

Used as a Free School Fund to Educate All Poor and Rich Children Alike.

CHAPTER 10.

Last week I referred to the inequitable burden of the tariff tax on the people as now in operation. The opponents to the protective tariff for an age have made themselves busy in efforts to abolish it without listening heeding its benefits and without any signal efforts to adjust its operations so as to remove its evils and, if possible, increase its benefits.

The voice from a great host has been, "Down with protection!" or, "Give us free trade, for that will stop the evil." I reply, "True it will stop the inequality of that tax, but it will subject our industrial people to a greater one, by bringing them into direct competition with the serfdom classes of imperial governments."

We are not under obligations to reach out the benefits of liberty that we enjoy under free institutions, to those of old governments who have not yet freed themselves.

On the principle that "charity commences at home," let us continue to protect our industrial people, but quit robbing them in the meantime.

The solution that will stop this is simple and easily understood, to-wit: Cease to pay that \$300,000,000 derived from tariff duties into the National treasury and pay it into the public school fund of every district in the United States (see Chap. 2, Art. 3, under taxation) according to the number of school population in each district. The industrial people, as I have stated, pay most of this tax and it would be a boon to them and a safety to the State for their children to have the benefit of it in education.

Suppose this be done, the query arises, "From whence would we derive the \$300,000,000 revenue for the support of government?" I answer, "From a system of direct graduated taxation (see Chap. 2, Art. 3, under taxation) that will rest the burden mostly on the aggregated wealth which I have pointed out is now in the hands of one tenth of the people."

Of course this will be opposed by those of the rich who are selfish and unpatriotic, and by those who are narrow minded party followers, but it has never been opposed by rich or poor who love their neighbor as they do themselves and who want to practice what they preach.

Among other indirect taxes is that in the shape of licenses for manufacturing, on drink, tobacco, etc., and for selling such things and practice in the professions of law, medicine, etc., etc., which when we include all indirect tax, is not below \$300,000,000. This great amount, added to the tariff tax makes an indirect tax of over \$9 per capita or over \$45 indirect tax for every family in the nation. The worker feels the oppression, but he may not see the stealthy hand that robs him.

Of course this great sum is paid first by the manufacturers, licensed persons, etc., who, in turn collect it from the consumers and customers. It is paid by the nine tenths of the people who only own one-tenth of the wealth of the Nation.

Direct taxation, which aggregates over \$300,000,000 is that revenue raised in States, counties, and towns by an assessed valuation and a per cent. levy of tax collected. With the exception of the poll tax this part of our taxation is eminently the most equitable, because it rests the tax burden on the surplus products of industry called property, or wealth. Its only weak point, according to the demand of liberty in modern civilization is that it does not rest heavier on large aggregations than on smaller possessions of the comparatively poor.

The Poll Tax which is one that causes every citizen from 21 to 45 years of age to pay a fixed tax of from one to three dollars apiece regardless of any property, is an old time imperial plan of taxation and it is a disgrace to our modern civilization. I see it is not reported separately in the compendium of the Ninth Census. I suppose they are ashamed of it.

Since commencing these chapters in January, they have had some flattering notices and have brought an increased personal correspondence from far and near, approving the principles and writings with but little exception. I thank all for kind words and friendly criticism, but I cannot answer all privately, so next week I will notice the Graduated Tax Bill (H. R. 3903) now before Congress and also in its connection, a very able letter received from Gen. Percy Daniels, who is an ex-Governor and Congressman, now of Kansas. Graduated taxation has been discussed by the industrial orders approvingly within the last ten years. I remember having made a short speech about seven years ago in New

would largely settle discontent and trouble. At the close two gentlemen came forward and warmly approved the saying that they "are aware that the safety of wealth either in large or small possession greatly depended upon the prosperity, contentment and happiness of the industrial people," and that they would warmly "endorse the plan of graduated taxation as a means to that end." They farther remarked that it was "the most sensible solution of the problem they had ever heard advocated from the labor ranks." As they turned away, a friend who had introduced them said they were both millionaires. There was a large number of rich people in the meeting.

This incident with other investigations I made in Gotham convinced me that sound principles striking at the roots of industrial oppression, honestly and persistently advocated, would get the political support of the people, both rich and poor far sooner and more substantially than would the "catch 'em a comin' an' catch 'em a goin'" policy of the "get there" trickery of politicians.

SAMUEL AROHER.

Mica, N. C.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF RAILWAYS.

We find an interesting article on "A Decade of Federal Railway Regulation," by Prof. Henry C. Adams, in the April Atlantic. He reviews the history of the Interstate Commerce Commission and sums up the results achieved and the present situation.

Under the head "THE POWER OF RAILWAY MAGNATES" he says:

It lies in the theory of modern society that men should succeed or fail according to their abilities. As a matter of fact, a railway manager has it within his power, through the manipulation of rates, to make or destroy; to determine which person in the community and which communities in the State shall attain commercial success, and which shall struggle in vain for its attainment.

Suppose, for example, that one cattle dealer in Chicago is selected by a pool of railways to control the shipment of meats from Chicago to the seaboard, and that, in order to secure him this control, he receives a rate of ten per cent. less than the rates charged other dealers; it is evident that the favored shipper will quickly destroy the business of other shippers by bidding more for cattle than they can afford to bid. Admitting that the discrimination is not approved by common law, what remedy has the small shipper which is sufficiently speedy in its action to rescue the business which he observes to be slipping from him? He has no remedy; and for this reason is it essential that discriminations of the sort referred to should be made a statutory misdemeanor, and that some special method of procedure, more rapid in its operations than an ordinary court, should be established to cause the railways to desist from their wrong doings.

THE FUTURE OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE, is another subject treated by Prof. Adams. It may ultimately prove to be the case, he says; that there is no compromise between public ownership and management on the one hand and private ownership and management on the other, but one has no right to quote the ten years' experience of the Interstate Commerce Commission in support of such a declaration. This is true because the law itself scarcely proceeded beyond the limit of suggesting certain principles and indicating certain processes, and Congress has not, by the amendments passed since 1887, shown much solicitude respecting the efficiency of the act. It is true, also, because the courts have thought it necessary to deny certain authorities claimed by the commission, and Congress has not shown itself jealous for the dignity of the administrative body, which it created. And finally it is true because the duty of administering the act to regulate commerce was imposed upon the commission without adequate provision in the way of administrative machinery, and ten years is too short a time to create that machinery when every step is to be contested by all the processes known to corporation lawyers. For the public the case stands where it stood ten years ago. Now, as then, is it necessary to decide on the basis of theory, and in the light of political, social, and industrial consideration, rather than on the basis of a satisfactory test, whether the railways shall be controlled by the government without being owned, or controlled through governmental ownership. The danger is held that the country will drift into an answer of this question without an appreciation of its tremendous significance.

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GOVERNMENT MUST CONTROL RAILWAYS.

The merchant, the manufacturers, and the farmer, working under conditions of industrial liberty, do not seem to require any peculiar supervision on the part of the State, for competition is adequate to insure relative justice as between custom, as well as the sale of goods at a fair price. But in the railway industry, competition does not work so beneficent a result. On the contrary such is its nature that it imposes upon railway managers the necessity of disregarding equity between customers, and of fixing rates without considering their fairness, whether judged from the point of view of cost or social results. Were this not true there would be no railway problem.

But what, it will be asked, is there peculiar about the business of transportation which renders it superior to the satisfactory control of competition?

The railway industry is an extensive, and not an intensive industry. It conforms to the law of "increasing" returns rather than to the law of "constant" or of "diminishing" returns. This being the case, ability to perform a unit of service cheaply depends more upon the quantity of business transacted than upon attention to minute details. Another way of saying the same thing is that the expenses incident to the operations of a railway do not increase in proportion to the increase in the volume of traffic. As an industrial fact, this does not pertain to the business of the manufacturer, the merchant, or the farmer, but is peculiar to the business of transportation; and it is adequate, when properly understood, to explain why all advanced people, without regard to the form of government they may have adopted or the social theories they may entertain, have surrounded the administration of railways with peculiar legal restrictions. The necessity of some sort of government control lies in the nature of the business itself.

(OFFICIAL)

NATIONAL ALLIANCE DEMANDS.

Adopted at Washington, D. C., February 6, 1896.

WHEREAS, The Declaration of Independence, as a basis for a Republican form of Government that might be progressive and perpetual, states: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the governed."

We hold, therefore, that to restore and preserve these rights under a Republican form of government, private monopolies of public necessities for speculative purposes, whether of the means of production, distribution or exchange, should be prohibited, and whenever any such public necessity or utility becomes a monopoly in private hands, the people of the municipality, state or union, as the case may be, shall appropriate the same by right of eminent domain, paying a just value therefor, and operate them for, and in the interest of, the whole people.

FINANCE.

We demand a national currency, safe, sound and flexible; issued by the general government only; a full legal tender for all debts and receivable for all dues, and an equitable and efficient means of distribution of this currency, directly to the people, at the minimum of expense and without the intervention of banking corporations and in sufficient volume to transact the business of the country on a cash basis.

(a) We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the legal ratio of 16 to 1.

(b) We demand a graduated income tax.

(c) The government shall purchase or construct and operate a sufficient mileage of railroads to effectually control all rates of transportation on a just and equitable basis.

(d) The telegraph and telephone, like the postoffice system, being a necessity for the transmission of intelligence, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

LAND.

We demand that no land shall be held by corporations for speculative purposes or by railroads in excess of their needs as carriers, and all lands claimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

EXERCISE OF UNITED STATES SENATORS.

We demand the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people. That each State shall be divided into two districts of nearly equal

(c) That our national legislation shall be so framed in the future as not to build up one industry at the expense of another.

(d) We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all National and State revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government economically and honestly administered.

(e) We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of savings of the people, and to facilitate exchange.

(f) We are unalterably opposed to the issue, by the United States, of interest bearing bonds, and demand the payment of all coin obligations of the United States, as provided by existing laws, in either gold or silver coin, at the option of the government and not at the option of the creditor.

TRANSPORTATION.

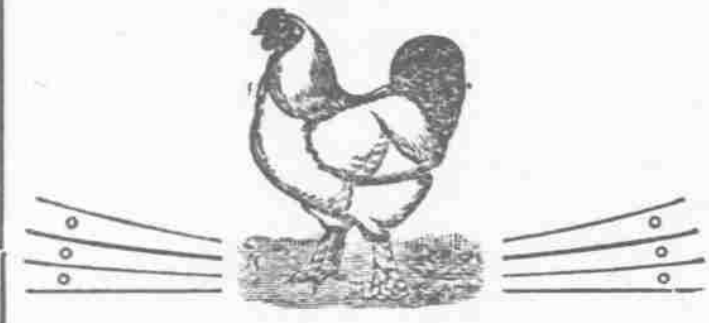
now owned by aliens should be revoting population, and that Senators from each shall be elected by the people of the district.

DISTRICT LEGISLATION.

Relying upon the good, common sense of the American people, and believing that a majority of them, when uninfluenced by party prejudice, will vote right on all questions submitted to them on their merit; and, further, to effectually annihilate the pernicious lobby in legislation, we demand direct legislation by means of the initiative and referendum.

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