in construction of irrigation works so that poor land may be redeemed for the farmers, and in divers and sundry other ways the American farmer is assisted, encouraged, upheld and made the object of incessant large expenditures.

No man may complain of this. It is well done. That is what a government is for, to do for the people the things that they cannot do for themselves. We are the government. The money is ours. All these toilers are our brethren. All are Americans. Their welfare is our welfare. The soil feeds every man of us. The huge expenditure for the splendid development of agriculture is an investment of a common fund for the benefit of all.

But if this be true for the farmer, why is it not true for the manufacturer? The farmer, rightly, gets enormous sums of money as a gratuity from the treasury and he is the constant object of solicitous—almost maternal—attention.

What does the manufacturer get? Absolutely nothing but shelter for his business from a powerful foreign rival, whose highest felicity would be the annihilation of his American competitor.

CHARLES HEBER CLARK.

How a Tariff For Revenue Works.

Imports of all kinds in the twelve months ending June 30, 1912, amounted to \$1,653,426,174, of which \$881,743,144 were free of duty, while less than half, or \$771,683,030, were dutiable and competitive articles. Should the tariff-for-revenue policy prevail, and the rates of duty be lowered, the dutiable imports would have to increase in quantity to keep the revenue where it now is; and the lower the duties the greater would have to be the volume of imports in order to maintain the revenue.

Now it would seem clear that the present policy of getting an average of about 41 per cent on \$771,683,030 worth of dutiable imports, or considerably more than \$300,000,000 of revenue, is a better policy than that of reducing the duty to, say, a 20 per cent average and being compelled to double the importation of competitive merchandise in order to get that \$300,000,000 of revenue.

In the latter case we should have to import more than \$1,500,000,000 a year of foreign merchandise that would take the place of a good deal more than a billion and a half of domestic production. Think this over and see whether a protective tariff on \$771,000,000 of imports is not better than a revenue tariff on a billion and a half dollars' worth of foreign-made goods.

Millions For Defense.

If it be worth while to spend hundreds of millions every year for battleships, in making ready for a gunpowder war which is likely never to come, why is it not well to employ for our protection our available law machinery for service in a commercial war at this very moment raging the world over?

Commerce is indeed war—and mercenary war. No tidings could bring to Europeans a thrill of joy equal to that which would come to the old world if announcement should be made that one-half the manufacturing power of the American nation were wrecked and ruined and finally forever wiped out of existence.

CHARLES HEBER CLARK.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION SUBMITTED TO THE CITIZENS OF THIS COMMONWEALTH FOR THEIR APPROVAL OR REJECTION, BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH, IN PURSUANCE OF ARTICLE XVIII OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Number One. A JOINT RESOLUTION.

Proposing an amendment to article nine, section four, of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, authorizing the State to issue bonds to the amount of fifty millions of dollars for the improvement of the highways of the Commonwealth.

Section 1. Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, That the following amendment to the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania be, and the same is hereby, proposed, in accordance with the eighteenth article thereof:—

That section four of article nine, which reads as follows: "Section 4. No debt shall be created by or on behalf of the State, except to supply casual deficiencies of revenue, repel invasion, suppress insurrection, defend the State in war, or to pay existing debt; and the debt created to supply deficiency in revenue shall never exceed, in the aggregate at any one time, one million of dollars," be amended so as to read as follows:

"Section 4. No debt shall be created by or on behalf of the State, except to supply casual deficiencies of revenue, repel invasion, suppress insurrection, defend the State in war, or to pay existing debt; and the debt created to supply deficiencies in revenue shall never exceed, in the aggregate at any one time, one million of dollars; Provided, however, That the General Assembly, irrespective of any debt, may authorize the State to issue bonds to the amount of fifty millions of dollars for the purpose of improving and rebuilding the highways of the Commonwealth."

A true copy of Joint Resolution No. 1.

ROBERT McAFEE, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Number Two. A JOINT RESOLUTION.

Proposing an amendment to section seven, article three of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, so as to permit special legislation regulating labor.

Section 1. Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, That the following is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in accordance with the provisions of the eighteenth article thereof. Amendment to Article Three, Section Seven.

Section 2. Amend section seven, article three of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, which reads as follows:—

"Section 7. The General Assembly shall not pass any local or special law authorizing the creation, extension, or impairing of liens:

"Regulating the affairs of counties, cities, townships, wards, boroughs, or school districts:

"Changing the names of persons or places:

"Authorizing the laying out, opening, altering, or maintaining roads, highways, streets or alleys:

"Relating to ferries or bridges, or incorporating ferry or bridge companies, except for the erection of bridges crossing streams which form boundaries between this and any other State:

"Vacating roads, town plats, streets or alleys:

"Relating to cemeteries, graveyards, or public grounds not of the State:

"Authorizing the adoption or legitimation of children:

"Locating or changing county-seats, erecting new counties, or changing county lines:

"Incorporating cities, towns, or villages, or changing their charters:

"For the opening and conducting of elections, or fixing or changing the place of voting:

"Granting divorces:

"Erecting new townships or boroughs, changing township lines, borough limits or school districts:

"Creating offices, or prescribing the powers and duties of officers in counties, cities, boroughs, townships, election or school districts:

"Changing the law of descent or succession:

"Regulating the practice or jurisdiction of, or changing the rules of evidence in, any judicial proceeding or inquiry before courts, aldermen, justices of the peace, sheriffs, commissioners, arbitrators, auditors, masters in chancery, or other tribunals, or providing or changing methods for the collection of debts, or the enforcing of judgments, or prescribing the effect of judicial sales of real estate:

"Regulating the fees, or extending the powers and duties of aldermen, justices of the peace, magistrates or constables:

"Regulating the management of public schools, the building or repairing of school houses and the raising of money for such purposes:

"Fixing the rate of interest:

"Affecting the estates of minors or persons under disability, except after due notice to all parties in interest, to be recited in the special enactment:

"Remitting fines, penalties and forfeitures, or refunding moneys legally paid into the treasury:

"Exempting property from taxation:

law by the partial repeal of a general law; but laws repealing local or special acts may be passed:

"Nor shall any law be passed granting powers and privileges in any case where the granting of such powers, and privileges shall have been provided for by general law, nor where the courts have jurisdiction to grant the same or give the relief asked for,"—so as to read as follows:—

Section 7. The General Assembly shall not pass any local or special law authorizing the creation, extension or impairing of lines:

Regulating the affairs of counties, cities, townships, wards, boroughs, or school districts:

Changing the names of persons or places:

Changing the venue in civil or criminal cases:

Authorizing the laying out, opening, altering, or maintaining roads, highways, streets or alleys:

Relating to ferries or bridges, or incorporating ferry or bridge companies, except for the erection of bridges crossing streams which form boundaries between this and any other State:

Vacating roads, town plats, streets or alleys:

Relating to cemeteries, graveyards, or public grounds not of the State:

Authorizing the adoption, or legitimation of children:

Locating or changing county-seats, erecting new counties or changing county lines:

Incorporating cities, towns or villages, by changing their charters:

For the opening and conducting of elections, or fixing or changing the place of voting:

Granting divorces:

Erecting new townships or boroughs, changing township lines, borough limits or school districts:

Creating offices, or prescribing the powers and duties of officers in counties, cities, boroughs, townships, election or school districts:

Changing the law of descent or succession:

Regulating the practice or jurisdiction of, or changing the rules of evidence in, any judicial proceeding or inquiry before courts, aldermen, justices of the peace, sheriffs, commissioners, arbitrators, auditors, masters in chancery, or other tribunals, or providing or changing methods for the collection of debts, or the enforcing of judgments, or prescribing the effect of judicial sales of real estate:

Regulating the fees, or extending the powers and duties of aldermen, justices of the peace, magistrates or constables:

Regulating the management of public schools, the building or repairing of school houses and the raising of money for such purposes:

Fixing the rate of interest:

Affecting the estates of minors or persons under disability, except after due notice to all parties in interest, to be recited in the special enactment:

Remitting fines, penalties and forfeitures, or refunding moneys legally paid into the treasury:

Exempting property from taxation:

Regulating labor, trade, mining or manufacturing:

Creating corporations, or amending, renewing or extending the charters thereof:

Granting to any corporation, association or individual any special or exclusive privilege or immunity, or to any corporation, association, or individual the right to lay down a railroad track:

Nor shall the General Assembly indirectly enact such special or local

law by the partial repeal of a general law; but laws repealing local or special acts may be passed:

Nor shall any law be passed granting powers or privileges in any case where the granting of such powers and privileges shall have been provided for by general law, nor where the courts have jurisdiction to grant the same or give the relief asked for.

A true copy of Joint Resolution No. 2.

ROBERT McAFEE, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Number Three. A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION.

Proposing an amendment to section three of article eight of the Constitution of Pennsylvania.

Section 1. Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (if the Senate concur), That the following is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in accordance with the provisions of the eighteenth article thereof:—

Section 2. Amend section three of article eight, which reads as follows: "All judges elected by the electors of the State at large may be elected at either a general or municipal election, as circumstances may require. All the elections for judges of the courts for the several judicial districts, and for county, ward, borough, and township officers, for regular terms of service, shall be held on the municipal election day; namely, the Tuesday next following the first Monday of November in each odd-numbered year, but the General Assembly may by law fix

A different day, two-thirds of all the members of each House consenting thereto: Provided, That such elections shall always be held in an odd-numbered year, shall continue to hold their offices until the first Monday of January in the next succeeding even-numbered year.

A true copy of Concurrent Resolution No. 3.

ROBERT McAFEE, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Number Four. A JOINT RESOLUTION.

Proposing an amendment to section one of article nine of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, relating to taxation.

Section 1. Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, That the following is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in accordance with the provisions of the eighteenth article thereof:—

A different day, two-thirds of all the members of each House consenting thereto: Provided, That such elections shall always be held in an odd-numbered year, shall continue to hold their offices until the first Monday of January in the next succeeding even-numbered year.

A true copy of Concurrent Resolution No. 3.

ROBERT McAFEE, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Number Four. A JOINT RESOLUTION.

Proposing an amendment to section one of article nine of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, relating to taxation.

Section 1. Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, That the following is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in accordance with the provisions of the eighteenth article thereof:—

Section 2. Amend section one of article nine of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, which reads as follows:—

"All taxes shall be uniform, upon the same class of subjects, within the territorial limits of the authority levying the tax, and shall be levied and collected under general laws; but the General Assembly may, by general laws, exempt from taxation public property used for public purposes, actual places of religious worship, places of burial not used or held for private or corporate profit, and institutions of purely public charity," so as to read as follows:

All taxes shall be uniform upon the same class of subjects, within the territorial limits of the authority levying the tax, and shall be levied and collected under general laws, and the subjects of taxation may be classified for the purpose of laying graded or progressive taxes; but the General Assembly may, by general laws, exempt from taxation public property used for public purposes, actual places of religious worship, places of burial not used or held for private or corporate profit, and institutions of purely public charity.

A true copy of Joint Resolution No. 4.

ROBERT McAFEE, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Number Five. A JOINT RESOLUTION.

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of Pennsylvania.

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, That the following is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of Pennsylvania, in accordance with the provisions of the eighteenth article thereof:—

Article IX.

Section 15. No obligations which have been heretofore issued, or which may hereafter be issued, by any county or municipality, other than Philadelphia, to provide for the construction or acquisition of water-works, subways, underground railroads, or street railways, or the appurtenances thereof, shall be considered as a debt of a municipality within the meaning of section eight of article nine of the Constitution of Pennsylvania or of this amendment.

If the net revenue derived from said property for a period of five years, either before or after the acquisition thereof, or where the same is constructed by the county or municipality, after the completion thereof, shall have been sufficient to pay interest and sinking-fund charges during said period upon said obligations, or if the said obligations shall be secured by liens upon the respective properties, and shall impose no municipal liability. Where municipalities of counties shall issue obligations to provide for the construction of property, as herein provided, said municipalities or counties may also issue obligations to provide for the interest and sinking-fund charges accruing thereon until said properties shall have been completed and in operation for a period of one year; and said municipalities and counties shall not be required to levy a tax to pay said interest and sinking-fund charges, as required by section ten of article nine of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, until after said properties shall have been operated by said counties or municipalities during said period of one year.

Any of the said municipalities or counties may incur indebtedness in excess of seven per centum, and not exceeding ten per centum, of the assessed valuation of the taxable property therein, if said increase of indebtedness shall have been assented to by three-fifths of the electors voting at a public election, in such manner as shall be provided by law.

A true copy of Joint Resolution No. 5.

ROBERT McAFEE, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

ROBERT McAFEE, Secretary of the Commonwealth.